THE
ANCHOR
YALE
BIBLE

JOSHUA 1–12

A NEW TRANSLATION
WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

THOMAS B. DOZEMAN

Joshua
1–12

YALE

VOLUME 6B

THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE is a project of international and interfaith scope in which Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish scholars from many countries contribute individual volumes. The project is not sponsored by any ecclesiastical organization and is not intended to reflect any particular theological doctrine.

THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE is committed to producing commentaries in the tradition established half a century ago by the founders of the series, William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman. It aims to present the best contemporary scholarship in a way that is accessible not only to scholars, but also to the educated nonspecialist. Its approach is grounded in exact translation of the ancient languages and an appreciation of the historical and cultural contexts in which the biblical books were written, supplemented by insights from modern methods, such as sociological and literary criticism.

John J. Collins
General Editor

THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE

Joshua 1–12

A New Translation with
Introduction and Commentary

THOMAS B. DOZEMAN

THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE
Yale UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Haven & London

Published with assistance from the Louis Stern Memorial Fund.
"Anchor Yale Bible" and the Anchor Yale logo are registered trademarks of Yale University.

Copyright © 2015 by Thomas B. Dozeman.
All rights reserved.
This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, including illustrations, in any form (beyond that copying permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law and except by reviewers for the public press), without written permission from the publishers.

Yale University Press books may be purchased in quantity for educational, business, or promotional use. For information, please e-mail sales.press@yale.edu (U.S. office) or sales@yaleup.co.uk (U.K. office).

Set in Adobe Garamond type by Newgen North America.
Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bible. Joshua, I–XII. English. Dozeman. 2015.
Joshua 1–12 : a new translation with introduction and commentary / Thomas B. Dozeman.
pages cm — (The Anchor Yale Bible ; 6B)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-300-14975-3 (alk. paper)
1. Bible. Joshua, I–XII—Commentaries. I. Dozeman, Thomas B. II. Title.
BS1293.D69 2015
222′.2077—dc23
2014031535

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48–1992 (Permanence of Paper).

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To David J. Klooster
(June 28, 1953–June 2, 2012)

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Preface, xi
Acknowledgments, xiii
List of Abbreviations, xv

INTRODUCTION, 1

Overview 3
Composition 5
Textual Criticism 32
Central Themes and Literary Structure 43
Reception History 77

BIBLIOGRAPHY, 95

TRANSLATION, 165

NOTES AND COMMENTS, 185

Commission of Joshua (1:1–18) 187
Central Themes and Literary Structure 187
Translation 188
Notes 189
Composition 199
Comments 212
Rahab, the Trickster (2:1–24) 223
Central Themes and Literary Structure 223

Translation 225
Notes 226
Composition 234
Comments 240
Crossing the Jordan (3:1–5:12) 250
Central Themes and Literary Structure 250
Translation 252
Notes 255
Composition 271
Comments 283
Destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27) 302
Central Themes and Literary Structure 302
Translation 303
Notes 305
Composition 316
Comments 327
Sacrilege of Achan (7:1–26) 339
Central Themes and Literary Structure 339
Translation 340
Notes 342
Composition 348
Comments 351
Ambush of Ai and Ritual at Ebal and Gerizim (8:1–35) 362
Central Themes and Literary Structure 362
Translation 363
Notes 364
Composition 374
Comments 384
Gibeonite Deception (9:1–27) 397
Central Themes and Literary Structure 397
Translation 398
Notes 399

Composition 407
Comments 415
War Against the Southern Kings (10:1–43) 424
Central Themes and Literary Structure 424
Translation 425
Notes 427
Composition 438
Comments 448
War Against the Northern Kings (11:1–23) 459
Central Themes and Literary Structure 459
Translation 459
Notes 461
Composition 471
Comments 475
Defeated Kings of Royal Cities (12:1–24) 482
Central Themes and Literary Structure 482
Translation 482
Notes 484
Composition 493
Comments 496

Appendix I: Translation of the MT and the LXX, 501
Appendix II: Geographical Terms in the MT and LXX, 535

General Index, 557
Index of Authors, 567
Index of Ancient Sources, 577

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

The commentary follows the general structure of the Anchor Yale Bible series. The interpretation of each chapter or smaller division of literature in the book of Joshua is divided into five sections: (1) Central Themes and Literary Structure, (2) Translation, (3) Notes, (4) Composition, and (5) Comments. The "Central Themes and Literary Structure" provides an overview of each section of the commentary, highlighting the plot, main characters, and primary motifs. The "Translation" is of the Masoretic Text (MT). A comparison of the MT and Septuagint (LXX) translations is included in "Appendix I." The "Notes" contain comparisons of the MT, LXX, and other textual versions. The transliteration of Hebrew and Greek follows the *SBL Handbook of Style*. In addition to textual criticism, the "Notes" provide commentary on the literary structure and the syntax of passages. The "Notes" also include commentary on the geographical terms in the book of Joshua. I have rendered the Arabic place-names in the identification of cities without diacritical markings. "Appendix II" contains a comparison of the geographical terms in the MT and the LXX. The reader is encouraged to consult the "Notes" as a resource for commentary in conjunction with the "Comments," since the methods of textual and literary criticism are interwoven in the study of Joshua. The "Composition" reviews the history of research, the identification of possible authors in the formation of the book, and the genre of the literature. The section always concludes with my interpretation of the composition. The "Comments" provide the most wide-ranging interpretation; these sections include the review of the history of interpretation, the analysis of literary structure, the evaluation of the text within the history of religion and tradition, and the study of particular motifs and central themes.

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

Many colleagues have contributed to the research and writing of this commentary. The book of Joshua required a broadening of my prior research focus on the Pentateuch, and I thank my fellow researchers on the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets in the Society of Bible Literature (SBL) for assisting me in the transition. Joint research with the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History sections of the SBL provided the setting for me to ask new questions about the literary function of the book of Joshua, and the Joshua-Judges section of the SBL provided a context for the exchange of new research. I also thank colleagues at the Catholic Biblical Association for inviting me to share ongoing research on Joshua. I owe a special gratitude to Ed Noort, whose willingness to share a lifetime of research on Joshua was invaluable. Ed also provided a rich setting for exchanging research on Joshua at the Leuven Biblical Colloquium in 2010.

I began this commentary in 2007 with David Noel Freedman as the general editor of the Anchor Yale Bible. This was to be our second project together, after finishing *Exodus* in the Eerdmans Critical Commentary series. Upon Noel's death in 2008, I did not think it would be possible to replace an editor like him. But I am so pleased with the editorial guidance from John J. Collins, the new general editor of the Anchor Yale Bible. John strengthened my commentary in content, method, and style. He shared his expertise in Second Temple Judaism in sharpening my text-critical reading of Joshua, and he often provided focus to arguments, even when he disagreed with me.

I thank Vadim Staklo, Sarah Miller, Susan Laity, and Heather Gold, the editors of the Anchor Yale Bible at Yale University Press, for skillfully guiding the manuscript through the editorial process, Lucie Anselin and Bill Nelson for making the maps, and Chad Clark for preparing the indexes. I owe a special thanks to Jessie Dolch for her careful reading of the manuscript and superb copyediting.

I dedicate the commentary to my friend David Klooster. David taught nineteenth-century American literature and chaired the Department of English at Hope College until his death on June 2, 2012. David and I regularly shared our research, including

my work on Joshua. As anyone who has written a commentary knows, the textual and literary problems in writing a technical commentary on an ancient text are so interesting and overwhelming that it is easy to lose the focus of the central themes that confront the general reader. David never let that happen. He always brought me back to the central problem of violence at the heart of the book: "Divinely commanded genocide! Occupation, displacement, taking over what belonged to others—what an awful business this is. How are we to understand it from a contemporary perspective?" I thank my friend for keeping the difficult question of religious violence at the forefront throughout my writing of this book.

Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
ʻAbod. Zar.	ʻAbodah Zarah
ACEBT	*Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en bijbelse Theologie*
ACEBTSup	Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese en bijbelse Theologie Supplement
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGRL	Aspects of Greek and Roman Life
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, N.J., 1954.
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton, N.J., 1969.
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities,* Josephus
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARAB	*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* Daniel David Luckenbill. 2 vols. Chicago, 1926–1927.
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch

ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATS	*Ashland Theological Journal*
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
AYBD	*Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
b.	Babylonian Talmud (tractate named)
B. Bat.	Baba Batra
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBRSup	Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999.
BDF	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* Chicago, 1961.
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
Bek.	Bekorot
Ber.	Berakot
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHS	*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, Ind., 1990.
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibIntSeries	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff. Neukirchen-Vluyn.

BL	*Bibel und Liturgie*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rectsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956– .
CaE	*Cahiers évangile*
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CAP	Cowley, A. E. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, 1923.
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
CTA	*Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* Edited by A. Herdner. Mission de Ras Shamra 10. Paris, 1963.
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
D	Deuteronomic literature in the Pentateuch, including Deuteronomy
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
Dtr	Deuteronomistic History
DtrH	Deuteronomistic Historian
DtrN	Nomistic Deuteronomistic Redaction
E	Elohist Source of the Pentateuch
EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of J. A. Knudtzon. *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln.* Leipzig, 1908–1915. Reprint,

	Aalen, 1964. Continued in A. F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets, 359–379.* 2nd rev. ed. Kevelaer, 1978.
EI	*Eretz-Israel*
EncBrit	Encyclopedia Britannica
Eng.	"English" when the MT and the English translation of the Bible differ in verse numbers.
ER	*The Encyclopedia of Religion.* Edited by M. Eliade. 16 vols. New York, 1987.
ʻEruv.	ʻErubin
EstBib	*Estudios bíblicos*
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Giṭ.	Giṭṭin
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1910.
Grammatik	*Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch: Ein Lehrbuch.* W. Schneider. Claudius, 1974.
GTA	Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
GVG	*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* C. Brockelmann. 2 vols. Berlin, 1908–1913. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1961.
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999.
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
Hist.	*Histories,* Herodotus
HomJosh	*Homilies on Joshua,* Origen
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*

ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
ITC	International Theological Commentary
J	Yahwist Source of the Pentateuch
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JACiv	*Journal of Ancient Civilizations*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBQ	*Jewish Bible Quarterly*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JBT	Jahrbüch für Biblische Theologie
JE	Jehovist combination of the Yahwist and Elohist sources of the Pentateuch
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JOTT	*Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods Supplements
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.* Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976. 2nd enlarged ed. of *KTU: The Cuneiform*

	Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places. Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. Münster, 1995 (= *CAT*).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LHB/OTS	Library of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott, H. S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996.
LXX	Septuagint
LXXA	Codex Alexandrinus
LXXB	Codex Vaticanus
m.	Mishnah (tractate named)
Mak.	Makkot
MdB	*Le Monde de la Bible*
Meg.	Megillah
Mo'ed Qaṭ.	Mo'ed Qaṭan
MT	Masoretic Text
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*
NCB	New Century Bible
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.* Edited by E. Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1993.
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*
NETR	*Near East School of Theology Theological Review*
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Edited by A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright. Oxford, 2007.
NIB	*New Interpreter's Bible*
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NRTh	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
Or	*Orientalia* (NS)

OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
P	Priestly literature in the Pentateuch
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit.* Ch. Virolleaud. 2 vols. Paris, 1957, 1965.
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Edited by K. Galling. 7 vols. 3rd ed. Tübingen, 1957–1965.
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
Roš. Haš.	Roš Haššanah
SA	Studia Anselmiana
Šabb.	Šabbat
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSemeiaSt	Society of Biblical Literature Semeia Studies
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTCS	Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScEs	*Science et esprit*
ScrB	*Scripture Bulletin*
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*

SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOSup	Symbolae Osloenses Supplement
Soṭah	Soṭah
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
Spec.	*De specialibus legibus,* Philo
SR	*Studies in Religion*
ST	*Studia theologica*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StOr	*Studia orientalia*
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
TA	*Tel Aviv*
Ta'an.	Ta'anit
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TBT	*The Bible Today*
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 8 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974– .
Tem.	Temurah
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
Transeu	*Transeuphratène*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
UtopSt	*Utopian Studies*
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
Yebam.	Yebamot
ZABR	*Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtgeschichte*

ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
Zebaḥ.	Zebaḥim
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

This page intentionally left blank

INTRODUCTION

This page intentionally left blank

Overview

The book of Joshua recounts the Israelite invasion of the promised land under the leadership of Joshua, the servant of Moses. The book is intended to be the conclusion to the story of the exodus and the wilderness journey, when Moses leads the Israelites from Egypt to the eastern bank of the Jordan River, as recounted in the books of Exodus–Deuteronomy. The author portrays the invasion of the promised land as the completion of the journey. But the invasion is not an account of conquest, in which the Israelites subdue the indigenous population and take over their cities. Rather, it is a story about the execution of kings, the destruction of their royal cities, and the extermination of the urban population through the implementation of the ban—a form of warfare in which all men, women, and children are killed. The slaughter of the indigenous people is a sacrifice to Yahweh that prepares the promised land for the Israelite tribes, who will live a more rural life, free of kings and their royal cities. Joshua 1–12 narrates the destruction of the kings, royal cities, and indigenous population, while Josh 13–24 describes the redistribution of the land to the tribes.

The invasion of the promised land in Josh 1–12 begins with the commission of Joshua in Josh 1, which functions as the prologue to the book. The prologue establishes the central themes of the story: Joshua is the commissioned successor of Moses; the Israelites are not indigenous to the land; yet Yahweh promises the land to them as a place of rest. The divine promise must be realized through a courageous act of holy war, which fulfills the Torah of Moses. The invasion in Josh 2–12 takes place in two stages. The first, Josh 2–8, focuses on the procession of the ark from Shittim, on the east side of the Jordan River, to its resting place at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, near Shechem, on the west side of the Jordan. The second stage, Josh 9–12, recounts the wars of Joshua against the northern and southern coalitions of kings, resulting in rest from war in the land (11:23).

The procession of the ark in Josh 2–8 signifies Yahweh's claim to the promised land. The confession of Rahab, in Josh 2, that "Yahweh has given Israel the land" functions as an introduction to the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 by focusing the narrative on Yahweh as the one who is able to give the land to Israel. The narrative of Josh 3–8 explores the character of Yahweh and the nature of Yahwistic religion, as the ark travels to its cultic site at Shechem. Five locations are associated with the proces-

sion of the ark as it leaves Shittim to enter the promised land: the Jordan River, Gilgal, Jericho, Ai, and the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim at Shechem. Each location provides insight into the author's interpretation of Yahwistic religion. The crossing of the Jordan reveals Yahweh as "El, the living," who dwells in the midst of the Israelite people (3:10). At Gilgal, Yahweh discloses that he is the God of the exodus, who is able to remove the disgrace of Egypt from the Israelite people (5:9). The Israelites respond by observing the rituals of circumcision, Passover, and unleavened bread, after which manna ceases and the Israelites eat the crops of the land (5:2–12). At Jericho, Yahweh reveals that he is a divine warrior who opposes kings and royal cities (5:14; 6:16, 26). At Ai, Yahweh demonstrates the exclusive nature of the covenant, which demands that the Israelites remain separate from the dominant culture of the Canaanites. Achan violates this covenant by stealing booty from Jericho, causing the Israelite defeat in battle at Ai and the eventual execution of Achan and his family (7:10–11). Finally, at Ebal, Joshua establishes the central cultic site for worshiping Yahweh. He builds an altar of uncut stones on which is inscribed the book of the Torah of Moses, thus modeling a strict form of aniconic worship that is grounded in a monotheistic worldview (8:30–35).

In Josh 9–12 the focus shifts from the procession of the ark toward its central cultic site at Shechem to the wars of Joshua against the indigenous kings. The narrative branches out to describe the southern and northern boundaries of the land. The two sections of Josh 3–8 and 9–12 are organically related. The procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 provides the religious basis for the war against the indigenous kings and the destruction of their royal cities in Josh 9–12. The wars of Joshua begin in Josh 9 with the Gibeonites, who trick the Israelites into making a covenant of peace in order to save their nation from destruction. The covenant prompts a coalition of southern kings, led by Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem, to attack the Gibeonites, drawing Joshua and the Israelites into the battle in Josh 10. Joshua defeats the army of the southern coalition, executes the kings at the cave of Makkedah, and secures the southern portion of the promised land. In Josh 11, Joshua defeats the coalition of northern kings led by Jabin of Hazor, thus adding this region to the promised land. The wars of Joshua conclude in Josh 12 with a summary of the defeated kings. The result of Joshua's victories is the depopulation of the indigenous nations and the destruction of the royal cities so that "the land had rest from war" (11:23).

The destruction of the kings and their royal cities allows for the repopulation of the promised land in Josh 13–24 as a more rural and tribal society. Joshua 13–19 describes the distribution of the land to the tribes. The process begins in Josh 13 with the tribal regions east of the Jordan River, including the territories of Reuben, Gad, and half of the tribe of Manasseh, before the focus shifts to the western region in Josh 14–19. The allotment of the western land includes Judah (Josh 15), the two tribes of Joseph, Ephraim and half of Manasseh (Josh 16–17), and the remaining seven tribes of Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan (Josh 18–19). Joshua 20–21 clarifies that the only appropriate cities in the promised land are judicial centers of refuge (Josh 20) and Levitical religious centers (Josh 21), rather than the royal cities of the past indigenous kings. Once the tribal distribution is complete and the cities are established, Josh 22 addresses the topic of ethnic identity by exploring the relationship between the eastern and western tribes. The book concludes with two speeches by

Joshua in Josh 23–24. The first is a call for continued social and religious exclusion of the indigenous nations (Josh 23), and the second stresses more the need for the tribes to resist returning to the archaic polytheistic religion of the ancestors and to continue worshiping only Yahweh (Josh 24). The book ends with the burial notices of Joshua and Eleazar, as well as the internment of the bones of Jacob (24:29–33).

Composition

The identification of the author or authors of Joshua has played a central role in the interpretation of the book since the nineteenth century. Interpreters have long noted conflicts in themes and motifs, which suggest a history of composition by different authors. The central theme of the conquest, for example, remains unresolved in the book, with some texts indicating the extermination of the kings, royal cities, and people (11:21–23), and others stating that the indigenous nations remain in the land (Josh 23). The two readings are further coupled with distinct functions of the Torah, as representing success in war (8:30–33; 24:26) or as underscoring the need for obedience as a condition for success (1:7–8; 8:34–35; 22:5; 23:6). The ark, too, is described with a range of words and phrases, including the "ark," the "ark of the covenant," the "ark of Yahweh," and the "ark of the testimony." Central episodes are repeated, such as the establishment of the memorial stones (4:5–7 and 19–24) and the concluding speeches of Joshua (Josh 23; 24). All of these literary problems point to a history of composition in the formation of the book.

The problems of composition are compounded by the literary context of Joshua as the transitional book between the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets. Interpreters have advocated two theories of composition, depending on whether Joshua is read more closely with the former or with the latter. Those who interpret Joshua with the Pentateuch take its literary context to be the Hexateuch, consisting of Genesis through Joshua. Those who focus instead on the setting of the Former Prophets interpret Joshua within the Deuteronomistic History, which includes the books of Deuteronomy through Kings. The two approaches yield different interpretations of the book. As the conclusion to the Hexateuch, Joshua functions in continuity with the literature of the Pentateuch by providing the fulfillment of the divine promise of land. But as the introduction to the Deuteronomistic History, Joshua provides the point of contrast to the decline and fall of the Israelite nation chronicled in Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

The history of research on the composition and the literary context of Joshua can be divided into four stages, with each introducing distinct methodologies that continue into the present time. (1) Nineteenth century: Identification of literary sources in Joshua as the completion of the Pentateuch/Hexateuch. (2) Early twentieth century: Interpretation of Joshua as history through the methodologies of archaeology, historical geography, and tradition history. (3) Late twentieth century: Breakdown of historical models for interpreting the book of Joshua and the prominence of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis. (4) Twenty-first century: Erosion of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis and new literary models for interpreting Joshua. The summary of research will lay the foundation for my interpretation of Joshua as an independent book written during the postexilic period from a northern point of view. I also argue that the book

of Joshua acquires its present literary context at a late stage in the formation of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets.

NINETEENTH CENTURY: HEXATEUCH

The nineteenth century is dominated by a literary-critical methodology, in which the composition of the book of Joshua is detached from the historical character of Joshua and the events of the conquest in the premonarchic period. The methodology is focused more on identifying the time of the composition of the book than on critically evaluating the history of the premonarchic period. The rejection of Joshua as the writer introduces a new starting point for interpretation, in which the author is anonymous and writing at a much later time than the premonarchic period. Thus, at the outset of the nineteenth century, W. M. L. de Wette argued that the composition of Joshua could be no earlier than the monarchic period, because of references to Jerusalem (15:63) and the parallel accounts of the curse on the city (6:26; 1 Kgs 16:34); but possibly as late as the postexilic period, because of the developed role of the priests and Levites in the crossing of the Jordan River (1806–1807). The initial insights of de Wette on the identity and social setting of the anonymous author eventually led to a consensus in the later part of the nineteenth century, in which the composition of the book of Joshua was tied closely to the sources of the Pentateuch, as the conclusion to the story of the exodus and the wilderness journey.

The research of A. Kuenen (1828–1891) and J. Wellhausen (1844–1918) illustrates the source-critical consensus in the late nineteenth century. The book of Joshua, according to Kuenen, may be divided between Josh 1–12 and 13–24. Neither half is written by Joshua. Instead, each is a later composition made up of older sources that conflict (e.g., Josh 3; 4; 8). The composition of Joshua, moreover, presupposes the Pentateuch: Deut 34 and Josh 1 function as prophecy and fulfillment, and the cities in Joshua follow those in Num 34 (1865: 79–83). Kuenen noted further signs of multiple authors in Joshua on the basis of conflicting themes and distinct motifs. Wellhausen agreed with the general conclusions of Kuenen, stating that Joshua is a supplement to the Pentateuch, with multiple authors (1899: 118–19).

Kuenen and Wellhausen identified three stages of composition in Joshua: (1) the original narrative ending of the pentateuchal sources, (2) the Deuteronomistic rewriting of Joshua on the basis of law, and (3) the Priestly version of the conquest and division of the land.

The earliest composition, according to Kuenen (1865: 82–89), was the prophetic historical narrative (JE), which provided the conclusion to the promise of land in the Pentateuch. The JE narrative constitutes most of Josh 1–12 and includes only limited episodes of the division of land to the northern tribes (17:14–18; 18:2–6, 8–10). Wellhausen reached a similar conclusion, although he attempted to identify the E source in more detail within selective narratives (e.g., Josh 3; 4; 6) and expanded the presence of P literature in Josh 13–22 (e.g., 16:1–3, 9, 10; 17:5, 8, 9, 10b) (1899: 133).

Kuenen argued that the Deuteronomist rewrote Josh 1–12 (2:10, 11; 3:3, 7; 4:14, 21–24; 5:2, 4–7; 8:1, 2b, 27, 29, 30–35; 9:24, 25, 27b; 10:8, 25, 27, 40–42; 11:10–20, 23b; and perhaps 12) and large portions of Josh 13–24 (13:1b–6, 8–12, 14, 33; 14:6–15;

18:7; 21:41–42; 22:4, 5; 23; 24:1, 9, 13, 31). The aim was to relate Joshua's faithfulness in the conquest to the fulfillment of the law in Deuteronomy (1865: 83–85). Wellhausen followed in general the interpretation of Kuenen but separated the D author of Joshua from the author of the laws in Deuteronomy, while also expanding the role of the Deuteronomist to include all of Josh 1 (1899: 119).

The book of Joshua also contains P literature from the Pentateuch (the Book of Origins), which is concentrated in Josh 13–24 (large sections of Josh 13; 14; 15:1, 20; 16:4–8; 17:1a, 3–6; 18:1, 11a, 20b, 28b; 19; 20; and 21), with only traces of P literature in Josh 1–12 (4:13, 19; 5:10–12; 9:15b, 17–21, 27a). Kuenen identified the P literature as P^2, the composition that combines the earliest Priestly legislation (Lev 17–24) with later law (e.g., Exod 25–31; 35–40; Lev 1–14; Gen 1:1–2:4) (1865: 103–4). Wellhausen also identified minimal P literature in Josh 1–12 (4:19; 5:10–12; 9:15b, 17–21), with the concentration of the P source in Josh 13–22 (e.g., 13:15–14:5; parts of 15; 16:1–18; 17:1–10; 18:1, 11–25; parts of 19; 20; 21; 22:9–34) (1899: 128–29).

The review of scholarship by E. Noort shows that the source-critical solutions to the composition of Joshua vary far more widely than the research of Kuenen and Wellhausen (1997: 61–98). Yet the overview of Kuenen and Wellhausen identifies three shared presuppositions about the composition, the literary context, and the historicity of the book of Joshua that characterize the broader research of source critics in the nineteenth century.

First, source criticism is focused on the literary composition of Joshua by anonymous authors who write about the conquest in the monarchic period and continue the process of composition into the postexilic period. The authors do not simply compose the story of the conquest, however. Both Kuenen and Wellhausen acknowledged the use of sources in the composition of Joshua. Wellhausen noted that Joshua is likely derived from an old Ephraimite tradition (1994: 360). Kuenen cited the collections of ancient songs in the Book of the Wars of Yahweh (Num 21) and the Book of the Upright (Josh 10); he noted further that "historical reminiscences" in the narratives are orally preserved during a "longer or shorter period" (1886: 34, 38). Yet neither scholar probed the role of oral tradition as part of the formation of the book. Rather, the focus of study was on the literary composition of the conquest story (Kuenen, 1886: 38).

Second, source criticism assumes the literary Hexateuch as the context for interpreting the book of Joshua at all stages of its composition. Thus, Joshua was never an independent book, according to source critics; it was composed to provide a conclusion to the theme of the promise of land in the pentateuchal sources. Joshua presupposes the Pentateuch, according to Wellhausen, in a way that Samuel and Kings do not (1899: 118). Kuenen too stated that the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua must be studied under the common heading of the Hexateuch because "they belong to each other, and their contents form a single whole, and, moreover, they are the final outcome of one and the same literary process" (1886: 3).

Third, source criticism judges the literary account of the conquest in the book of Joshua to lack historical value. Kuenen stated that the exodus, the wilderness wanderings, and the conquest stories in the Hexateuch are "utterly unhistorical, and therefore cannot have been committed to writing until centuries after Moses and Joshua" (1886: 42). Wellhausen (1899: 118–29) agreed, also stating that the unified conquest story in

Joshua is not historical. Despite their shared evaluation of the book of Joshua as lacking any historical value, surprisingly neither Kuenen nor Wellhausen rejected the historicity of the conquest as an event in the early life of tribal Israel. Kuenen noted that narratives in the Hexateuch contain information from eyewitnesses or contemporaries of the narrated events (1886: 38). Wellhausen also assumed the historicity of the conquest and the role of Joshua in the event, but he preferred the account in Judg 1, where the individual tribes engage in war separately and Joshua functions as a local tribal leader (1994: 441–42). Thus, although Joshua did not lead a unified invasion into Canaan, as narrated in the book of Joshua, Wellhausen concluded that he played a central role in the historical conquest of the region of Ephraim and in the defeat of the northern king Jabin of Hazor (1994: 441–42).

The influence of source criticism continues throughout the twentieth century, as is evident in the research of E. Otto, who interpreted Joshua within the literary context of the Hexateuch on the basis of the identification of pentateuchal sources (1975: 26–103). He identified a series of repetitions in Josh 3–5 that indicate two sources. Examples include the double report of the crossing of the Jordan (3:17*; 4:8, 11ab*a* and 4:10*, 11b*b*), the double erection of stones (4:9 and 4:20) and a memorial (3:12; 4:4–7, 9 and 4:1b, 2, 3, 8, 20–24), the repeated selection of twelve men (3:12; 4:4, 5 and 4:1b, 2, 3), and competing etiologies (4:6, 7 and 4:21–24). On the basis of the repetitions, Otto identified an A source (3:1, 5, 9–12; 4:4–7, 9, 10a*a*b, 11b*b;* 5:1) and a B source ([1:10, 11], 3:2, 3, 4b*bg;* 6–8, 13ab*bg,* 14–17ab*a;* 4:1b, 2, 3, 8, 11ab*a,* [12], 13, 14, 18b, 19*, 20–24). He extended the identification of the twin sources from the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3–5 to the fall of Jericho in Josh 6 and eventually to the entire narrative section of Josh 1–11. He identified the A source in Josh 1–11 with the Yahwist of the Pentateuch, noting literary connections with the story of manna (Josh 5:12; Exod 16:35b), the messenger of Yahweh (Josh 5:13–15; Exod 3:5), and the imagery of a drawn sword (Josh 5:13; Num 22:23, 31). Otto's research built on the research of others, including G. von Rad, who traced the J source into Joshua (1966), and O. Eissfeldt, who identified the ending of J in Judg 1 (1922: 251–53).

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: RECOVERING THE HISTORY OF THE TRIBES

The research on the book of Joshua expands at the turn of the twentieth century from the literary focus of source criticism to the broader study of the book as a resource for recovering the history of tribal Israel. The turn to history is fueled by the increasing exposure of scholars to the geography and physical environment of Syria-Palestine. The work of C. Ritter (1866) on the geography of Sinai, Palestine, and Syria from 1848 through 1855 and E. Robinson's summary of travel in Palestine in 1865, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land,* reflect the growing interest of biblical scholars in the environment of Palestine as a resource for interpreting biblical literature. By the early twentieth century, the environment and physical geography of Palestine were firmly established as an important tool for interpreting the book of Joshua. International archaeological institutes were formed to support the new research focus, including the French École Biblique, formed in 1890; the German Protestant Institute in 1900; the American School of Oriental Research in 1900; and the British School of Archaeology in 1919. The study

of geography and archaeology redirected research from the late literary composition of Joshua to the history of tribal Israel.

The research of A. Alt (1883–1956) and W. F. Albright (1881–1971) illustrates the shift in methodology in the interpretation of Joshua. Both scholars were in the forefront of forging the new disciplines of historical geography and archaeology. Alt was the director of the German Evangelical Institute for Old Testament Research of the Holy Land in Jerusalem in 1920, and he continued to lead research in Syria-Palestine throughout his career, often serving as president of the German Association for Research of the Holy Land. Albright was the director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem from 1922 to 1929 and again from 1933 to 1936, and he continued to lead archaeological research throughout his career. The two scholars shared a range of methodological interests, including archaeology, historical geography, and the study of ancient Near Eastern languages and literature, for interpreting the Hebrew Bible. Both used these methodologies to gain new insight into pre-Israelite history and the emergence of tribal Israel in the land of Palestine. The quest to uncover the earliest history of Israel changed the focus of the study of Joshua from the identification of late literary authors in source criticism to the value of the book as a resource for historical research of the tribal period within the geographical environment of Syria-Palestine.

Despite the shared interest in archaeology and historical geography, Alt and Albright diverged in their evaluation of the book of Joshua. Alt agreed with the conclusion of Kuenen and Wellhausen that the book lacked historical value. But he also concluded that source criticism was too narrowly limited to literature and thus did not probe the earliest traditions in the book of Joshua that may provide insight into the history of tribal Israel. In view of this, Alt explored the preliterary etiological traditions of Joshua as a window into the period of the settlement of the land. He concluded that the individual tribes slowly infiltrated Palestine, as recounted in the version of the conquest in Judg 1. Albright, on the other hand, was skeptical of source criticism and also rejected the historical-critical conclusions of Kuenen and Wellhausen that the book of Joshua lacked historical credibility. This skepticism was coupled with the further rejection of Alt's conclusion that the preliterary etiological stories reveal the mentality of tribal Israelites but do not report historical events. For Albright, the text of Joshua preserved history. In support of this conclusion, he focused on archaeological evidence and ancient literature to confirm the historical reliability of the account of the conquest in Joshua as a single unified invasion by all of the tribes.

The "infiltration theory" of Alt and the "unified conquest theory" of Albright lead to significantly different interpretations of the book of Joshua, despite the shared methodological approach to the text. The rapid accumulation of new insights into the formation of tribal Israel from archaeology and historical geography during the early period of the twentieth century is evident in the writing of both scholars; their articles are often responses to the other's emerging research. A review of the exchange illustrates the two research paradigms that most influence the interpretation of the book of Joshua throughout the twentieth century and continue to capture the imagination of scholars today.

In a 1936 article, Alt addressed the problem of recovering the historical Joshua from the book of Joshua (see the collected essays, 1953a). The focus on recovering the historical man indicates how far removed Alt is from the source criticism of Kuenen

and Wellhausen, who paid little or no attention to the historical value of the narrative but sought instead to identify anonymous authors of literary sources at a much later time in Israelite history. Alt agreed that the portrait of Joshua in Josh 1–11 was a late literary creation by Elohistic-Deuteronomistic authors who sought to create a national picture of tribal Israel as conquering the promised land under the single leadership of Joshua (1953a: 177, 180). But Alt also argued that the literature was based on an older tradition that reached back to the time of Joshua.

The first step in recovering the historical Joshua was to remove the literary additions that create the narrative of Josh 1–11 in order to reveal the individual heroic *Sagen* of Joshua (1953a: 179). Alt was influenced in this goal by the form-critical research of H. Gunkel, which H. Gressmann had already applied to the book of Joshua (1914). Once the secondary literary additions were removed from Josh 1–11, Alt recovered a very different portrait of Joshua as a local leader in the tribal area of Benjamin and Ephraim. The local leadership of Joshua was supported by the consistent way in which he was tied to local sites, such as the Jordan River (its crossing, Josh 3–4), Gilgal (circumcision there, Josh 5), Jericho (its destruction, Josh 6), the ruins of Ai (Josh 8), and Gibeon (the battle there, Josh 10). The Elohistic-Deuteronomistic authors introduced the detours of Joshua outside of the designated area between the Jordan River and Gibeon, in which Joshua leads the Israelite nation to more distant places such as Shechem, Judah, and Galilee (1953a: 183).

Alt interpreted the original oral *Sagen* of Joshua with an interdisciplinary methodology that included research on oral tradition, comparative anthropology, and historical geography. These methodologies were enhanced by his direct exposure to the environment of contemporary Middle Eastern culture, where oral tradition remained active. Alt assumed that the *Sagen* of Joshua were rooted in the immediate experience of nature and landscape and thus could be recovered and understood from exposure to the same natural world and the study of the physical environment in which they were first created. Alt concluded that the original *Sagen* of Joshua share four similar features: (1) They are firmly anchored in a particular place, such as the Jordan River, the destroyed walls of Jericho, or the ruins of Ai (1953a: 180–81). (2) There is usually some form of symbolic marker that makes the location stand out, such as ruins or large stones (1953a: 182). (3) The aim of the *Sagen* is etiological, which for Alt meant that each story provides a fanciful explanation for the characteristics of a location by providing a reason for the noticeable feature of the natural environment (1953a: 182). The repeated statement that the sign continues "to this very day" underscored the etiological function of the *Sagen,* whether referring to a destroyed wall, a heap of ruins, or large stones (1953a: 182–83). (4) The etiological *Sagen* have historical value in penetrating the mentality and worldview of ancient Israelites, because of the effect of environment on humans, the conservative nature of oral tradition, and the explanatory function of the legends (1953a: 182). The historical value is not the content of the conquest stories in Joshua; rather, it is the influence of the natural environment on the storyteller, which requires explanation. E. Isaac notes that the emphasis on a particular place, in conjunction with a view of oral tradition as a direct reflection of environment, reinforced the hermeneutical perspective of Alt that biblical *Sagen* "could only have grown out of specific localities, since they are an attempt to give meaning to natural phenomena found there" (1960: 14).

Alt recovered the history of tribal Israel and the historical Joshua in part from the *Sagen* in Josh 1–11. The individual stories reflected the infiltration of the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim into central Palestine under the leadership of Joshua, in contrast to the unified conquest by all of the Israelite tribes that now characterizes Josh 1–11. The picture of the entrance of tribal Israel into the land in the *Sagen* of Josh 1–11 is similar to that of Judg 1, which Alt viewed as a more historically reliable account of the "infiltration" of individual tribes into the land of Palestine (1953c). The content of the *Sagen* in Josh 1–11, however, did not support a conquest of Jericho or Ai, since the stories were intended to reflect the influence of the environment on tribal Israel, where ancient cities lay in ruins from their destruction in the distant past. The clearest example of this for Alt was the story of Ai, whose name means "the rubble heap." Alt noted that the rubble heap still exists near Deir Duwan, thus confirming the power of the environment even on him (1953a: 185). The *Sage* about the destruction of Ai has historical value as an etiology, since it recounts the experience of ancient Israelites in seeing the rubble heap on the road to Jericho, just as any contemporary visitor to the site can see it. But the story does not provide reliable historical information about the conquest of Ai by the tribe of Benjamin. Alt judged any historical interpretation of the Israelite conquest of Ai to be anachronistic, since the city at this location was destroyed long before the presence of Israel in the region (1953a: 185–86). With the first edition of his commentary on Joshua in 1938, M. Noth (1902–1968) became the most prominent proponent of Alt's "infiltration theory." Noort (1998a: 92) rightly concludes that Noth's commentary is the most influential publication on the book of Joshua in the twentieth century, partly for his advance of Alt's theory of etiological *Sagen,* but even more for his literary theory of the Deuteronomistic History, which becomes central to the interpretation of Joshua in the late twentieth century.

Albright responded to the research of Alt and Noth in the 1939 article "The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology." His intent was to counter the "nihilistic attitude" in the research of Noth, who followed his teacher Alt in concluding that the book of Joshua provided no useful material for recovering history. Albright countered: If this were correct, "it would be practically hopeless to expect any valid archaeological control of the Israelite accounts of the Conquest" (1939: 12). The aim of Albright was to argue for the historical value of the book of Joshua in two parts: First, he critically evaluated the methodology of form criticism (or *Gattungsgeschichte*); and second, he reviewed the most recent archaeological research as external evidence that supports the historical validity of the account of the conquest in Joshua.

According to Albright, the methodology of form criticism is based on three presuppositions: (1) the study of oral forms, (2) the central role of etiology, and (3) the fixed relationship between locations and names. Albright critically evaluated each tenet of the methodology and concluded the 1939 article by illustrating how archaeology provides a necessary external control on the more subjective literary and tradition-historical theories.

First, the study of oral forms is valuable. Although Albright maintained that "no historian of Israel can neglect the epoch-making significance of the work of Alt and his students in this field" (1939: 12), the focus on oral tradition alone is too narrow. Historicity cannot be evaluated solely on the basis of literary forms, since literature

throughout the ancient Near East tends to conform to the same patterns. External evidence, therefore, must also be applied to the historical evaluation of literature, and this is lacking in the research of Alt and Noth.

Second, Albright redefined etiology, so that it becomes a reliable resource for recovering history. He argued that the purpose of etiology is pedagogical, contrary to Alt's and Noth's conclusion that the etiological tradition arose from "the popular delight in telling stories and giving explanations" to natural phenomena (1939: 15). The pedagogical function means that it is "*a priori* impossible to say whether a given 'aetiological' statement is based on authentic tradition" (1939: 13). The ambiguity in evaluating etiology underscores the need for external control, which is lacking in source and form criticisms. Moreover, such controls are likely to be present already in the ancient world through written records and established scribal schools, both of which "provide an effective check to the vagaries of popular fancy" (1939: 13).

Third, Albright also disagreed with Alt "about the tenacity with which names and traditions adhere to sites" (1939: 14). Albright acknowledged that place-names are less mobile than other types of tradition, but he argued that the names of towns and villages can be displaced over a larger area. For example, he noted the different locations for Jericho and the two tombs of Rachel. The mobile character of place-names allowed Albright to counter Alt's evaluation of Ai in Josh 7–8 as a legend about a "rubble heap," from a city that was destroyed already in the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2200 BCE). Albright argued that the historical background of Josh 7–8 was the conquest of Bethel, which was destroyed during the thirteenth century BCE, and not the earlier destruction of Ai. The story was transferred at a later time from Bethel to the "rubble heap" at Ai, which lay in its vicinity (1939: 16–17), thus demonstrating the mobility of place-names and locations.

Albright concluded the article with examples of the external evidence from archaeology, which he believed was necessary to qualify the research of form criticism. He focused on the problem of dating the destruction of Jericho, which required that he branch out into a web of related historical conclusions from the most recent research on Megiddo, Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Beth-shean (1939: 18–23). The problem of Jericho was that the excavation remained too fragmentary to reach firm historical conclusions about its destruction. The most secure piece of evidence for dating was the "Middle Palace" and the ceramic evidence found at the site. The evaluation of this material required a review of similar or related material at Megiddo, Beth-shean, and Lachish. The fixing of the age of bichrome pottery at Megiddo to 1470 BCE allowed for the dating of the Late Bronze Age to the mid-fifteenth century BCE. The clarification of the Late Bronze Age allowed for the dating of the "Thothmose III" level of ceramics at Beth-shean to the fourteenth century BCE. This insight is related to the dating of the three shrines with pottery fragments at Lachish to the fifteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries BCE. The broad evidence from Megiddo, Beth-shean, and Lachish allowed for the dating of the destruction of the Middle Palace at Jericho to the same period as the Thothmose level at Beth-shean and the middle shrine at Lachish, both of which suggest the fourteenth century BCE. Scarabs of Amenophis III and Mycenaean-type pottery at the site of Jericho allowed for a more precise dating of the destruction of the Middle Palace to 1375–1300 BCE, which supported in general the historical interpretation of the book of Joshua about the destruction of Jericho. The influence

of Albright is most evident in the research of G. E. Wright, whose *Biblical Archaeology* (1962) popularized the results of Albright's work, and in the AYB commentary on Joshua by R. G. Boling and G. E. Wright (*Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary,* 1982), in which the book of Joshua was read against the background of the thirteenth-century BCE conquest of Syria-Palestine on the basis of archeological research.

Alt and Albright shared a number of methodological presuppositions in the interpretation of the book of Joshua: (1) Both scholars emphasized the power of the social and physical environment of Palestine for interpreting the book; (2) neither was interested in the literary composition of the book nor in its function within the literary context of the Pentateuch or the Former Prophets; (3) both agreed that the book provided insight into the world of tribal Israel and therefore has historical value, albeit of different kinds; (4) each assumed that etiology is an ancient form of oral tradition that reaches back to the period of the tribes; and (5) both reconstructed the history of tribal Israel to conform with the biblical narrative, in which the Israelites are not indigenous to the promised land. Divergent interpretations of etiology and archaeology, however, led to contrasting views of the entry of the tribes into the promised land, as we have seen: The isolation of individual etiologies as the object of interpretation indicated to Alt that groups of tribes "infiltrated" the promised land over time; while the archaeological remains for Albright pointed instead to a "unified" conquest of tribal Israel in the thirteenth century BCE.

The "infiltration model" and the "unified conquest model" dominated the research on Joshua throughout the twentieth century. The archaeologists of Syria-Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century continued to judge the account of the invasion and conquest of Canaan in Joshua to be historical. These researchers interpreted Israel to be a nonindigenous people to the land of Canaan who experienced an exodus from Egypt and a subsequent conquest of Canaan during the thirteenth century BCE. In addition to the research of Albright, excavations by J. and J. B. E. Garstang (1940), G. E. Wright (1940), and P. Lapp (1969) reinforced the same conclusion. J. Bright eventually synthesized the archaeological research into a history of Israel that was grounded in a conquest of Canaan (2000). The historical value of the book of Joshua was also maintained by early Israeli archaeologists, such as Y. Yadin, who also identified destruction levels at Hazor that appeared to confirm the account of a war of invasion similar to the account in Joshua (1982).

The German school continued to provide a counterhypothesis of the origin of Israel based more on an anthropological model, in which seminomadic clans migrated into the hill country of Canaan and were organized loosely around cultic centers. The infiltration theory called into question the historicity of the conquest in the book of Joshua; yet aspects of the book retained historical value, especially in the theory that tribal Israel was an amphictyony, which Noth developed on the basis of comparative social study (1930; 1960: 85–97). Amphictyonic structures were characteristic of the Delphic league in Greece, in which twelve groups were organized around the sanctuary of Apollo. Noth discerned the same structure and purpose to the organization of the twelve tribes in Gen 49 and Num 26. As a result, even though he rejected the historicity of the unified conquest of Canaan, Noth maintained that the stories of tribal gatherings at religious sites such as Shechem in Josh 8:30–35 and Josh 24 provided a window into

the early history of Israel. In this way, the methodology of comparative anthropology revealed the historical value of aspects of the book of Joshua.

Subsequent research in etiology, archaeology, anthropology, and ancient Near Eastern cultural history has slowly eroded both the infiltration and the unified conquest models of the origins of tribal Israel and with them the interpretation of Joshua as a resource for recovering the history of tribal Israel. K. W. Whitelam provides the most thorough summary of the presuppositions of Alt and Albright that supported their reconstruction of the tribal period (1996: 37–121). The following is an abridged summary focused on the problems that influence the interpretation of Joshua.

A number of studies have critically evaluated the role of etiology as the central feature of the oral *Sagen* and called into question Alt's interpretation of early tradition in Joshua. The research of B. S. Childs (1974: 279–92), B. O. Long (1968), and P. J. Van Dyk (1990) demonstrated that the etiological motifs in the book of Joshua are not organic to ancient oral tradition but are the work of the author of the book. R. D. Nelson (1997a: 10) concluded that the phrase "until this day" is often a redactional addition to a story, rather than an original component of oral *Sagen.* For example, primitive uncut stones as memorials (Josh 4:9; 7:26; 8:28, 29; 10:27) and the camp at Gilgal as the residence of the tribes (5:9) are both idealized in the book. Both motifs advance the author's point of view that the tribes must establish a rural life in the promised land in contrast to the royal cities that they destroy. The literary origin of the motif "until this day" and its ideological function in the book of Joshua will require further interpretation in the "Notes and Comments" below; however, the recognition of its literary function by the author of the book calls into question the assumption that etiology could emerge from local sites only in the author's effort to give meaning to natural phenomena. Etiology can just as well be a literary motif that an author creates.

The initial archaeological conclusions concerning the thirteenth-century BCE destruction levels of many of the cities named in Joshua became problematic already with K. M. Kenyon's work on Jericho, in which she concluded that there was only meager evidence of occupation at that time (1979). J. A. Callaway reached the same conclusion with regard to Ai (1980). This research showed that the two most extended accounts of city conquest in Joshua were not historical, prompting Callaway's conclusion: "For many years, the primary source for the understanding of the settlement of the first Israelites was the Hebrew Bible, but every reconstruction based upon the biblical traditions has floundered on the evidence from archaeological remains" (1985: 72). Syria-Palestinian archaeology in the second half of the twentieth century reinforced this conclusion. Summaries of the archaeological research on the locations in the book of Joshua by J. M. Miller (1977a and 1977b), A. Schoors (1985), M. D. Coogan (1990), N. Na'aman (1994), L. Stager (1995), I. Finkelstein and N. A. Silberman (2001), and W. G. Dever (2003) confirm that the book of Joshua does not recount an historical conquest. As Dever summarized, "the external evidence supports almost nothing of the biblical account of a large-scale, concerted Israelite military invasion of Canaan, either that of Numbers east of the Jordan, or of Joshua west of the Jordan" (2003: 71).

Refinement in anthropological methodology also calls into question Alt and Noth's hypothesis of an infiltration and migration of the Israelite tribes from outside of the land of Canaan. More recent models by I. Finkelstein (1991; 1988: 62–85), N. Na'aman (1994: 231–35), and A. Faust (2007: 178–87) suggest a symbiotic relationship between

seminomadic and urban populations in Syria-Palestine. The models imply that the origin of Israel is for the most part indigenous to the land, which calls into question the historical value of the entire conquest tradition in the Hebrew Bible. Interpreters such as V. Fritz supplement this portrait by suggesting that the emergence of early Israel might also have included nomadic pastoralists described as the Shasu by the Egyptians (1987; 2011). But this hypothesis does not temper the conclusion that Israel is indigenous to Palestine, especially the highland region. This conclusion challenges Noth's theory of the amphictyony. Interpreters question whether Israel could even be defined as an ethnic and social-political group in the thirteenth century BCE. N. Gottwald, for example, noted that the amphictyony could not be the social vehicle by which a people is formed but actually presupposes an already united people (1979: 376–86). The breakdown of the infiltration model and the amphictyonic hypothesis has given rise to other sociological models, such as those of G. Mendenhall (1962) and N. Gottwald (1979), in which the rise of Israel represents an internal revolt rather than any form of conquest of Palestine through an invasion by nonindigenous people.

The research on the cultural history of Syria-Palestine further underscores the nonhistorical character of the story of salvation as an exodus and a conquest, whether by infiltration or by unified conquest, and with it the book of Joshua. The research indicates the central role of Egypt in Syria-Palestine throughout the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE and its influence on the emergence of the Israelite people. The most significant Egyptian evidence with regard to the origin of Israel and its relationship to Egypt is the Merneptah Stele, composed during the fifth year of Merneptah's rule (ca. 1220 BCE). Merneptah is the third pharaoh of the Nineteenth Dynasty. He followed Rameses II (1290–1224 BCE), ruling from 1224 to 1211 BCE. The Merneptah Stele is the oldest reference to Israel in the Egyptian records, or for that matter in any known record. In describing his military successes Merneptah writes: "Plundered is the Canaan with every evil; carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer; Yanoam is made as that which does not exist; Israel is laid waste, his seed is not" (*ANET* 376–78).

The Merneptah Stele indicates that "Israel" could be identified in some way already in the thirteenth century BCE, although N. Na'aman notes that interpreters debate the exact meaning of the term (1994: 247–49). The Egyptian hieroglyphic writing indicates that the middle three references (Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yano'am) are cities, because each word is preceded by the determinative for a city (the image of a throw stick plus three mountains); while the term "Israel" refers to a people, not a city or a particular place, because it is preceded by the determinative for a foreigner (the image of a throw stick plus a sitting man and woman). The translation suggests that Israel was an indigenous group within Canaan that had been subject to Egyptian rule in the second millennium. But this conclusion argues against the historicity of the biblical account of the exodus and the conquest, in which the Israelites are not indigenous to the land of Canaan. As an indigenous people under Egyptian rule, the Israelites would certainly know Egyptian oppression firsthand. L. Singer states that not only Merneptah, but also Rameses II and Seti I (1305–1290 BCE) made frequent military excursions into Palestine in order to tighten Egyptian control over the area during the period of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1994: 283–338). The Amarna letters record the repeated invasion of the Egyptians into the area from the fourteenth through the thirteenth centuries. I. Finkelstein and N. A. Silbermann note that even the reference to Israel in the Merneptah Stele is a record of

Egyptian conquest (2001: 76–77). All of this history, however, is absent in the book of Joshua. The near absence of any reference to Egypt in the book points to its later composition, since it suggests that the author is unaware of the historical situation of the period.

The debate over the historicity of the book of Joshua continues into the present time. Interpreters argue for a qualified form of the historical reliability of the book on the basis of a broad range of research in archaeology (D. Merling Sr., 1997a), history (e.g., R. S. Hess, 1999), historical geography (R. S. Hess, 1994a, 1994b; K. van Bekkum, 2011), and comparative literature (K. L. Younger Jr., 1990; J. K. Hoffmeier, 1994). Yet the conclusion of J. M. Miller summarizes the general trend of scholarship in the late twentieth century on the historical reliability of Joshua: "The idea that Israel was divided into twelve well-defined tribes during the pre-monarchical period is . . . probably artificial . . . and some of the materials incorporated into Joshua 13–22 do not presuppose such an arrangement." He adds, "any attempt to date the conquest which assumes that it occurred in direct sequence with the exodus is methodologically problematic" (1977b: 236, 242). The impasse in recovering the history of the tribal period from the book of Joshua has redirected research back to the question of its literary composition.

LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY: DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY

The breakdown of the historical models for interpretation propelled Noth's commentary on Joshua into an even more significant role. The reason was his literary theory that the Deuteronomistic Historian is the author of the book (see especially the second edition of the commentary). The nineteenth-century source critics Kuenen and Wellhausen recognized Deuteronomistic composition in the late formation of the book of Joshua, as did Alt and Albright. But these interpreters limited the influence of the Deuteronomist to late editorial additions in Joshua, which lay outside of their primary focus of study. Noth transformed the discussion of composition by identifying as the central author of the book of Joshua the Deuteronomist, who composed it as part of a larger history that included the books of Deuteronomy through Kings (1981b). The Deuteronomistic History hypothesis changed the literary context, the identity of the author, and the history of composition for interpreting the book of Joshua.

Noth underscored the importance of literary context for interpreting the book in the Foreword to the second edition of his commentary, in which he wrote that the book of Joshua holds the key for answering the literary questions of the Hexateuch and the Deuteronomistic History (1971b: 6). Comparison of Joshua to the Tetrateuch (Gen–Num) showed that Joshua belongs to a different kind of literature, leading to the conclusion that there was no link between the sources J and E and the book of Joshua (Noth, 1971b: 8; 1981a; 1981b). Noth argued instead that Joshua was written to be an episode in the Deuteronomistic History, a unified literary work that recounted the rise and fall of Israel from the perspective of Deuteronomic law, coupled with a theology of obedience to the law through action. The literary unity is evident in speeches by leading characters at important junctures in the story: Moses in Deut 1–3, Joshua in Josh 1 and 23, Samuel in 1 Sam 12, and Solomon in 1 Kgs 8. The speeches are complemented by summary statements, such as the list of conquered nations in Josh 12, the failure

of the tribes to conquer the land in Judg 2:11ff, and the fall of the northern kingdom in 2 Kgs 17:7ff. The insertion of speeches and summary statements was unique to this body of literature, and this observation reinforced both the literary unity of the Deuteronomistic History and its independence from the Tetrateuch.

The Deuteronomistic History hypothesis changed the time period for studying the composition of Joshua. Source criticism targeted the monarchic period as the crucial time for interpreting Joshua, while the theories of the conquest focused on the early history of the tribes. Noth redirected the study of composition to the exile. He cited the release of Jehoiachin in 562 BCE as the earliest time of composition, because of the ending of the Deuteronomistic History in 2 Kgs 25:27–30. The problem with an earlier date of composition for Noth was that it required multiple stages of redaction, when the Deuteronomistic History was the work of a single author.

Noth summarized the composition of Joshua in the following manner. The Deuteronomist incorporated early traditions in composing the book of Joshua, including a collection of etiological stories from the cult of Gilgal (Josh 2–9), war stories (Josh 10; 11), a document of the tribal boundaries and a list of place-names in Judah from the time of Josiah (13:1–21:42), and an account of covenant at Shechem (Josh 24). The combining of these traditions may even represent an independent pre-Deuteronomistic work, although A. G. Auld correctly states that Noth appeared to have little interest in the interpretation of such an independent collection of literature (1980: 12–13). The focus of Noth's interpretation was the work of the exilic Deuteronomist, whose composition was evident in the framing of the book with an introduction (1:1–18) and a conclusion (21:23–22:6; 23:1–16).

The motifs in the larger passages of Joshua at the outset (Josh 1) and end (Josh 23) of the book allow for the identification of Deuteronomistic composition within individual stories—including the crossing of the Jordan (3:2–3, 6–10; 4:6, 7, 10a*b,* 12, 14, 21, 22, 24), the conquest of Jericho (6:4a*a*b, 5a*b,* 8a*b*b, 12b, 13a, 26), the reading of the law at Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35), the list of conquered kings (Josh 12:1–24), and the story of Caleb (14:6a*b*b–15)—as well as within other narratives (2:9b, 10b, 11b; 5:4–7; 8:1a*a*b, 2a; 9:9b*b,* 10, 24, 27b*b;* 10:1a*b*b, 2b, 25; 11:12a*b*b, 15, 21–23a; 14:6a*b*b–15). The separation of the P source in the Tetrateuch from the book of Joshua forced Noth to identify the P language in Josh 13–21 as later post-Deuteronomistic additions, which used language similar to that of the P source in the Tetrateuch but was not part of the P source. The additions included a second Deuteronomistic redaction (e.g., the reworking of 13:1–21:42 and 24:1–33) and an even later post-Deuteronomistic redaction (e.g., the reference to Eleazar [14:1b], the Tent of Meeting at Shiloh [e.g., 18:1; 19:51a], the description of the people as the congregation [e.g., 9:15b; 18:1], and the ark of the testimony [e.g., 4:15–18a]). Neither redaction, according to Noth, was as important for interpretation as the Deuteronomistic composition of the book of Joshua.

The Deuteronomistic History hypothesis acquired canonical status in the late twentieth century (K. Schmid, 2011: 11). Two presuppositions especially influenced subsequent interpretation. The first was that the book of Joshua lacked any connection to the Tetrateuch or to the J and E sources and that the proper literary context for interpretation must be limited to the Deuteronomistic History. The second was that Joshua was not composed as an independent book, but that it was originally written to be an episode in the Deuteronomistic History. The emergence of Joshua as an independent

book among the other books of the Former Prophets was therefore a later development in the textual tradition and thus misleading for interpretation (Noth, 1981b: 5). These presuppositions dominated the study of the book of Joshua in the late twentieth century.

The majority of late-twentieth-century interpreters of Joshua build on the hypothesis of Noth, while offering only minor variations on the history of composition. Soggin began his commentary stating that the research of Noth provided the key for the interpretation of Joshua and the entire corpus of the Former Prophets (1972: 3). Nelson echoed Soggin, writing that the starting point for understanding Joshua's literary history is the Deuteronomistic language (1997a: 5–6). Boling and Wright also followed Noth with the caveat that the term "Deuteronomist" represented a school rather than a single historian, so that they could anchor the movement earlier in the monarchic period, as opposed to Noth's preference for an exilic author (1982: 41–51). But Boling and Wright's overall interpretation of Joshua, as an episode in the Deuteronomistic History, mirrors that of Noth. The Deuteronomistic language in Joshua continued to provide the "one clear point" in the formation of the book for T. Butler (1983: xx), who also preferred a more extended process of composition as opposed to Noth's singular focus on the exile. V. Fritz stated in the Foreword of his commentary that despite the many new insights into the details of the book of Joshua, Noth's basic research on the Deuteronomistic History remained authoritative (1994: vi). In all of these studies, the Deuteronomistic History provided the context for interpreting Joshua not as an independent book, but as an episode within a larger history that evaluates the rise and fall of Israel on the basis of Deuteronomic law and theology.

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: BREAKDOWN OF THE DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY HYPOTHESIS AND THE COMPOSITION OF JOSHUA AS AN INDEPENDENT BOOK

The Deuteronomistic History hypothesis comes under critical scrutiny at the close of the twentieth century in two areas that influence the interpretation of Joshua: the separation of the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History, and the literary unity of the Deuteronomistic History.

The initial critique of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis concerns the thesis that the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History are separate bodies of literature. Noth's primary concern in separating the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History was to refute the theory of source criticism, which identified the J and E sources in Joshua as the conclusion to the literary Hexateuch. Central to Noth's argument was the assumption that the J and E sources of the Tetrateuch were composed during the monarchic period, not the exile. The Deuteronomistic History hypothesis began to unravel, however, when interpreters rejected the early composition of the Tetrateuch in the monarchic period. This opened the door for reexamining the literary relationship between the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History.

The research of L. Perlitt (1969) on the Deuteronomistic composition of the theme of covenant in Exod 19–34 presented a direct challenge to Noth's thesis that there was no significant D literature in the Tetrateuch. It also implied a much later date for the composition of the literature than Noth allowed. The reevaluation of the date of the

Tetrateuch was crystallized in the research of Van Seters in the early 1970s, when he concluded that the Tetrateuch did not date from the monarchic period and that its composition did not precede Deuteronomy. On the basis of the terminology and literary techniques in the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, as well as the relationship of this literature to the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, Van Seters argued that the Tetrateuch was composed later than Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History (1972a: 448–59). In subsequent work (1983), he provided further evidence for the late dating of the Tetrateuch from the comparative study of history writing, which he noted emerged late in the ancient Near East.

In 1976, H. H. Schmid furthered the interpretation of Van Seters. He noted similarities between the literature in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers and the prophetic themes and genres in the Deuteronomistic History. The commissioning of Moses in Exod 3–4 in the form of a prophetic genre was an example, with further instances in Judges and Samuel. Schmid too concluded that the "so-called" J literature in the Tetrateuch was formed by Deuteronomic writers and accounted for the thematic emphasis on blessing, nationhood, and the promise of land (1976). R. Rendtorff added further evidence for the Deuteronomistic composition of the Tetrateuch by focusing more narrowly on similar phrases that related the Tetrateuch and Deuteronomy, most notably the divine promise of land (1977: 2–9; 1990). T. Römer extended the same line of research in his study of the promise to the ancestors, which, he concluded, connects the literature of the Tetrateuch and the Former Prophets (1990). The cumulative research has eroded Noth's hypothesis that the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History were separate bodies of literature. The literary relationship between the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History also introduced the hypothesis that the Tetrateuch was composed during the exile, the same time period in which the Deuteronomistic History was written, or perhaps even later in the postexilic period.

The breakdown of the literary separation between the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History, along with the later dating of the Tetrateuch to the exilic and postexilic periods, laid the groundwork for reevaluating the literary context for interpreting the book of Joshua. Van Seters continued to follow Noth by limiting the interpretation of the book of Joshua to the context of the Deuteronomistic History. Any literary connections to the Tetrateuch for Van Seters were the result of the post-Deuteronomistic composition of the Tetrateuch (1983: 322–53). But other interpreters explored anew the Hexateuch as the literary context for interpreting the different stages of the composition of Joshua, not on the basis of sources in the monarchic period, but as much later compositions. R. Kratz, for example, identified an original exodus narrative that included parts of the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy and the crossing of the Jordan River in Joshua (2000: 114–52, 192–202, 216). Thus, Joshua was once again interpreted as the ending of the story of the exodus. E. Blum described the reference to the "book of the Torah of God" in the covenant closing ceremony of Josh 24 as an attempt to form a Hexateuch (1997: 203–6). Römer reinforced the same conclusion by noting the repetition of the phrase "these are the words" in Deut 1 and Josh 24, which links the two books to create a Hexateuch (2009: 30–31; 2005: 180–81). K. Schmid identified an even larger literary structure, in which Josh 24 (along with Gen 15 and Exod 3) plays a pivotal role in the literary design of (Genesis) Exodus–Kings, thus creating a literary Enneateuch (1999). The full implications of the post-Nothian

interpretation of Joshua come into focus in the commentary of E. A. Knauf (2008: 13–21), who identifies a series of distinct literary contexts for interpreting the composition of Joshua from the sixth through the second centuries BCE: (1) the original composition of Exodus–Joshua in the sixth century BCE (Exod 20 through portions of Josh 6–10), (2) the Deuteronomistic or pentateuchal redaction (Exod 2 through Josh 11), (3) the P literature (Josh 18:1ff), (4) the hexateuchal redaction (a mixture of D and P styles in Josh 3–4; 14–17; 21:43–45), (5) the Torah-oriented prophetic redaction that inserts Josh 1 and 24 and creates a self-standing book, (6) the linking of Joshua and Judges (Josh 18:2–19:48; 23), and (7) an anti-Samaritan revision that is evident in the comparison of the MT and the LXX with regard to the use of the place-name Shechem.

The brief overview indicates the fluid nature of the current research on the date and composition of the Tetrateuch, the literary relationship between the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History, and the implications for the interpretation of Joshua. What emerges from the distinct theories of composition, however, is that Noth's clear separation between the Tetrateuch and the Deuteronomistic History can no longer be sustained as a workable hypothesis for the book's composition.

The literary and thematic unity of the Deuteronomistic History has also come under critical scrutiny, which further influences the interpretation of Joshua. Noth repeatedly argued that an overall unity of the Deuteronomistic History was evident in the speeches, which conclude important periods in the history of Israel: Joshua concludes the conquest period (Josh 23), Samuel concludes the period of the judges (1 Sam 12), and Solomon marks the end of the first stage of the monarchy (1 Kgs 8). The speeches share the central theme of obedience to the law as a condition for successful life in the land. Noth conceded that there is heterogeneous material in the Deuteronomistic History, because of the use of sources; but this material does not disrupt the overall thematic unity (1981b). The aim of the Deuteronomist is to explain the exile and the destruction of the kingdom of Judah on the basis of the Israelites' obedience or disobedience to the law. This theme is constant throughout the Deuteronomistic History and therefore does not require the identification of several different authors to account for any modification in the central theme. The book of Joshua is an episode in the larger unified narrative. But interpreters have increasingly challenged Noth's argument for a single author of the Deuteronomistic History on the basis of the lack of thematic unity among the different books. A. Weiser, for example, rejected the hypothesis of a single author because of differences in style and technique in the redactional additions to the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (1963: 117–66). H. N. Rösel extended the criticism from redactional style to the lack of thematic unity between the different books of the Deuteronomistic History (1999). He noted, for instance, that the P styled literature in Joshua, the repetition of stories, and the conflict in the account of the conquest indicate the original separation of the books of the so-called Deuteronomistic History. Knauf, too, cautions that the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis plays down the literary and theological differences between the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (2007: 217–18).

The examination of competing themes between Joshua and the books of Deuteronomy and Judges suggests that Joshua was written as an independent book. Joshua and Deuteronomy contrast in the theme of the divine promise of land: In Deuteronomy the promise of land is conditional, based on obedience to the law. In Josh 1,

the promise is unconditional; the possession of the land is guaranteed because of the past divine promise to the ancestors. Joshua and Judges conflict in regard to the theme of the conquest. Joshua 11 describes the total conquest of the land by the twelve tribes; Judg 1–2 describes an incomplete conquest by the separate tribes. These tensions in theme cannot simply be attributed to prior sources, and thus they raise the question of whether the same author composed the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges as a single narrative. The conditional view of the promise of land in Deuteronomy and the partial view of the conquest in Judges correspond in theme, suggesting a possible literary connection between these books; but the unconditional divine promise and the successful conquest of the entire land in Joshua conflict with both Deuteronomy and Judges.

The conflict in themes between Joshua and the books of Deuteronomy and Judges has prompted interpreters to depart from Noth's thesis of a single author by identifying multiple authors in the composition of Joshua on the basis of conflicting themes within the book. Römer, for example, identifies four authors in Joshua based on changing themes and ideology (2005: 86–90): (1) the different types of conquest stories included in the Josianic version of the book (5:13–14, plus parts of 6; 8; 9; 10); (2) the shift in the meaning of conquest from land to the law (1:1–2, 5–7; 3–4; 23:1–3, 9, 11, 14–16a); (3) the accentuation of exclusivist ideology coupled with a monotheistic perspective (23:4–8, 10, 12, 16b); and (4) the attempt to join the book of Joshua to the Hexateuch (compare the research of Knauf above). The multiple-authors theory calls into question Noth's hypothesis that the Deuteronomistic History is a unified composition with a single overarching theme written by a single author.

The most influential departure from Noth's understanding of the Deuteronomistic History as a single-authored work was the research of R. Smend (1971), which provided the background for the more developed theories of multiple authors of Joshua in the research of Römer, Knauf, and others. Smend posited two authors in Joshua to account for the conflicting themes of the total and partial success of the conquest. He noted that Josh 1:6–9 contains distinct divine promises to Joshua, in which v. 6 is an unconditional promise of success based on the oath to the ancestors, while vv. 7–9 are a conditional promise based on obedience to the law, identified as the "book of the Torah" (1971: 495). The conflicting themes led Smend to propose two authors in the composition of Josh 1, rather than the single writer identified by Noth. Smend identified the original author of Joshua as Noth's sixth-century BCE Deuteronomist, now described as the Deuteronomistic Historian (DtrH), and the second author as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redactor (DtrN), writing in the postexilic period. The DtrH version of the divine commission contains the unconditional promise of success and the total conquest of the land, based on the past divine promise to the ancestors (1:1–6). This interpretation of the conquest is part of the original Deuteronomistic History or DtrH. The DtrN qualifies the theme of the unconditional promise of land by reinterpreting Joshua's success as conditional upon obedience to the law (1:7–9). The same interpretation appears in Josh 13:1b–6 and Josh 23, where the theme of the partial conquest of the land is also introduced. The reinterpretation of Joshua by the DtrN reflects a more developed theology of law in the postexilic period. Smend's rejection of Noth's single author allowed him to account for the conflict in the themes of divine promise and conquest within the book of Joshua, while maintaining the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis.

But when the insight of Smend into the two-stage composition of Joshua is extended to include an examination of the immediate narrative context of Joshua with Deuteronomy and Judges, the contrast in themes calls into question the original literary relationship among Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges that is central to Noth's Deuteronomistic History hypothesis. The unconditional divine promise of success and the total conquest of the land in the original DtrH version of Joshua does not allow for a unified reading of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges. There may have been an extended history that included Deuteronomy and Judges, in which the conditional success in conquest based on obedience to the law in Deuteronomy continued into the partial conquest in Judges, since these themes are complementary. But the DtrH version of Joshua was not part of the narrative; the successful extermination of all the indigenous nations based on the unconditional promise to the ancestors represents a version of the conquest that conflicts with both Deuteronomy and Judges. The conflict in themes suggests that Joshua was composed as an independent book and that the qualification of the original themes of Joshua in the DtrN revision was meant to bring the book into conformity with Deuteronomy and Judges, allowing it to function in its present narrative context.

The book of Joshua also presents a problem in the plot of the Deuteronomistic History, when it is read in sequence with the books of Deuteronomy and Judges; that is, Joshua's death and burial occur twice, first as the conclusion to the book of Joshua in Josh 24:28–31 and then a second time as part of the introduction to the book of Judges in Judg 2:6–10. Repetition is a common literary device in the Hebrew Bible, but the duplication of Joshua's death and burial at the end and at the beginning of separate books presents the interpreter with an unusual literary problem, which raises a series of questions about the composition and literary relationship of Joshua to both Judges and Deuteronomy. Noth singled out this problem of plot as requiring a special study, since the double account of Joshua's death argues against a "smooth and clear" transition between Joshua and Judges (1981b: 8). He disagreed with W. Rudolph, however, who separated the books of Joshua and Judges as compositions by different authors (1938: 240–44). Noth argued, instead, for a single composition augmented with additions (e.g., Judg 2:11b, 12, 13, 15a; 2:20–3:6), which creates the tensions in theme (1981b: 8–9). The original connection between Joshua and Judges in the Deuteronomistic History was the farewell speech of Joshua in Josh 23 followed immediately by the account of his death in Judg 2:6–10. This organic connection was disrupted, according to Noth, with the later insertion of Josh 24, which he judged to be an independent narrative that contained its own account of Joshua's death. The result of the insertion of Josh 24 is the double account of Joshua's death and burial. But Noth's literary and tradition-historical solution to this double account is too narrow in scope.

The problem of the plot between Joshua and Judges requires a broader study than the two death-notices of Joshua in Josh 24:28–31 and Judg 2:6–10. There are three related death and burial accounts, including the death and burial of Moses at the end of the book of Deuteronomy (34:5–9), the death and burial of Joshua at the end of Joshua (24:28–31), and the death and burial of Joshua at the beginning of the book of Judges (2:6–10). There are also two shorter death-notices: those of Moses in Josh 1:1a and of Joshua in Judg 1:1a. The death and burial of Joshua at the end of the Shechem covenant in Josh 24:28–31 and after the partial conquest of the land in Judg 2:6–9

represent the core of the repetition. Each text includes an account of Joshua dismissing the Israelite people to their allotted inheritance (Josh 24:28/Judg 2:6), the notice of Joshua's death at the age of 110 years (Josh 24:29/Judg 2:8), the account of his burial place (Josh 24:30/Judg 2:9), and the report of the faithfulness of the Israelites during the lifetime of Joshua (Josh 24:31/Judg 2:7). The repetition of the death of Joshua is not confined to these two accounts, however; it also includes a third text in Judg 1:1a, "after the death of Joshua." This text broadens the scope of the study of Joshua's death and burial even further, since it is a repetition of the death-notice of Moses in Josh 1:1a, "after the death of Moses." The web of related death-notices expands even further, since Josh 1:1a, like its counterpart in Judg 1:1a, is also tied to an account of Moses' death and burial at the end of the book of Deuteronomy at 34:5–9. The death and burial of Moses, moreover, is similar to the two versions of Joshua's death and burial in Joshua and Judges, as it, too, includes a report of the death-notice of Moses (Deut 34:5), his age of 120 years (Deut 34:7), and the place of his burial (Deut 34:6). The five related texts can be illustrated in the following manner:

Deuteronomy	*Joshua*	*Judges*
	1:1a	**1:1a**
	Moses' death	Joshua's death
34:5–9	**24:28–31**	**2:6–9**
Moses' death/burial	Joshua's death/burial	Joshua's death/burial

The sequential reading of the five texts results in the problem of plot, in which Joshua dies twice (Josh 24:28–31; Judg 2:6–9) and is reported to be dead yet a third time (Judg 1:1a) in a narrative that is intended to be sequential in the present form of the MT. A brief overview of the compositional history of the five death-notices indicates that the problem of plot is the result of the late insertion of Joshua between Deuteronomy and Judges. Comparison demonstrates that the death-notices of Moses in Deut 34:5–9 and of Joshua in the larger section of Judg 2:6–10 are *transitional* texts intended to function sequentially in a larger narrative that recounts the history of Israel as a failure that spans three generations represented by Moses, Joshua, and the judges. The death-notice of Joshua in Josh 24:28–31, by contrast, is intended to function as a *conclusion* to the independent book of Joshua.

Y. Amit notes that the central function of the death and burial notice of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10 is transitional (1999: 136), marking the shift between two periods: (1) the time of Joshua and the generation that he leads when the people served God (Judg 1:1–2:5), and (2) the subsequent generation that did not know Yahweh and served other gods (2:10ff). She notes further that the transitional nature of the text is evident from its structure. The unit begins with the final days of Joshua (2:6) and the elders who are his contemporaries (2:7), and it concludes with the subsequent generation—the generation who worship other gods (2:10). The same transitional function is evident in the death and burial notice of Moses in Deut 34:5–9; it too begins with Moses, who is leader of the generation of the exodus, and ends with Joshua, who represents the leader of the second generation of Israelites who initiate the conquest. The death and burial notice of Moses in Deut 34:5–9 also shares the literary structure of the death of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10. Both texts include the statement of the death of Moses/Joshua (Deut 34:5/Judg 2:8), the notice of age and burial (Deut 34:5–6/Judg 2:8–9), and the

transition to a new generation (Deut 34:9/Judg 2:10). The parallels in content and in literary function indicate that the death of Moses in Deut 34:5–9 and of Joshua in Judg 2:6–10 are meant to be read sequentially as one narrative that progresses through three generations: Moses and the first generation of Israelites to leave Egypt; Joshua and the second generation, who partially conquer the land; and the generation of the judges, who fail to complete the conquest and serve other gods. The narrative establishes the conditional promise of land in Deuteronomy to account for the failed conquest in Judges. This reading would identify the death notice of Joshua in Judg 1:1a and the death and burial notice of Joshua in Josh 24:28–31 as separate compositions by different author(s).

The central literary feature of Josh 24:28–31 is that it is not transitional but functions instead as a *conclusion.* The death and burial notice of Joshua contains many of the motifs from Judg 2:6–10, including Joshua's death, his age, his place of burial, and the faithfulness of the Israelites. But in the MT it lacks a transition to the subsequent generation of Israelites, as in Deut 34:5–9 and Judg 2:6–10. The death of Joshua in the book of Joshua is an independent composition that was never intended to function in a literary relationship with that in Judges or Deuteronomy. Noth saw this in assigning Josh 24 to a separate tradition (1981b: 8–9). In contrast to Noth, I follow the reading of Smend that Josh 24 represents the conclusion to the entire book of Joshua (1971: 494–509). The linking of the two accounts of Joshua's death in the present form of the MT is the result of the editorial insertion of the book of Joshua, which disrupts the literary development of a larger narrative in which Judg 2:6–10 is functioning transitionally in relationship to the death of Moses in Deut 34:5–9.

The framing of the book of Joshua by the death-notices of Moses in Josh 1:1a and of Joshua in Judg 1:1a provides further evidence for an independent composition. The placement of these two death-notices is meant to secure the literary context of the book between Deuteronomy and Judges. The death-notice of Moses in Josh 1:1a links the introduction of Joshua to the death and burial notice of Moses in Deut 34:5–9, while the death-notice of Joshua in Judg 1:1a now ties the conclusion of Joshua to Judges. The insertion of the book of Joshua between Deuteronomy and Judges by means of these redactional techniques results in the peculiar literary problem in which Joshua dies twice and is reported to be dead yet a third time in a narrative that is intended to be sequential in the present form of the MT.

The book of Joshua was written as an independent narrative, distinct from a larger Deuteronomistic History. It begins with the commission of Joshua (Josh 1) and concludes with his death and burial (Josh 24). The author fashions a two-part story in which the promised land is first emptied of kings and royal cities (Josh 1–12) and then repopulated with the more primitive society of tribal Israel (Josh 13–24). The literary design suggests that the two halves of the book are meant to function together, since the wars of genocide in the first half create the empty space, which allows for repopulation in the second half of the book through the division of the land. The close relationship between the emptying and the refilling of the land underscores the conceptual unity of the book (R. Knierim, 1985: 393–415). Its two halves were not composed in isolation from each other or by distinct authors. Even though the two parts of Joshua contain different kinds of literature, they function as one literary unit.

The concept of empty space is an important feature of territoriality, which R. D. Sack defines as a form of power aimed at controlling people and things through the

management of area (1986: 5–27). This concept aids in discerning that the book of Joshua is composed by a single author to advance a view of the promised land that requires the removal of kings and royal cities before it can be repopulated with a rural society devoid of royal cities, kings, and their urban populations. The mythology of the empty land is not unique to the book of Joshua. H. M. Barstad has demonstrated that the theme informs a range of exilic and postexilic books, including Second Isaiah, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Jeremiah, all of which envision empty cities or fallow land awaiting those who return from the exile (1996). The book of Joshua contrasts with these books, however: In Joshua, the land is not fallow but requires conquest. Nor is the ideal of the book to rebuild the city of Jerusalem; rather, it is to reestablish a more archaic tribal society that worships Yahweh at an open-air cultic site on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem. The goal can be achieved only after the kings and their royal city-states in the promised land are destroyed and the urban population is exterminated (see "Central Themes and Literary Structure").

The author of Joshua used sources when writing the book that may include the curse on the city (6:26); the address to the sun from the Book of Jashar (10:12–13); the defeat of Sihon and Og (12:1–6); the tradition of Caleb at Hebron (14:6–15); the borders and the list of the cities in Judah (Josh 15), Ephraim and Benjamin (Josh 16–17), and the other tribes (Josh 18–19); the cities of refuge (Josh 20); the cities of the Levites (Josh 21); and the burial reports (24:32–33).

The book of Joshua contains a series of repetitions from Judg 1:1–2:6 concerning the conquest of the promised land, which suggests that the author also uses a form of Judges as a source. The repetitions include the war against Adoni-bezek/Adoni-zedek (Judg 1:1–7/Josh 10:1, 3), the allowing of the Jebusites to remain in Jerusalem (Judg 1:8/Josh 15:63); the defeat of the Anakim near Hebron (Judg 1:8–10/Josh 14:6–15; 15:13–19); the resistance of the inhabitants of the plain to the conquest because of their chariots (Judg 1:19/Josh 17:14–18); the defeat of Bethel (Judg 1:22–26/Josh 8:10–17; 12:9); the imposition of slavery on the Canaanite population by Manasseh (Judg 1:27–28/Josh 17:1–13) and Ephraim (Judg 1:29/Josh 16:1, 5–10); the migration of Dan (Judg 1:24–26/Josh 19:40–48); and the notice of Joshua's death and burial at Timnath-Serah (Judg 2:6–10/Josh 24:29–31).

The books of Joshua and Judges agree in portraying the Israelites as nonindigenous to Canaan, requiring an invasion to secure residency in the land. But the nature of the invasion, the view of city-states, and the relationship between the Israelites and the indigenous urban population of Canaan are significantly different in the two books. The book of Joshua does not share Judges' dark view of history, in which tradition inevitably leads to the forgetting of the past, resulting in apostasy and the decline of culture. Instead, the story of Joshua traces the procession of the ark into the land with the positive goal of the Israelites resting within the land in covenant with Yahweh. The contrasting views of history in the two books are reinforced with different presentations of the most prominent characters. Joshua emerges as the central leader and the most dominant character in the book of Joshua, as compared with his less defined role in Judges. The Israelites are presented as a unified nation in Joshua in their conquest of Canaan, rather than as individual tribes, as in Judges. The plot is also different in the two books. Judges is a story of conquest; Joshua is an account of extermination. Judges is a narrative of invasion and partial conquest, resulting in episodic stories that trace the decline of tribal

Israel's life among the other nations in Canaan. Joshua is a story about the successful purging of royal cities from the promised land of Canaan and the extermination of its indigenous population. The point of view of the two books provides a further contrast. Judges idealizes the southern tribe of Judah in telling the story of the conquest, while the book of Joshua focuses on the northern site of Shechem as the central sanctuary of the ark. The comparison indicates that the author of Joshua reinterprets the partial and failed conquest of Judges into an account of the successful extermination of the indigenous kings and royal cities under the leadership of the northern hero Joshua.

The author of Joshua also uses the Pentateuch as a source. Wellhausen recognized this already in the nineteenth century, stating that the book of Joshua contrasts to Judges, Samuel, and Kings in the way that it presupposes the Pentateuch in all points (1899: 118–19). Interpreters have tended to isolate D and P motifs in the different halves of the book as separate compositions, with D language concentrated in Josh 1–12 and P language in Josh 13–22. But motifs are intermixed throughout the book, making the separation of D and P styles into distinct redactions difficult. It appears, rather, that the composition of Joshua is postpentateuchal. The following summary provides an overview of the blending of D and P styled language throughout the book of Joshua.

The entry into the land and the stories of war in Josh 1–12 presuppose both D and P tradition from the Pentateuch. The divine exhortation to Joshua to be courageous (Josh 1:6; Deut 3:25) and not to be dismayed (Josh 1:9; Deut 1:29) is grounded in Deuteronomy. Yet Joshua's recounting of an earlier speech of Moses to the eastern tribes (Josh 1:12–15) could refer to either Deuteronomy (Deut 3:18–20) or the P literature (Num 32:20–24, 28–32), while the response of the eastern tribes occurs only in the P version (Num 32:25–27, 31–32). The crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3–4 also weaves D and P language in the description of the ark as covenant (Josh 3:2, 6, 7; Deut 10:8) and as testimony (Josh 4:14; Exod 25:21). The description of the land as flowing with milk and honey (Josh 5:6; Deut 6:3; 11:9) is D, but the observance of Passover (Josh 5:10–12; Lev 23) follows the P legislation.

The same weaving of language continues in the sequence of stories about the destruction of Jericho, the sin of Achan, and the war against Ai in Josh 6–8. The ideology of the ban in holy war (Josh 6:17, 18, 21; Deut 20:17), the reference to the ark of the covenant (Josh 6:8; Deut 10:8), the command not to fear (Josh 8:1; Deut 1:21), the hanging of the king on the tree (Josh 8:29; Deut 21:22–23), and the ceremony on Mount Ebal (Josh 8:30–35; Deut 27:1–8) are D. But the use of the horns in the processions around the city of Jericho (Josh 6:4–13; Lev 25:10–31), the theme of sacrilege to describe the sin of Achan (Josh 7:1; Lev 5:15; 11:21; Num 5:6), and the additional interpretation of the ban as sacrifice (Lev 27) are firmly grounded in P literature.

The concluding wars in Josh 9–11 continue to blend the language of P and D from the Pentateuch. The oath of the Israelites with the Gibeonites is written from a Priestly point of view. The Israelites are described as the congregation (Josh 9:18–19; Num 1:2), and the breaking of an oath threatens wrath (Josh 9:20; Lev 10:6; Num 1:53; 18:12). Yet the exhortation not to fear (Josh 10:25; 11:6; Deut 1:21), the execution of the ban in war (Josh 10:39; Deut 20:17), the hanging of the king on a tree (Josh 10:6; Deut 21:22–23), and the destruction of the Anakim (Josh 11:21; Deut 1:28; 2:10) reflect D ideology.

The division of the land in Josh 13–24 also suggests that the author uses a form of the Pentateuch as a source for writing Joshua. The division of the land creates a series

of repetitions with literature in Num 34–35 and in Deut 4 and 19. The distribution of land in Josh 13–19 appears in Num 35:1–5; the list of Levitical cities in Josh 21 is first stated in Num 35:1–5; and the cities of refuge in Josh 20 repeat from Num 34:6–34, Deut 4:41–43, and Deut 19:1–13. The more extended information in Joshua on each of these topics suggests that the author has expanded the version of events in the Pentateuch in writing the book. J. C. de Vos writes that Josh 13–21 does not contain authentic P or D language but "texts in the style of P and Dtr" (2003: 304). The reference to Sihon and Og (Josh 13:8) is most likely D (Deut 1:4; 2:24–32), but the exclusion of the Levites from inheriting land (Josh 13:14, 33) could be either D (Deut 10:9; 12:12; 18:1) or P (Num 18:23–24), while the reference to the leaders of Midian (Josh 13:21–22) is confined to the P literature in the Pentateuch (Num 31). The division of land by lot (Josh 14:1; 15:1; 16:1; 17:1; 19:1) is firmly anchored in P tradition (Lev 16:8; Num 26:55; 34:13), as are Eleazar (Josh 14:1; 19:51; Exod 6:23), the heads of the fathers (Josh 14:1; Exod 6:14), Aaron (Josh 21:4; Exod 6:20), Phinehas (Josh 22:13; Exod 6:25), and the daughters of Zelophehad (Josh 17:3; Num 26:33; 27:1; 36:11). Yet the accounts of Caleb conquering Hebron and killing the Anakim (Josh 14:6–15; 15:13–19), the command of Joshua for the seven tribes to seize their land (18:3–4), and the summary of the conquest (21:43–45) reflect D motifs and themes. The weaving of D and P language continues in the cities of refuge, where the absence of guilt in killing a human is described both with the P term "inadvertent" (Josh 20:3; Num 15:25) and the D phrase "without intention" (Josh 20:3; Deut 19:4). The same blending of language is evident in the closing accounts of covenant in Josh 24 that include both the pattern of a farewell address from D (Deut 31:1–8, 24–29) and the content of the history of salvation from P of the Pentateuch (Gen 11:27–32).

The dating of the book of Joshua remains tentative, since many of the central themes could fit a range of possible social and political contexts in the history of ancient Israel. The broadest possible time period for the composition of the book is the late monarchy at the earliest, sometime after the Neo-Assyrian destruction of the northern kingdom, and the postexile period at the latest, before the formal separation of the Samaritans and the Judeans.

There are a number of strong reasons for dating the book of Joshua in the late monarchic period. Many of the sources the author uses are firmly anchored in that period. For example, Finkelstein and Silberman note the close correspondence between the boundary texts in Josh 13–19 and the Josianic kingdom at the close of the monarchic period (2001). If the composition of the book of Joshua is placed close to the time of its geographical sources, then the social setting of the author could be the late seventh century BCE. Further support for this date is the influence of the Neo-Assyrian royal conquest accounts in the composition of Josh 9–12. The author is thoroughly familiar with the royal conquest accounts, employing the basic structure and central themes of the literary tradition in the narratives of Joshua's southern and northern invasions (see "Central Themes and Literary Structure"). In this case, the polemical perspective of the author against kings and city-states would represent a critique of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, using the royal conquest accounts as a story of revolt against the empire. In addition, the composition of the majority of the book in classical Hebrew might further support a late monarchic date, if classical Hebrew is confined to the monarchic period or the exile at the latest (I. Young, 2003; C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit, 2012), although

the book of Joshua contains a range from classical to late Hebrew, especially in the latter half of the book (Knauf, 2008: 37).

The later date of the composition of Joshua in the exilic or postexilic period is supported by the author's dependence on the Pentateuch, conceived as the Torah of Moses, including both P literature and the book of Deuteronomy. The preceding summary clarifies that the mixing of motifs from P and D extends throughout the book of Joshua. The summary below of the "Central Themes and Literary Structure" of Joshua illustrates further how the motifs from P and D are fashioned into a distinctive ideology of holy war. The author's dependence on both D and P traditions from the Pentateuch could indicate familiarity with an early form of these two traditions in the late monarchic period, but the intermixing of these traditions throughout the book, in conjunction with a theology of Mosaic law, favors instead a date sometime during the postexilic period, when the Pentateuch is functioning in an authoritative manner as the Torah of Moses.

In addition, the point of view of the author suggests that the book of Joshua represents a northern form of Yahwism. The problem with this hypothesis is that we know so little about northern Yahwism before the emergence of the Samaritans (M. Kartveit, 2009). The northern perspective of the author is evident, however, in the plot structure of the narrative. The goal of the ark in crossing the Jordan River is to reach the northern mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem as the central location for worship. J. Strange also noted the central position of Shechem in the Joshua traditions (1993: 140–41). He concluded that strong religious traditions at Shechem "were the factor which secured Shechem a place in the Book of Joshua" (1993: 141). He interpreted the role of Shechem, however, as a polemic from the Judean perspective to underscore that the northern tradition of Samaritan worship during the Hasmonean period belongs to Judeans (2002: 44–51). But the role of worship at Shechem is idealized in Joshua, independent from Jerusalem. Shechem is the cultic location for blessing in Josh 8 and the location for covenant renewal in Josh 24, which anchors the concerns of the author firmly in the northern region of Samaria. Shechem, moreover, is not simply a general location; it represents the site of the central sanctuary in Joshua, indicating further the dependence of the author on the Pentateuch, where the teaching of the central sanctuary is stated explicitly in Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 12) and assumed in P. The author of Joshua departs from both P and D, however, by explicitly presenting the site of the central sanctuary at Shechem. Although there is a rite of passage at Gilgal with circumcision and the observance of Passover (Josh 5:2–12), formal worship with the ark, the altar, sacrifices, and the Torah is restricted to Shechem and the nearby mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. The centrality of Shechem is underscored further when it returns at the end of the book as the setting for covenant renewal, which also takes place "at the sanctuary of Yahweh" (24:26).

The ideological perspective of the author is polemical against kings and royal city-states. This is evident throughout the story. The polemic is stated in the idealization of Joshua as a leader who kills kings. The power of "El, the living," revealed in the ark (3:10), is made manifest in the miraculous collapse of Jericho's city walls (6:20). The fall of the cities of Jericho and Ai, moreover, is accompanied by the execution of their kings. Worship too contains anti-urban or anti-city imagery, when the destination of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim is on an altar of "uncut" stones, rather than in a city temple

with a manufactured altar. These motifs fit a variety of time periods, beginning with the Neo-Assyrians. But the idealization of Yahweh in Joshua as a God who destroys city walls and is worshiped at an open-air altar on a mountaintop could also function in the postexilic period, as an opposing voice to the lament over the ruined walls of Jerusalem in Neh 2:17 or the reconstruction of the temple altar on its old foundation in Ezra 3:3.

The opposing images between Joshua and Nehemiah-Ezra point to a tension between Shechem and Jerusalem as centers of worship in the Persian period. N. Na'aman elaborates on the tension: "The description of 'all the assembly of Israel' gathering for the dedication of the altar of Mount Ebal (Josh 8:33, 35) is very similar to the description of 'the people gathered as one man' in Jerusalem to rebuilt the altar to YHWH (Ezra 3:1–2)" (2000: 143). He adds that the description of Shechem as the center of worship "plainly conflicts with the depiction of Jerusalem as the sole and exclusive cultic site for Israel" (2000: 142–43). The conflict is also evident from the Judean perspective in Ezra 3:1–3, where the author condemns the "adversaries" of the citizens of Yehud, and in Neh 2:20, when Nehemiah drives away the northern Samarians Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arab, forbidding them to participate in the reconstruction of Jerusalem with the words "you have no share or claim or historic right in Jerusalem."

Despite the polemical aim of the author of Joshua, the intended audience of the book is the entire nation of Israel. Repeatedly the author refers to "all Israel" as crossing the Jordan River (e.g., 3:7, 12; 4:14), suffering from the sin of sacrilege (7:14), participating in the stoning of Achan (7:25), warring against Ai (8:15), and worshiping at Ebal and Gerizim (8:33). Those who make up "all Israel," moreover, are the twelve tribes (e.g., Josh 1; 3:12). The all-Israel focus indicates that the author of Joshua is not sectarian but is writing a myth of origin that is intended to include both the northern Israelites in Samaria and the southern Israelites in Judea during the Persian period. The inclusive perspective distinguishes the author from the sectarianism of later Samaritans. The separation of the author from fully developed Samaritanism is reinforced by the content of Josh 8:30–33, where the blessing of God emanates from both Ebal and Gerizim on all the Israelites, which contrasts with the exclusive emphasis on Mount Gerizim in the Samaritan Pentateuch in such texts as Deut 27:4 or 11:30. The contrast suggests that the composition of Josh 8:30–33 is earlier than the official separation between Samaritans and Judeans, rather than reflecting an anti-Samaritan point of view, as argued, for example, by C. Nihan (2007: 222).

The history of the schism between the northern Samaritans and the southern Judeans in the postexilic period provides a broad social context for locating the composition of the book of Joshua (see the summary of the research in R. Pummer, 1987; 2007), even though the details of northern Yahwistic worship remain obscure before the building of the sanctuary at Gerizim (Kartveit, 2009). The classical view of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to date the schism early so that it was viewed as a central influence in the self-definition of the returning exiles to Yehud and in the creation of the Pentateuch. The support for this view derives from the Hebrew Bible, including the account of 2 Kgs 17:24–41, which states that the Samaritans originate from the Assyrians who repopulated the northern kingdom after its fall in the eighth century BCE; and the polemical statements in Ezra (e.g., 4:1–3) and Nehemiah

(e.g., 2:10, 19–20; 3:33–4:1; 6:1–2) about their adversaries and the "people of the land." The classical view also assumed that the Samaritan Pentateuch was a sectarian adaptation of the MT version of the Hebrew Bible. The evidence for this derives from Neh 13:28, where Nehemiah states that he drove off Jehoiada, the son of the high priest Eliashib, the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite, suggesting that the Samaritan Pentateuch stems from the rejection of a renegade priest, who then moved to Samaria. Josephus elaborates on this verse by stating that the Samaritans acquired their version of the Pentateuch from this renegade priest, who established a rival cultic site at Mount Gerizim (*Ant.* 11.306–312).

More recent research qualifies the formative role of an early separation between northern Samaritans and southern Judeans at the outset of the postexilic period, preferring instead to place the schism much later in the Hellenistic era (R. J. Coggins, 1975: 115; R. Pummer, 1987: 3), perhaps during the Hasmonean period (J. D. Purvis, 1968: 118), when John Hyrcanus (134–104 BCE) destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim; but certainly no earlier than the time of the building of the temple at Mount Gerizim (Kartveit, 2009: 351–70). The change in dating is based on the recognition that the accounts of the origin of the Samaritans in 2 Kgs 17 and the stories of conflict in Ezra, Nehemiah, and even Josephus represent Judean ideology (e.g., J. L. Wright, 2004: 267). Additional insights from textual, social, and archaeological research have also contributed to the change in paradigm. The manuscripts from Qumran indicate that certain texts resemble the Samaritan Pentateuch in exhibiting tendencies, linguistic features, and content which suggest that the original understanding of the Samaritan Pentateuch as a sectarian revision of the MT is inadequate (E. Tov, 1989; G. N. Knoppers, 2011: 516–25). Y. Magen has identified a cultic site at Mount Gerizim already in the early Persian period (2007: 157–93). Worship at this site does not appear to be criticized in compositions from the Persian and Hellenistic periods. For example, the reference to the temple on Gerizim in 2 Macc 6:2 without negative criticism may challenge the critical view of Samaria in passages like 2 Kgs 17 or in Ezra and Nehemiah (J. A. Goldstein, 1983: 261). The letter from the Elephantine colony about the construction of a temple, moreover, is addressed to both Samaria and Jerusalem. This may simply indicate the desire for a response from any sympathetic community, or it may suggest some form of shared authority in religious matters (Porten and Yardeni, 1986: A4.7; A4.8). A. Alt concluded from the Elephantine letters that whatever tension may have existed between Judea and Samaria, it is evident that the two communities still communicated and functioned as a larger collective during the Persian period (1953c: 322–24). G. N. Knoppers builds on Alt's insight in his study of Samarian culture in the Persian period, noting that there appears to be a significant population in the north and that it has strong cultural overlap with Judean Yahwism (2006: 265–89; 2013). The growing evidence from archaeology and ancient literature is prompting interpreters to qualify the classical view of an early Samaritan schism in favor of a more complex cultural interaction between Samaria and Yehud during the Persian period involving tension in competing religious worldviews without sectarian separation.

The later dating for the schism between Samaritans and Jews has forced researchers to use new terminology to distinguish the relationship between Samaria and Judea in the Persian and early Hellenistic periods from the more hardened positions that emerged after the schism. Knoppers (2011: 507–10), following the lead of others such

as Kippenberg (1971: 34) and Pummer (2007: 238–39), uses the terms "Judeans" and "Samarians" to identify the residents of Yehud and Samaria during the Persian and early Hellenistic periods, and the terms "Jews" and "Samaritans" to designate these groups in the Maccabean and Roman periods. The more nuanced terminology aides in identifying the author of Joshua as Samarian, not Samaritan. In this case, the book of Joshua represents a northern version of Yahwism that is polemical against the Judean emphasis on Jerusalem, but it is not a sectarian document. The evidence for this conclusion is the all-Israel focus of the book, with all Israel conceived as the twelve tribes. Even the revision of Joshua with the themes of a conditional promise of the land (e.g., 1:7–9; 8:34–35) and the partial conquest (e.g., 13:1–6; 23) lacks the sectarian perspectives of either later Samaritanism or a Judean anti-Samaritan polemic. The all-Israel focus of Joshua may account for its eventual inclusion into the Judean canon. It is excluded, of course, from the Samaritan canon, which is limited to the Torah. Yet it is noteworthy that the book of Joshua remains popular in later Samaritan tradition, as is evident in the Samaritan Chronicle of the book of Joshua.

In summary, the literary themes of Joshua and its dependence on a form of the Pentateuch suggest its composition in the postexilic period; it represents a Samarian myth of origin, in which the promised land is heavily populated with kings and royal city-states requiring holy war to empty the land of its urban culture, as the ark processes to its northern cultic site near Shechem. The message of the book of Joshua is one of opposition to foreign rule in the promised land, represented by city-states; over against this the author idealizes a more primitive and rural life in the promised land. The origin story in Joshua contrasts with the competing myth of the empty land in Ezra and Nehemiah, where the promised land has lain fallow during the exile with the absence of cities (e.g., Barstad, 1996; B. Oded, 2003) so that the returning exiled Judeans had to rebuild the temple and reestablish the lost city of Jerusalem. The rebuilding of Jerusalem in Ezra and Nehemiah represents a response of assimilation to the rule of the Persians, who are viewed as benevolent throughout (e.g., as in the edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1:1–4), while the people of the land represent the opposition. In the book of Joshua, there are no benevolent rulers or royal city-states in the promised land. All are condemned by Yahweh and thus require extermination under the ban.

The book of Joshua underwent a revision when it was placed in its present narrative context. This resulted in a series of internal repetitions and conflicting themes, some of which are identified by Smend as the DtrN redaction in Josh 1:7–9; 13:2b–6; and 23. These texts reinterpret the story of Joshua with the insertion of two themes: First, the unconditional divine promise in the book of Joshua is qualified as a conditional promise based on law in conformity with the book of Deuteronomy; and second, the total conquest of the land is reinterpreted as a partial conquest, bringing the book into conformity with the book of Judges. The "Notes and Comments" will highlight other additions to the book of Joshua, such as the double account of the stones at Gilgal, erected during the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3–4, in which they initially symbolize the crossing of the Jordan (4:6–7) but are then reinterpreted to relate the crossing of the Jordan to the crossing of the Red Sea (4:20–24). The second version is a later addition to the book of Joshua. The theophany of the commander of the army of Yahweh also provides a second introduction to the destruction of Jericho (5:13–15), while the worship service at Ebal and Gerizim is expanded (8:34–35). In the second

half of the book, Joshua's old age is noted twice (13:1 and 23:1). This repetition is tied to a broader conflict in theme concerning the scope of the conquest. The total conquest of the land is affirmed in Josh 11:21–23; 21:43–45; and 24:13; yet Josh 13:1–6 and 23:1–16 counter that the land was only partially conquered.

The literary repetitions in Joshua indicate an editorial revision that spans the entire book. As noted, Smend characterized many of these additions as the DtrN (1971). His literary-critical insights have been reinforced by the text-critical work of A. Rofé, who has also identified many of the same nomistic additions in the MT (e.g., 1985a, 1989, 1993). In contrast to Smend, who interpreted the DtrN to be a modification of Noth's Deuteronomistic History hypothesis, I identify DtrN as a revision of Joshua aimed at placing the book into its present literary context. The emphasis on Torah observance (Josh 1:7–8) as well as the linking of the Jordan River and the Red Sea (4:20–24) and the partial conquest (13:1–6; 23:1–16) create literary links to the entire Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy, and to the book of Judges that did not exist in the independent book. The modifications create the conflict in theme over the scope of the conquest, yet they also allow the book to function ambiguously in its present literary context as a hinge between the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets. The theme of the total conquest of the promised land encourages a reading of Joshua as the completion of the Pentateuch, while the theme of the partial conquest ties the book more closely to Deuteronomy, while also allowing for the transition to Judges. The ambiguity of the literary context of the book of Joshua continues into the textual history of the book.

Textual Criticism

The textual history of Joshua has emerged as a significant feature in the interpretation of the book. The MT and the LXX contain different versions of the book, with the MT account 5 percent longer than the LXX account. A summary of the differences between the MT and the LXX illustrates that the relationship between the versions is not simply a matter of textual expansion in one direction or copying mistakes. Rather, the two versions demonstrate a dynamic relationship, in which both provide distinct content to the book, while also placing Joshua in different literary contexts within their emerging canons.

The traditional aim of textual criticism is to recover a more ancient, if not the original, text of Joshua. The traditional evaluation of the textual versions of Joshua is that the MT represents the more original text and that differences between the MT and the LXX indicate corruptions in the LXX. This is the starting point in the important text-critical work of M. A. Margolis (1931–1938) and A. Dillmann (1886). The classical position continues in contemporary scholarship and is evident in the work of Noth (1971b) and the commentaries by Soggin (1972) and M. Woudstra (1981). Nelson noted the possibility of two parallel textual traditions of the book of Joshua, but his commentary also conforms for the most part to the classical position by eliminating expansions in the MT and the LXX to achieve a more ancient version of the book of Joshua (1997a).

The traditional approach to textual criticism has changed as interpreters reevaluate the innovative nature of the translation of the LXX. Those who focus on the creativity of the LXX translator maintain the priority of the MT over the LXX, but they evaluate

the differences in the LXX from a more positive perspective. Rather than instances of corruption, the differences in the LXX are judged at times to be instances where the translator sought to interpret the Hebrew for a Greek-speaking audience. A. van der Kooij gives voice to this perspective when he encourages the reevaluation of the Greek translator as a learned "scribe." Such a reevaluation means that differences between the MT and the LXX may represent "exegetical 'devices' used by scribes as a means of realizing some interpretation of the text" (1998: 214–29). The shift in perspective makes the creativity of the translator important for the interpretation of the LXX of the book of Joshua. Thus, K. Bieberstein encourages a careful reading of the context of the LXX to account for variants with the MT (1995). M. van der Meer, too, concludes that the Greek translator often introduces literary initiatives to smooth out the MT or to clarify its content for a Hellenistic Jewish audience (2004). J. Moatti-Fine advocates the interpretation of the LXX as a literary work in its own right (1996). This emerging line of research reinforces the conclusion of M. Rösel that the LXX version of Joshua cannot be "left out of consideration in the future discussion [of] the book of Joshua" (2002: 23).

The many additions in the MT have introduced yet another break from the traditional approach to textual criticism. Interpreters have increasingly argued for the literary priority of the shorter LXX and its Hebrew *Vorlage* over the longer MT, thus reversing the classical position. S. Holmes advanced this position early in the twentieth century (1914). He argued that the MT and the LXX represent two different versions of the book of Joshua and that the LXX is the older. The reason was that the shorter version of the LXX goes against its tendency toward expansion. The research of Holmes languished for much of the twentieth century, until H. M. Orlinsky revived it and even extended the hypothesis by focusing more narrowly on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX as the source for the differences in the MT (1969). The research of Auld (1998a), Rofé (1985a), and L. Mazor (1988) has further advanced the hypothesis that the *Vorlage* of the LXX is the more ancient version of the book of Joshua, that it is preserved faithfully by the LXX translator, and that the MT represents the latest textual development of the book. Orlinsky also suggested that the Qumran manuscripts might provide a window into the textual development of the book of Joshua (1969). This suggestion found support in E. Ulrich's conclusion that 4QJosh[a] of Josh 8:14–18 corresponds to the shorter version in the LXX, thus pointing to a Hebrew text of Joshua that is different from the MT version (1995a). Tov describes the outcome of this research when he states that the MT and the LXX represent two literary strata of the book of Joshua, of which the MT is the later (1992: 327).

This summary indicates two emerging approaches to the textual history of the book of Joshua. One judges the MT to be the older text, while pointing to the creativity of the LXX translator to account for the differences in the textual traditions. The other argues for the priority of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX over the MT, plays down the freedom of the Greek translator, and judges the MT additions to be late expansions. The two approaches can be contrasted to each other, with interpreters arguing for the priority of one position or the other. But the separate additions in the MT and the LXX caution against a preference for one approach at the exclusion of the other, since the expansions appear to move in both directions. Thus, I draw on both approaches to interpret the textual history of the book of Joshua within the following methodological guidelines:

The *Vorlage* of the LXX, the versions of Joshua at Qumran, and the MT indicate that multiple textual versions of the book of Joshua were in circulation at the same time during the late Second Temple period. E. Ulrich (1999) characterizes this situation as "pluriformity," as opposed to the linear development of the textual tradition assumed in the traditional approach to textual criticism. The interpretation of the text of the MT in the "Notes and Comments" will begin with the assumption of the plurality of the textual traditions. My aim is to state the differences in the textual traditions, rather than to seek to recover an urtext either in the *Vorlage* of the LXX or in a more ancient version of the MT of the book of Joshua.

The late additions to the MT indicate editorial changes well into the Hasmonean period. The fluid character of the MT means that it cannot be studied as a fixed text with occasional corruptions, as was often the case in the traditional approach to textual criticism. Rather, I leave open the possibility that additions or omissions are intentional in the development of the MT and that they provide insight into the theological perspective of its editors during the Second Temple period at least through the late Hellenistic period.

The translation of the LXX is part of the creative process of the interpretation of the book of Joshua in the Hellenistic period. Differences between the MT and the LXX, therefore, may indicate a form of exegesis in the LXX, in which scribes sought to realize an interpretation of the text for their particular audience.

In the "Notes and Comments," I provide a translation of the MT along with a detailed comparison of the MT and the LXX in the "Notes." I also provide a synoptic translation of the MT and the LXX in "Appendix I." The *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* based on the Leningrad Codex is the basis for the translation of the MT and the Rahlfs edition of the *Septuaginta* for the LXX, since the new critical Göttingen edition of the LXX is not yet complete. My methodological assumption is that the differences between the MT, the LXX, and some of the Qumran manuscripts may at times go beyond editorial mistakes and that the editors of the MT and the translator(s) of the LXX provide distinct content to the book of Joshua, which can be interpreted through the comparison of the textual versions. The inner-textual development of the MT and the LXX suggests that the two versions are in a dynamic relationship with each other and that the late editorial additions to the MT and the LXX provide a window into the distinct theological points of view of the two textual traditions. Thus the methodologies of textual and literary criticism will overlap in the "Notes and Comments." The result is that the text-critical study of the MT and the LXX in the "Notes" will at times provide the foundation for the more extended literary and theological interpretation in the remainder of the "Comments."

JOSHUA IN THE MT, LXX, AND DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The following summary highlights important differences between the MT, the LXX, and the Qumran manuscripts. These differences illustrate the dynamic and changing character of the text of Joshua well into the Hellenistic period.

There are many pluses in the MT over the LXX. Joshua 1 describes Moses as the "servant of Yahweh" (v. 1); it emphasizes "all the Torah" of Moses (v. 7) while also providing more detailed geographical information than the LXX concerning the "land

of the Hittites" (v. 4) and references to the land "beyond the Jordan" (vv. 14–15). The MT of Josh 2 states that there were "two" spies (v. 4), "all the inhabitants . . . pale[d] in despair" because of Israel (v. 9), the cord of Rahab was tied from the window (v. 21), and the oath was forced from the spies (v. 14), all of which are absent in the LXX. The crossing of the Jordan River in the MT of Josh 3–4 highlights the "ark" (4:5) and Mosaic instruction (4:10) beyond the account of the LXX, while also expanding Josh 5 to describe the rationale for the circumcision of the male Israelites (5:4–7) and to specify that the Passover was observed over a three-day period (5:10–12). The account of the march around Jericho in Josh 6 includes divine instruction about the role of the priests (vv. 1–5) that is absent in the LXX. The accounts of the sin of Achan in Josh 7 and the battle against Ai in Josh 8 are longer in the MT, with clarifying details (7:2, 6, 18), a more complex setting for the battle (8:10–13), and a summary conclusion that explains the fear of the people of Ai (8:20). Joshua's battle against the northern kings in Josh 10 also contains more detail with regard to chronology (10:35), the inclusion of Libnah (10:39), the reference to the Book of Jashar (10:13), and the setting of the camp at Gilgal (10:15, 43). The MT explains why the Levites cannot inherit land (13:33); it adds detail to the southern border of the tribes of Joseph (16:1–4, 7–10); it clarifies the history of the tribe of Dan (19:47); it adds detail on the judicial process of asylum (20:3, 4–6); and it underscores the leadership role of Moses and Aaron in the exodus (24:5).

The relationship of the MT and the LXX is reversed in many places, where the LXX contains additional information beyond the MT, even though the LXX version of the book of Joshua is shorter than the MT version. The content of the additions is as varied as the examples from the MT additions. The LXX account of the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3–4, for example, specifies that the flooding of the Jordan was during the wheat harvest (3:15) and that the twelve men Joshua selected to take stones from the riverbed were "esteemed" (4:4). The account of circumcision is clarified with the statement that the knives Joshua used were, in fact, "flint knives" (5:2–3). Joshua's curse on the city after the destruction of Jericho is fulfilled with the addition of the story of Ozan (6:26). The attack on Ai contains two divine commands to Joshua, rather than the single command in the MT (8:18). The story of Joshua's address to the eastern tribes in Josh 13 is longer in the LXX because of additional transitions between the scenes (13:7–8, 14). The LXX account of Caleb's daughter, Achsah, also contains more detail than the MT version (15:8). The border cities of Judah in Josh 15 receive an additional district of eleven cities in the LXX (15:59a) as compared with the MT. The LXX provides more detail on the history of the city of Gezer (16:10) and background on the tribe of Dan (19:47–48). The flint knives of Joshua, used in the circumcision of the Israelite males (5:2–3), return in the LXX addition about the city of Joshua (21:42a–d) and again at the end of the book in the burial notice of Joshua (24:31a). The LXX also extends the ending of the book of Joshua beyond that in the MT by including the notice of the death of Phinehas (24:33a), the apostasy of Israel after the death of Joshua, and its oppression by Eglon (24:33b).

The comparison of the MT and the LXX versions indicates that the differences between them go beyond mistakes in textual transmission to reflect distinct ideological perspectives on many of the central themes of the book. The following selective contrasts between the MT and the LXX illustrate that the textual history of the book is an essential part of its history of composition.

The MT is strident in its polemic against kings and royal cities. It judges profane royal cities to be a form of pollution that requires annihilation, not conquest, if the Israelites are to realize the divine promise of life in the land of Canaan. The ritual of circumcision accentuates the polemical anti-urban perspective of the MT (5:2–9). The use of primitive stone knives, devoid of technological manufacturing or sharpening, symbolizes the rite of passage into a preurban, rural lifestyle in the promised land. The curse on the city in Josh 6:26 further reinforces the ideology of the MT. The curse is open-ended, signifying that the future existence of any profane royal city in the promised land remains a threat to the Israelite people, whose social structure is idealized as tribal and antimonarchic. The survival of the royal cities of Gezer (16:10) and Beth-shean (17:16) in the MT version of the book of Joshua, therefore, represents a failure to purge the promised land of profane urban centers. This is true even for the royal city of Jerusalem, whose contemporary population of Jebusites shows the failure of Judah to annihilate the city and to exterminate its population (15:63). In the MT, only the religious cities of refuge (Josh 20) and of the Levites (Josh 21), whose construction requires sanctification (20:7), constitute the acceptable form of urban life in the promised land.

The LXX follows the same general storyline of the MT, in which Joshua wages war against the royal cities of Canaan. But the LXX modifies the ideology of the MT. The shift in perspective is evident in the rite of circumcision in the LXX, which is a ritual of purification (5:4), performed on males "sitting down" (5:2) with manufactured flint knives that are sharpened by technological methods, not primitive stone knives as in the MT. Circumcision still removes "the reproach of Egypt" in the LXX version of the story as in the MT, but when this motif is combined with the new motifs of purification and the technologically fashioned flint knives, the meaning changes. The reproach of Egypt is no longer an anti-urban statement about liberation from empires like Egypt and a return to an archaic rural past. Rather, it is an idealization of Egyptian urban life, where the circumcision of males in the sitting position achieves purity (*ANET* 629). The LXX also modifies the curse against the city in Josh 6:26 by historicizing its effects through the narration of its fulfillment. The result is that the curse does not remain in effect for all time as it does in the MT; rather, it becomes a past event within the historical narrative of the LXX. The same tendency to historicize the anti-urban rhetoric of the MT is evident in the judgment on Gezer and Jerusalem. In both cases, the LXX shifts the contemporary judgment against these cities in the MT into historical statements about the past. According to the LXX, the Jebusites dwelt in Jerusalem only until the time of Judah's arrival (15:63). The judgment on Gezer is also historicized. The LXX states that Pharaoh eliminated the Canaanites from Gezer (16:10a). The later example reinforces the positive view of Egyptian culture evident in the LXX version of the story of circumcision. The LXX continues to depart from the MT by allowing for profane cities in the promised land in the account of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities (Josh 20–21) and by idealizing Joshua as a city-builder. The MT notes that Joshua built the city of Timnath-Serah (19:50), but the LXX expands this motif in an extended conclusion to the book, where Joshua is idealized as both a city-builder and a city-dweller (21:42b, c). The idealization of Joshua as a city-builder corresponds to his role in the LXX version of the establishment of the cities

in Josh 20–21, where he alone, rather than the Israelite people in general, founds the Levitical cities (LXX of 20:7).

The textual history of the book of Joshua is further complicated by the discovery of manuscripts at Qumran that reflect additional textual and ideological contrasts to the MT and the LXX. The most significant Qumran discoveries include 4Q378 (4QapocrJosh^{a} or 4QJosh^{a}) and 4Q379 (4QapocrJosh^{b} or 4QJosh^{b}), identified by C. Newsom as 4QApocryphon of Joshua (1988, 1996), whose differences from the MT and the LXX have prompted a wide range of research on the textual development of Joshua (e.g., Ulrich, 1995a; Noort, 1998b; Rofé, 1994). In addition, 4Q175 (4QTest) is a messianic anthology based on four biblical passages, the last of which refers to the curse of Joshua on the city of Jericho in Josh 6:26 (Allegro and Anderson, 1968: 58; Puech, 1998), and 4Q522 is an historical midrash on the books of Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1 Kings, and 1 Chronicles (Puech, 1992, 1998) in which Joshua foretells the construction of the temple and the rock of Zion with language from Ps 122 (see Puech, 1998; Dimant, 2002). Tov has proposed that the texts may even be related in a single document (1998). Other minor texts include XJoshua, a manuscript of unproven origin dating from approximately the middle of the first century BCE. It contains Josh 1:9–12 and 2:4–5 at the bottom of the first two columns of a scroll (Charlesworth, 2000); 5Q9, which has the name of Joshua and a list of place-names that overlap with 4Q522; 4Q123 (4QpaleoParaJosh), which may refer to Josh 21; and MasParaJosh from Masada, which appears to contain motifs from the book of Joshua.

The inclusion of the Qumran texts in the comparison of the MT and LXX highlights further differences in the storyline of the book of Joshua. Two examples provide illustration. The first is the plot of the battle against Ai in Josh 8. The MT presents a complicated three-day story, in which Joshua twice sends out an ambush party before waging war on the third day. The LXX presents a more streamlined account of the battle with the absence of the MT of Josh 8:11b–13. The result is only one ambush party, with the entire episode transpiring in two days. The Qumran manuscript 4QapocrJosh^{a} supports the LXX version of the story, since it also appears to lack the MT of Josh 8:11b–13. The second noteworthy difference in the sequence of the stories is in the reading of the law at Mounts Ebal and Gerizim. This episode occurs immediately after the defeat of Ai in the MT (8:30–35), after the gathering of the nations in the LXX (9:1–2), and before the ceremony of circumcision in 4QapocrJosh^{a} (5:2–12). Each version provides a distinct interpretation of the ceremony at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizm, as well as the function of the episode in the book of Joshua, where the worship service at the altar appears to fulfill the command of Moses in Deut 27. The different literary contexts for the ceremony at the altar indicate that the text of Joshua is open to change and revision well into the Hellenistic period and that the differences between the MT, the LXX, and the Qumran manuscripts resist a linear development of the book from one textual version to the next.

JOSHUA IN THE MT AND THE LXX CANONS

The comparison of the MT, the LXX, and the Qumran manuscripts clarifies the distinct content of Joshua in the textual versions. Further comparison also reveals different functions of the book in the emerging Hebrew and Greek canons. The history of

composition already underscored the importance of interpreting the context of Joshua in identifying the literary works identified as the Tetrateuch, Hexateuch, Deuteronomistic History, and Enneateuch, because of the book's central position in connecting the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets. The ambiguity over the proper literary context for interpreting Joshua continues in the MT and the LXX canons. The comparison of the beginning and the ending of Joshua illustrates that the textual variants in the MT and the LXX create distinct contexts for the book.

The beginning of the book of Joshua presents a range of text-critical problems that influence interpretation (see the "Notes" to Josh 1). Van der Meer states the problem in Josh 1: "Since no convincing explanation of scribal error can be adduced for these quantitative variants, it is clear that they must be the result of deliberate literary initiatives" (2004: 161). Although the differences fuel debate over the textual history of Josh 1, they need not be resolved to recognize that they present distinct interpretations of Moses and the role of Torah, which influence the interpretation of the literary relationship between the book of Joshua and the Pentateuch.

Moses is idealized in both the MT and the LXX as the mentor of Joshua (v. 1) who enjoyed the special presence of God (v. 5), received the divine promise of land (v. 3), and taught Joshua laws that would lead to his successful leadership in the land (vv. 7–8). Yet there are also differences between these two idealizations of Moses, especially in the description of his instruction in vv. 7–8, which, as already noted above in "Composition," is a legal redaction that reinterprets the divine command in v. 6, where Joshua is called to be courageous in war because of God's unconditional promise to the ancestors (Smend, 1971: 494–504). The reinterpretation in vv. 7–9 qualifies the unconditional promise of v. 6 with the word "only," which leads to the reevaluation of success in war as conditional on the obedience to law. The law is specified further in v. 8 as the "book of this Torah." The MT and the LXX present distinct versions of vv. 7–8 that relate the book of Joshua to the Pentateuch in different ways. The divine speech to Joshua in the MT version describes the commandments of Moses as "all the Torah," which is referred to as a singular body of law when the Deity cautions Joshua not to "turn from *it.*" The reference to "all the Torah" is absent in the LXX and the caution of the Deity is rendered in the plural, "do not turn aside from *them,*" indicating that Joshua must recall a series of Mosaic instructions from his past experience with his mentor, Moses.

The contrasts suggest that the authority of Torah functions differently in the MT and the LXX versions of Joshua. In the MT, revelation consists in the study of the book, "all the Torah," which distances Joshua in time from Moses, the author of the Torah. As a result, Joshua is not commanded to recall past teachings of Moses from his life experience with his mentor, but only to study the Torah, conceived in the MT as a single resource book. The literary effect of the MT is to separate the time of Joshua from the life of Moses and the book of Joshua from the Pentateuch. In the LXX, by contrast, the authority of Moses is grounded more experientially. Joshua is not commanded to study "all the Torah"; instead, the Deity states that Joshua must recall the multiple teachings of Moses from his past experience: "Be strong and manly to observe and to do as Moyses, my servant, commanded you. And do not turn aside from *them.*" In this way, the LXX weaves the story of Moses and Joshua together as a sequence of related events that Joshua must remember and claim in his present circumstance. Thus, while the emphasis in the MT on "all the Torah" in the possession of Joshua creates a disjunction between

the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, the literary effect of the LXX is just the reverse: It ties the book of Joshua more closely to the Pentateuch as a continuous history from the life of Moses to the leadership of Joshua, creating a literary Hexateuch.

The MT and the LXX also provide different endings to the book of Joshua. The differences include the narrative sequence and the content of the ending of Josh 24. The MT concludes the book with the notice of three burials: Joshua (24:29–30), the bones of Joseph (24:32), and Eleazar (24:33). Its closing portrait of the Israelite people is positive: "Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua" (24:31). The LXX concludes the book of Joshua with the notice of four burials: Joshua (24:30–31), the bones of Joseph (24:32), Eleazar (24:33), and Phinehas (24:33a), while its closing portrait of the Israelites is a negative one, of faithlessness that leads to their oppression by Eglon, the king of Moab (24:33b).

The different endings of Joshua can be illustrated in the following manner:

MT Josh 24:28–33	*LXX Josh 24:28–33*
Departure of the Israelites	**Departure of the Israelites**
[28]Joshua sent the people away to their inheritances.	[28]Iesous sent the people away and they went each to his place.
	Faithfulness of the Israelites
	[29]And Israel served the Lord all the days of Iesous and all the days of the elders during the time of Iesous and who knew all the work of the Lord, which he did for Israel.
(1) Burial of Joshua	*(1) Burial of Iesous*
[29]And after these words, Joshua the son of Nun the servant of Yahweh died. He was 110 years old. [30]And they buried him in the territory of his inheritance in Timnath-Serah, which is in the highland of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash.	[30]And it happened after these things, Iesous the son of Naue the servant of the Lord died, 110 years old. [31]And they buried him at the border of his allotment in Thamnatharaschara in the highland of Ephraim from the north of Mount Gaas. [31a']There they placed with him in the tomb in which they buried him, the flint knives with which he circumcised the sons of Israel at Galgala, when he led them out of Egypt as the Lord commanded them. And there they are until this day.
Faithfulness of the Israelites	
[31]Israel served Yahweh all the days of Joshua and all the days of the elders whose days extended beyond Joshua, and who knew the work that Yahweh did for Israel.	

(*Continued*)

(2) Burial of Joseph's Bones

[32]The bones of Joseph that the Israelites brought up from Egypt were buried in Shechem in the section of the field that Jacob bought from the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem for one hundred Qesitah. They belonged to the sons of Joseph as an inheritance.

(3) Burial of Eleazar

[33]And Eleazar the son of Aaron died. And they buried him in Gibeah of Phinehas his son, which was given to him in the highland of Ephraim.

(2) Burial of Joseph's Bones

[32]And the bones of Joseph the sons of Israel brought up from Egypt and buried in Sikima in the part of the field, which Jacob brought from the Amorites who dwelt in Sikima for one hundred ewe-lambs. And he gave it to Joseph as a portion.

(3) Burial of Eleazar

[33]And it happened after this, Eleazar the son of Aaron, the high priest died and was buried in Gabaath of Phinees of his son, which he gave him in the highland of Ephraim.

(4) Burial of Phinees

[33a]On that day the sons of Israel took the ark of God and carried it around in their midst.
(And Phinees was priest after his father Eleazar until he died and was buried at Gabaath, which belonged to him.)

Departure of the Israelites

[33b]The sons of Israel departed each to his own place and to his own city.

Unfaithfulness of the Israelites

And the sons of Israel worshiped Ashtaroth and the gods of the nations round about them. And the Lord gave them over to the hand of Eglon the king of Moab. And he ruled over them for eighteen years.

The MT of Josh 24:28–33 begins with Joshua sending the Israelites to their respective tribal lands (v. 28), after which he dies at the age of 110 years (v. 29) and is buried at Timnath-Serah (v. 30). Verse 31 provides the closing portrait of the Israelites as being faithful not only during the lifetime of Joshua, but also during "all the days of the elders whose days extended beyond Joshua." The MT version follows this ideal portrait of the Israelites with the account of the burial of Joseph's bones (v. 32) and lastly of Eleazar (v. 33), who represents the priesthood during the lifetime of Joshua and his generation. Thus, the burials of Joshua and Eleazar mark the time period of the MT version of Joshua. The focus is on the second generation of the Israelites who left Egypt; they represent the ideal of faithfulness. This generation must be compared with the first generation of Israelites, who die in the wilderness, and to the later generation(s), whose apostasy is narrated in Judges.

The LXX provides a very different closing to Joshua. It includes two accounts of the Israelites returning to their respective tribal lands (24:29 and 33b), as opposed to the one instance in the MT (24:32). Joshua sends the Israelites away for the first time (24:28–29) before his death (24:30) and burial at Thamnatharaschara (24:31). The LXX then records the burial of Joseph's bones and of Eleazar (24:32–33), as in the MT (24:32–33). But the LXX also extends the timeline another generation by including a procession with the ark and the burial of Phinehas (24:33a), before concluding the book with the notice of Israel's second return to their tribal lands, at which time they act unfaithfully toward Yahweh and are oppressed by Eglon, king of Moab (24:33b).

The MT and the LXX relate the books of Joshua and Judges differently. The emphasis of the MT is on the second generation of the Israelites who left Egypt; they represent the ideal of faithfulness, in contrast to the later generation narrated in Judges. The focus on Joshua, Eleazar, and the generation of faithful Israelites suggests upon first reading that the book of Joshua is separated from Judges in the MT. But this is not the case. Joshua and Judges are linked into one composition in the MT through the repetition of Joshua's death and burial in Josh 24:28–31 and Judg 2:6–9, which forges a clear tie between the two books. The literary boundaries of these repetitions of Joshua's death indicate, however, that the relationship between Joshua and Judges is limited in the MT. The repetition frames only the events of Joshua's generation, which is also described as being faithful to Yahweh in Judg 2:7. The limited scope of the repetition *includes* the ending of Joshua (Josh 24:28–33) and the story of Joshua's generation in the opening section of Judges (Judg 1:1–2:9). It *excludes* the subsequent generation, which came to power after the death of Joshua's generation and "did not know Yahweh or the work that he did for Israel" (Judg 2:10). In this way, the content of the ending of Joshua in the MT corresponds to the literary context of the book in the MT. Both reinforce the positive portrayal of Joshua's generation of Israelites. The literary relationship between the ending of Joshua and Judges ceases with Judg 2:10, where the events move beyond Joshua's generation with the rise of a new generation. The limited scope of the repetition suggests that, although the MT relates the books of Joshua and Judges, it also separates the ideal vision of the Israelites during the lifetime of Joshua from the apostasy of the next generation, which is prominent in Judges.

The LXX suggests a different literary relationship between Joshua and Judges, since it expands the list of burials from three (Joshua, bones of Joseph, Eleazar) to four (Joshua, bones of Joseph, Eleazar, Phinehas) and adds negative evaluation of the Israelites. J. M. Dines concludes that the LXX additions to Joshua are intended to make "a deliberate link" to the book of Judges (2005: 16). The LXX expands the relationship of Joshua and Judges in two ways. First, the notice of Israel's unfaithfulness extends the conclusion of the book beyond the death of Joshua and his generation to include the apostasy of the next generation of Israelites (Judg 2:10–11) and their oppression by Eglon (Judg 3:12) (see M. Rösel, 2002: 18–19). Second, the procession of the ark and the burial of Phinehas in the LXX Josh 24:33a further expands the literary context of Joshua, since the only reference to Phinehas in Judges occurs at the end of the book, where Phinehas and the ark are also mentioned together during the story of intertribal warfare against Benjamin (Judg 20:28). In this way, the content of the ending of Joshua in the LXX corresponds to the literary context of the book in the LXX. Both downplay the separate idealization of Joshua and his generation, while also emphasizing the

negative portrayal of the Israelites. The result of this literary strategy is that the context of Joshua in the LXX is inseparable from the more extended story of tribal unfaithfulness and disobedience that dominates in the larger literary design of the book of Judges. This design also continues into the story of the monarchy in Samuel and Kings.

The comparison of the content and the context of Joshua indicates that the editors or translators of the MT and the LXX are creating distinct literary works in the emerging Hebrew and Greek canons, in which Joshua functions as an important linking document or "intertext" between different bodies of literature. G. Shepherd defines an intertext as an instance when "the editors in the late stages of the formation of the biblical books registered their assumption that . . . books belong together" (1990: 29). S. Chapman expands on Shepherd's definition, stating that "an intertext is not as integrated as a single 'book,' but also not as random or diffuse . . . [as] individual scrolls" (2003: 38). Although the MT and the LXX present clear signs that Joshua is functioning as an intertext, they relate the book differently to the Pentateuch and to Judges in fashioning distinct canons.

In the MT, the book of the Torah is separated from the story of Joshua. The two bodies of literature do not flow into each other as one continuous story of Israelite history. Rather, the pentateuchal literature, conceived as "all the Torah," recounts the origin of the Israelite people and the revelation of law through Moses. The Mosaic age comes to a conclusion in the MT at the end of the Torah, while the book of Joshua begins the story of the influence of the Torah in human affairs. In the LXX, by contrast, the book of Joshua is tied more closely to the preceding literature of the Pentateuch as a continuation of the history of Israel, in which the meaning of law unfolds in human experience. The LXX suggests a literary Hexateuch upon first reading, rather than the Pentateuch of the MT. But the downplaying of Joshua and his generation at the conclusion of the LXX version of the book indicates that the editors envision a larger literary work than the Hexateuch, extending at least through Judges, although its full extent cannot be identified on the basis of the editing of Joshua alone. The structure of the LXX suggests that the larger literary work progresses through the Maccabees. The distinct literary context of Joshua in the MT and LXX canons is illustrated in the table.

MT	*LXX*
Torah	**Pentateuch**
Genesis	Genesis
Exodus	Exodus
Leviticus	Leviticus
Numbers	Numbers
Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy
Prophets	**Histories**
Joshua	*Joshua*
Judges	Judges
	Ruth
Samuel	Regnorum I–II (Samuel)
Kings	Regnorum III–IV (Kings)

Isaiah	Paralipomenon I–II (Chronicles)
Jeremiah	Ezra-Nehemiah
Ezekiel	Tobit
Book of the Twelve	Judith
	Esther
	Maccabees I–IV
Writings	**Poetical/Wisdom**
	Prophets

The comparison of the MT and the LXX indicates that the versions contextualize Joshua into its narrative setting, thus continuing a process that was first initiated by the redactors of the once independent book (see "Composition"). But the MT and the LXX integrate the book of Joshua into different emerging canons. The MT separates the Pentateuch and Joshua, so that the Pentateuch represents the Torah of Moses, while the book of Joshua introduces the Prophets. Whether the book of Joshua was intended to begin the section of the Prophets, as is its function in the fully developed MT canon, is not clear from the editing. A. Rofé notes literary parallels between the references to Torah observance at the outset of the section on the Prophets in Josh 1:7–8 and the Writings in Ps 1:2–3 (1989: 248). The LXX merges the Pentateuch and Joshua into a single history of Israel that likely extends from creation (Genesis) through the Maccabees. The formation of the LXX is also unclear (Lust, 2003). The Greek translation of the Torah likely occurred in the third century BCE, with the translation of the Prophets probably following a century later (Dines, 2005: 50). What emerges over time, however, is a different sequence in the LXX and the MT based in part on the literary function of Joshua as an intertext.

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The summary of the major themes in Josh 1–12 separates into four sections: (1) Plot of Holy War, (2) Procession of the Ark, (3) Wars Against Kings and Royal Cities, and (4) Promised Land. The initial section, "Plot of Holy War," provides an overview of the two-part structure of Josh 1–12, which includes the procession of the ark in Josh 2–8 and the war against the indigenous kings in Josh 9–12. The plot provides the framework for exploring individual themes that support the unique theology of holy war in the book. "Procession of the Ark" examines the author's view of divine presence in the ark, the focus on holiness in the execution of the ban, the anticultural function of aniconism, and the monotheistic worldview of the book of Joshua. "Wars Against Kings and Royal Cities" explores the social implications of the political-religious theology of the ark. "Promised Land" investigates the rural utopian vision advanced in the book of Joshua as a countercultural antidote to the urban society represented by the city-states of the dominant indigenous nations.

PLOT OF HOLY WAR

The central theological theme in Josh 1–12 is the holy war against the indigenous kings and royal cities in order to realize the divine promise of land. The theme of holy war

provides the plot structure to Josh 1–12, which is developed in two stages: the entry of the ark into the land in Josh 2–8, and the war of Joshua against the indigenous nations in Josh 9–12.

The initial stage of holy war in Josh 2–8 describes the divine possession of the promised land through the procession of the ark to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. The procession of the ark profiles a form of Yahwism that explores the theme of the land as divine gift (3:1–5:12); the condemnation of royal cities as a source of pollution (5:13–6:27); the need to maintain religious purity through a strict form of social exclusion, reinforced by a monotheistic and aniconic form of religion, in which precious metals are banned (Josh 7); and the prominent role of the Torah at the central cultic location of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem (Josh 8). The theology of divine cultic presence coupled with the execution of the ban on the royal cities of the indigenous nations weave together a theology of holy war that is unique to the book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible.

The second stage of holy war is the conflict between Joshua and the indigenous nations in Josh 9–12. The result of Joshua's successful campaign is that the "land had rest from war" (11:23). Although the author of Josh 9–12 is writing in the tradition of the royal conquest accounts, the ideology of Josh 9–12 represents the rejection of the rule of kings and royal cities. The religious authority for the ideology in Josh 9–12, in which a tribal society replaces kings and their royal cities, springs from the aniconic form of Yahwism established in the procession of the ark in Josh 2–8 and symbolized in the altar of uncut stones at Ebal and Gerizim. The symbolism of the altar is not confined to the religious rituals associated with the ark in Josh 2–8; it is also carried over into Josh 9–12 to represent a form of social power that justifies waging an iconoclastic war against kings and royal cities (Z. Bahrani, 2008: 16). The correct behavior in war for the author of Joshua is established in the procession of the ark in Josh 2–8. The wars of Joshua, like the battle of Yahweh against Jericho and Ai, are not for the purpose of conquering kings but of purging them altogether from the promised land and in the process returning the royal cities to a more natural state of rubble. Only after the extermination of kings and the eradication of all royal cities will the promised land have peace from war (11:23).

PROCESSION OF THE ARK

The ark is the central cultic object in Joshua. It appears thirty times in the book and is described in a variety of ways, including the "ark," the "ark of the covenant," the "ark of Yahweh," and the "ark of the testimony." Given this prominence, where the ark is mentioned in the book is noteworthy, and it is limited to four stories in the MT version of Joshua: (1) the crossing of the Jordan (3:1–5:12), (2) the destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27), (3) the intercession of Joshua for the presence of Yahweh after the sin of Achan (7:1–26), and (4) the writing of the Torah on stones at the covenant ceremony on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:1–35). The LXX excludes the reference to the ark in the intercession of Joshua in Josh 7:6 and adds a reference to the ark in Josh 24:33a by concluding the book with the procession of the ark around the grave of Eleazar the priest at the northern location of Gabaath (Hebrew, Gibeah). When the MT version of the four scenes is read as a continuous narrative, Josh 3–8 describes the theology of divine cultic presence in the book of Joshua. The spying on Jericho and the confession

of Rahab in Josh 2, in which she states that Yahweh has given the land to Israel, sets the stage for the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 from Shittim, on the east side of the Jordan River, to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim at Shechem in the promised land.

Interpreters do not read Josh 2–8 as a continuous narrative about the ark, because they judge the story of Rahab in Josh 2 and the additional four stories of the ark to be only loosely related, or, in the case of the ritual reading of the Torah at Ebal and Gerizim, to be hopelessly out of context. Noth, for example, recognized the central role of the ark in the crossing of the Jordan, but he concluded that the ark was a late addition to the episode about the fall of Jericho and thus not a motif that originally related this story to the crossing of the Jordan (1971b: 40–43). L. Schwienhorst agreed with Noth (1986: 23–28) and also eliminated the motif of the ark from the original version of the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6. Fritz removed the ark from the intercession of Joshua in Josh 7, thus also detaching this story from a larger narrative about the ark (1994: 84–85). Soggin went so far as to relocate the final occurrence of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim to the end of the book of Joshua (1972: 220–31). Nelson does not follow the literary reconstruction of Soggin, but he too describes the writing of the Torah as a "floating pericope" that is "isolated from its context" (1997a: 116–17). As a result, although interpreters recognize the central role of the ark in the crossing of the Jordan, they have not fully explored the function of the ark throughout the four scenes of Josh 3–8.

My interpretation begins with a survey of the literature on the ark in the Hebrew Bible. The review allows for the comparison of the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 with other accounts of the ark, focusing on the following themes: (1) religious procession, (2) divine cultic presence, (3) the ban, (4) aniconic religion, and (5) monotheism. The interpretation illustrates the author's selective use of pentateuchal tradition to construct a political-religious story of holy war in Josh 1–12.

Religious Procession

The range of literature and the vocabulary used to describe the ark in the Hebrew Bible are important for interpreting its procession in Josh 3–8. The word *'arôn,* "ark," means "chest." Although it is used to describe a collection box in the temple (2 Kgs 12: 9–11), most of its occurrences designate the cultic ark, which "represents the presence of YHWH" (C. L. Seow, 1992: 391). Thus, the ark in Josh 3–8 is a story about the cultic procession of Yahweh into the promised land. But it is not the only story about the procession of the ark, nor does it provide the only interpretation of how the ark represents the presence of Yahweh in the Israelite cult. The distinctive theology of the ark in Joshua comes into focus in comparison with other stories about the ark in the Hebrew Bible. The distribution of stories and the distinctive vocabulary used to describe the ark are summarized in the table. The left column lists the books in which the ark appears and the central themes of the stories. The top row indicates the distinctive terminology used to describe the ark.

The table illustrates that the stories of the ark are concentrated in the Pentateuch, the Former Prophets, and Chronicles. There are only two references to the ark outside of this body of literature, one in the Prophetic corpus (Jer 3:16) and one in the Psalms (Ps 132:8). A survey of the central stories shows further that the interpretation of the ark in the Pentateuch is different from that in the Former Prophets and Chronicles. The Pentateuch concentrates on the origin of the ark during the revelation at the mountain

The Ark: Hebrew Bible

	'ārôn (ark)	*'ārôn bĕrît* (ark of the covenant)	*'ārôn 'ĕlōhîm* (ark of God)	*'ārôn yhwh* (ark of Yahweh)	*'ārôn 'ēdût* (ark of testimony)
Exodus (24)					
Ark at Mount Sinai	25:10, 14 [2], 15, 16, 21; 35:12; 37:1, 5 [2]; 40:20 [3], 21				25:22; 26:33, 34; 30:6, 26; 31:7; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21
Leviticus (1)					
Yom Kippur	16:1				
Numbers (6)					
1. Ark at Mount Sinai	3:31				4:5; 7:89
2. Procession to the Land	10:35	10:33; 14:44			
Deuteronomy (8)					
Ark at Mount Horeb	10:1, 2, 3, 5	10:8; 31:9, 25, 26			
Joshua (30)					
Procession to Ebal and Gerizim	3:15 [2]; 4:10; 6:4, 9; 8:33	3:3, 6 [2], 8, 11, 14, 17; 4:7, 9; 6:6, 8 8:33		3:13; 4:5, 11, 18; 6:6, 7, 11, 12, 13 [2]; 7:6	4:16
Judges (1)		20:27			

Samuel (62)				
1. 1 Sam: Ark and Northern Tribes	6:13; 7:2	4:3, 4 [2], 5	3:3; 4:11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22; 5:1, 2, 7, 8 [3], 10 [3], 11; 6:3; 14:18 [2]	4:6; 5:3, 4; 6:1, 2, 8, 11, 15, 18, 19, 21; 7:1 [2]
2. 2 Sam: David Procession to Jerusalem	6:4, 7; 11:11	15:24	6:2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12 [2]; 7:2; 15:24, 25, 29	6:9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17
1 Kings (12)				
3. Solomon Procession to Jerusalem Temple	8:3, 5, 7 [2], 9, 21	3:15; 6:19; 8:1, 6		2:26; 8:4
Jeremiah (1)				
Ark and Northern Kingdom		3:16		
Psalms (1)				
Procession to Jerusalem	132:8			
Chronicles (46)				
1. 1 Chr: David Procession to Jerusalem	6:16; 13:9, 10, 13; 15:23, 24, 27; 16:37	15:25, 26, 28, 29; 16:6, 37; 17:1; 22:19; 28:2, 18	13:3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 14; 15:1, 2, 15, 24; 16:1	15:3, 12, 14; 16:4
2. 2 Chr: Solomon Procession to Jerusalem Temple	5:4, 5, 6, 8 [2], 10; 6:11, 41; 35:3 [of holiness]	5:2, 7	1:4	8:11

Note: Numbers in parentheses and brackets are the number of times the terms appear.

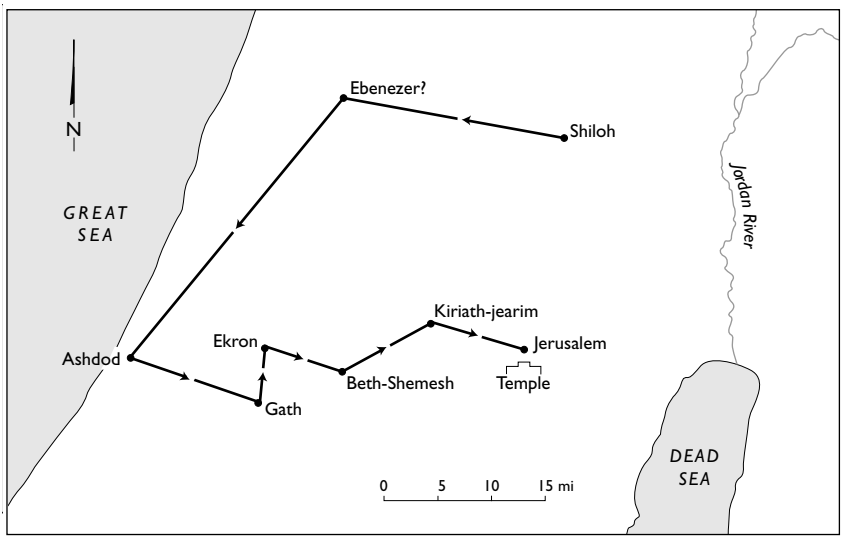
and its sacramental function in the wilderness journey. The Former Prophets and Chronicles concentrate more on the procession of the ark southward from the northern tribal territory to the Jerusalem cult, where it is eventually enshrined as a sacramental object in the royal temple. The author of Joshua employs both the theme of the ark as a sacramental cultic object from the Pentateuch and its procession to the central cultic site from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, but each theme is refashioned into a unique reading. My interpretation begins with the comparison of the procession of the ark in Joshua to Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, before turning to the sacramental significance of the ark in Joshua as compared with the Pentateuch.

The topics listed in the left column of the table show that a central feature of the story of the ark in Samuel-Kings and in Chronicles is the account of its transfer from the northern tribal region southward into the territory of Judah and the city of Jerusalem, where it is eventually placed in the Jerusalem temple. The northern setting of the ark is emphasized in 1 Sam 4–6; this narrative contains older traditions that reflect the early function of the ark in the northern region of Benjamin (J. Blenkinsopp, 1972: 63–83). Thus, the location of the ark at Shiloh and its use in northern tribal warfare may provide a window into the early role of the ark in war, which is reinforced by the poem in Num 10:35–36; it too associates Yahweh, the divine warrior, with the ark, which processes before the Israelites into war, "scattering the enemy," before returning to the Israelite camp.

The procession of the ark in war ahead of the Israelite army is also central to the narrative of Samuel-Kings, but the setting of the northern tribes is not idealized in the present form of the text. The potential of the ark to function as a divine source for victory in war remains possible in Samuel-Kings, but it requires a more complicated storyline of three episodes, in which the ark must be transferred from its original setting in the north to the southern location in the Jerusalem temple. The three episodes of the ark in Samuel-Kings include (1) the failure of the ark in the north (1 Sam 4–6), (2) the procession of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6–15), and (3) the entrance of the ark into the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 6–8).

Episode 1 is a story of failure, while the ark resides with the northern tribes. The procession of the ark in the north from Shiloh to Ebenezer (1 Sam 3–4) is a story of tribal defeat. The Philistines are not only victorious over the northern tribes, they even capture the ark, which is transported throughout their territory, from Ashdod (1 Sam 5:1) to Gath (1 Sam 5:8) and Ekron (1 Sam 5:10), wreaking damage along the way. The Philistines finally send the cultic object to Beth-Shemesh (1 Sam 6:10), where even more people die. The opening episode of the ark in Samuel-Kings underscores how unstable the cultic object is in the setting of the north; it is so unstable, in fact, that the tribes store it away in Kiriath-jearim within the house of Abinadab (1 Sam 7:1), rather than making it a central cultic object.

Episodes 2 and 3 narrate the procession of the ark southward to its central cultic place in Judah, rather than the northern setting of the events in episode 1. The procession to Judah and Jerusalem eventually provides the solution for the dangerous and unstable quality of the ark. In episode 2, David attempts to take the ark in procession to Jerusalem in order to incorporate it within the cultic life of Jerusalem (2 Sam 6–15). His first attempt fails utterly, resulting in the death of Uzzah (2 Sam 6:6–8) and the storage of the ark at the house of Obed-edom (2 Sam 6:12). But in his second attempt,



Map 1. The procession of the ark southward to Jerusalem
(Samuel-Kings, Chronicles, and Ps 132)

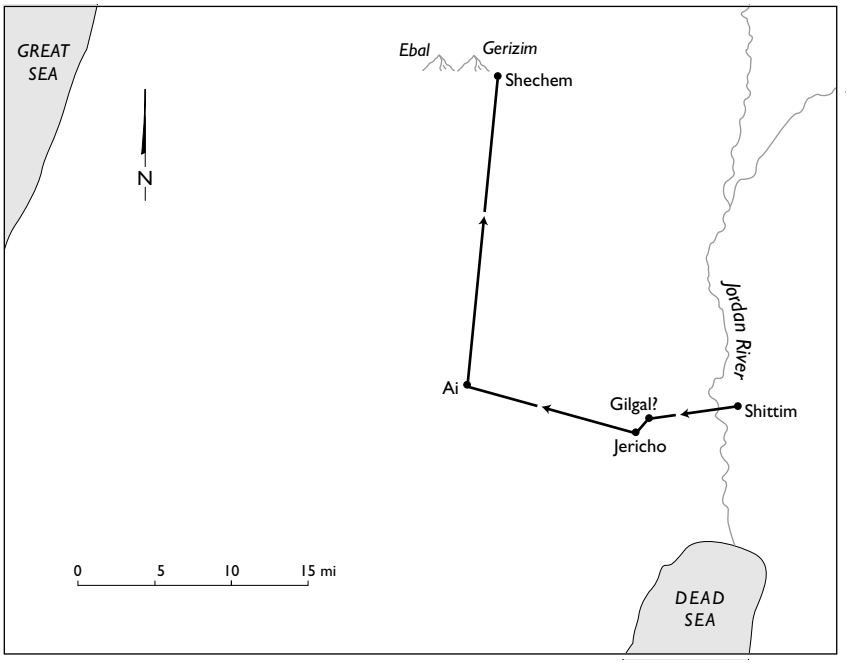
David partially succeeds; he takes the ark to Jerusalem, even though he does not build the temple for it (2 Sam 6:12). In episode 3, Solomon completes the story of the ark's procession from the north to the southern Jerusalem temple, when the priests place the ark "underneath the wings of the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies" of the newly constructed Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8:6–7).

The procession of the ark in Samuel-Kings is a pro-Judean story that idealizes the city of Jerusalem, its royal temple, and the Davidic monarchy. The journey moves southward, from Shiloh to Jerusalem (Map 1), which requires the leadership of both David and Solomon, before the ark reaches its resting place in the holy of holies of the Jerusalem temple. The procession of the ark also appears in Chronicles, without the critical account of 1 Sam 4–6, in which the northern tribes lose the ark. The omission may represent the all-Israel focus of the Chronicler, as argued, for example, by S. Japhet (1993: 46–47). Yet it too represents a pro-Judean interpretation of the ark that is centered on the Jerusalem temple. First Chronicles recounts the transportation of the ark southward, first by David from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem (1 Chr 13; 15) and then by Solomon, who oversees its entrance into the temple (1 Chr 21). In both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the emphasis is on the southern procession of the ark, from its origin in the northern region to its eventual location in the southern temple at Jerusalem. Psalm 132 also functions within the same tradition, although it describes the procession of the ark more narrowly, from Ephrath and Jaar to its resting place in the Jerusalem temple, where it functions as the footstool of the Deity (Ps 132:7). In commenting on Pss 132 and 24, Blenkinsopp writes, "What is described here is a procession ending in the Jerusalem sanctuary" (1972: 73).

The author of Joshua also fashions the story of the ark into a ritual procession to a cultic site, as in the stories of the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings,

Chronicles, and Ps 132. But many features in Josh 3–8 alert the reader to the author's distinct aims. Most notably, the ritual procession of the ark does not move from the northern region of Benjamin to the south, in order to legitimate Jerusalem and its temple as the central cult of Yahweh. Instead, the ark processes in the opposite direction, northward, across the Jordan through three locations in the promised land: Gilgal, Jericho, and Ai, before reaching the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem as its central cultic site (Map 2).

The narrative strategy provides insight into the pro-northern point of view of the author of Joshua. The procession of the ark is directed to the central cultic location at Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem. This cultic site, moreover, represents a form of Yahwism that contrasts with the pro-Judean version of the procession of the ark to the Jerusalem temple. The sanctuary at Shechem is an open-air altar of uncut stones (Josh 8:30–35), as compared with the lavish urban temple of Solomon with its complex iconography (1 Kgs 6–7; 2 Chr 5). The northward procession of the ark in Joshua and its southern journey to Jerusalem in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, along with the conflicting visions of the cultic site, represent competing interpretations of Yahwistic religion, which may have originated already in the late monarchic period and continued into the postexilic period. The importance of Shechem to the author of Joshua is reinforced in the final chapter of the book, when the tribes return to Shechem for a concluding covenant ceremony in Josh 24, while the author condemns Jerusalem for not maintaining the strict exclusive demands of the covenant: "But the people of Judah



Map 2. The procession of the ark northward to Shechem (Joshua)

could not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem; so that the Jebusites live with the people of Judah in Jerusalem to this day" (Josh 15:63).

Divine Cultic Presence

The central story of the ark in the Pentateuch is the explanation of its origin and the description of its sacramental function: to represent the presence of God in the Israelite cult. The previous table also illustrates that the account of the ark's origin is reported twice: in the P account of the revelation of the tabernacle at Mount Sinai (Exod 25:10–22), and in Deuteronomy during the revelation of the Ten Commandments at Mount Horeb (Deut 10:1–5). The origin stories in the Pentateuch concentrate on the quality of the divine presence represented by the ark at the cultic sites of Mount Sinai in the P literature (Exod, Lev, Num) and of Mount Horeb in Deuteronomy (chapters 10 and 31).

The distinctive theology of divine presence in Joshua comes into focus when the language used to describe the ark in Josh 3–8 is compared with that of the P literature and the book of Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch. A. Maier (1965: 82–83) noted that the meaning of the ark is often conveyed by the words used to qualify it, such as the "ark of the covenant," "ark of God," "ark of Yahweh," and "ark of the testimony," or even by the epithets of the Deity associated with the ark, such as "Yahweh Sabaoth" in the Jerusalem temple, the "Kabod Yahweh" in the P literature, or "El, the living," in Joshua. Careful attention to the qualifications of the ark provides a window into its changing significance throughout the cultic history of ancient Israel.

Interpreters agree that the origin of the ark is obscure. Yet J. Dus rightly concluded that the idealization of the ark in the Hebrew Bible as an archaic form of Yahwism encourages a tradition-historical investigation into its early cultic role, however tentative the results remain (1960a). The earliest references to the ark appear either to lack a qualification (e.g., simply stating "ark") or to identify the ark with the Deity (e.g., "ark of Yahweh" and "ark of God"). P. D. Miller and J. J. M. Roberts concluded that in the earliest stories of the ark, it represents the military power of God as a warrior (1977). For example, the "ark of God" is the primary description of the cultic object in the story of the tribal war against the Philistines in 1 Sam 4–6 where it functions as a war palladium. A. F. Campbell judged 1 Sam 4–6 to contain remnants of the oldest traditions of the ark (1975). Blenkinsopp agrees, suggesting that many of the stories about the ark in 1 Sam 4–6 "must have been in circulation . . . before its permanent establishment in Jerusalem," where it functioned as a war palladium (1972: 65, 73). F. M. Cross noted the holy war ideology in the ancient poem of Num 10:35, where the military function of the ark is also central: "Arise, O Yahweh, let your enemies be scattered and your foes flee before you" (1973: 100). In the monarchic period, the ark continues to symbolize the military power of God, while it also represents the cultic presence of "Yahweh of hosts who sits enthroned upon the cherubim" in the Jerusalem temple (2 Sam 6:2). The prominence of the ark may recede in the setting of the temple, when it becomes the footstool for the Deity rather than the central throne. Yet it continues to influence the liturgy of the Jerusalem temple, as is illustrated in the royal psalm about David and Zion in Ps 132:7–8: "Let us go to his dwelling place; let us worship at his footstool. Rise up, O Yahweh, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your might."

T. N. D. Mettinger concluded that the D and P authors replace both the royal and the military imagery of the ark in the exilic and postexilic periods. These traditions reinterpret the ark so that it becomes the container for the divinely revealed law, which establishes the covenant between Yahweh and Israel (1982: 51). Thus, each tradition strips the ark of its original military symbolism, while also describing it differently to represent the distinct versions of the divine law envisioned in the P literature and in Deuteronomy. The "ark of the covenant" in Deuteronomy holds the Ten Commandments revealed at Mount Horeb, which codify the covenant between Yahweh and Israel (Deut 10:1–5), while the "ark of the testimony" in P literature contains the ritual law for the tabernacle revealed on Mount Sinai (Exod 25:10–22). The different descriptions reinforce the conclusion of Maier that the qualifications of the ark provide a window into its changing significance throughout the cultic history of ancient Israel.

The procession of the ark in Joshua contains a wide variety of terms, including "ark," "ark of Yahweh," "ark of the covenant," and "ark of the testimony." The density of the terms and the weaving of the distinct titles of the ark give rise to a unique portrayal in Joshua, in which the ark is both the container of the divinely revealed law and the means by which Yahweh wages war. This portrayal presupposes the interpretation of the ark in the Pentateuch, while also departing from both the P and D versions, where the theme of war is absent. In contrast to the P and D accounts of the ark, the author of Joshua holds the conflicting interpretations of the ark together, so that it functions as both the container of the divine law from the Pentateuch and a war palladium from 1 Sam 4–6. In Josh 3–8, the procession of the ark includes the theophany at the Jordan River, holy war against Jericho, and the observance of the law at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. The combination of themes indicates that the author of Joshua interacts with the full range of stories about the ark in the Pentateuch and in Samuel-Kings to construct a distinctive theology of divine cultic presence, in which the ark processes northward, waging war as it seeks its resting place at Shechem.

The theology of divine cultic presence in the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim comes into focus in comparison with the stories of revelation in the P literature and in the book of Deuteronomy. The P and D accounts share a similar structure, in which (1) an initial revelation leads to a covenant that is broken, (2) requiring intercession for repair, (3) before ending with a new revelation that signifies covenant renewal and the permanent establishment of the cult. The structure of the stories, with the movement from divine presence, its loss, and renewal through intercession, allows the P and D authors to explore the nature of cultic holiness. In each case, the initial revelation clarifies the quality of holiness; its loss identifies the central threat to the sacred; and the intercession of Moses models mediation that leads to a more permanent and stable form of cultic holiness in which the ark plays a role. The procession of the ark to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim is fashioned on the same pattern. It, too, is intended to define the nature of the sacred in the book of Joshua through the sequence of revelation, loss, and renewal. The comparison of the stories highlights points of contrast that provide insight into the distinctive theology of divine cultic presence in Josh 3–8.

The cultic revelation at Mount Sinai in the P literature is lengthy, extending from Exod 19 through Num 10. But the core of the story is contained in the book of Exodus. Exodus 19–31 narrates the divine descent of the glory of Yahweh (*kābôd yhwh*) on Mount Sinai (24:15–18) and the writing of the divine revelation on the "tablets of testi-

mony" (*lūḥōt hāʿēdūt;* 31:18). The construction of the golden calf is a threat to holiness that halts the further descent of the divine presence (Exod 32). The interruption of the divine presence is symbolized by the destruction of the "tablets of testimony" (32:15). The retreat of the Deity prompts Moses to intercede for the presence of God (Exod 33). The successful intercession results in the renewed revelation of God on Mount Sinai (Exod 34) and the rewriting of the "tablets of testimony" (34:29), which leads to the establishment of the cult, including the construction of the "ark of the testimony" (37:1–9). The ark assumes the central role in the tabernacle cult. It contains the divinely revealed law. Its construction is lavish; it is made using pure gold (25:17) and has complex iconography that includes two cherubim sculpted into the *kappōret,* or mercy seat (25:18). In addition to containing the "tablets of the testimony," the ark also has a sacramental and an oracular function in the tabernacle, but it has no role in war. The ark purifies the sanctuary from pollution on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:2), and it is also the location for ongoing oral revelation (Exod 25:22; Num 7:89). The Aaronide priests from the family of Kohath transport the ark (Num 3:31; 4:5).

Deuteronomy 9–10 recounts the same story, only this time it takes place at Mount Horeb (9:8; see also 1:6, 19) rather than on Mount Sinai as in the P version. The story follows the same pattern, however. It presupposes the initial revelation at Mount Horeb (Deut 4–5), where the divine presence is an abstract voice from heaven lacking form (4:12). The revelation results in the writing of the Ten Commandments on the "tablets of the stones" (*lūḥôt ʾăbānîm;* 4:13) as the basis for covenant (4:13). The construction of an image of a calf violates the formlessness of the divine voice, which dissolves the newly formed covenant. This too is symbolized by the destruction of the "tablets of the covenant" (*lûḥôt habbĕrît;* 9:9). Moses intercedes for the Israelites (9:18–29), and his intercession results in the renewal of the covenant, the writing of new "tablets of stone," and the construction of a wooden ark to contain the tablets (10:1–11). The ark is a simple box. It is not even clear whether it represents the presence of God in the cult. Rather, its value is derived from the "tablets of stone" stored within it. G. von Rad goes so far as to conclude that the ark is demythologized in Deuteronomy (1966: 103–24). The need to select Levites to carry the ark (10:8) qualifies von Rad's conclusion to some degree, since it suggests that the ark is not simply a profane object, even though it lacks the sacramental character of the P interpretation. As in the P interpretation, the ark has no function in war in the book of Deuteronomy.

The author of Joshua combines the aniconic emphasis in the description of the ark from the book of Deuteronomy with the sacramental view from the P literature to construct a cultic theology of holiness in Josh 3–8. The influence of Deuteronomy on the author is evident in the lack of iconography associated with the ark and its primary description as the "ark of the covenant." The ritual writing of the Torah before the ark in the ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim in Josh 8:30–35 also mirrors a similar ceremony in Deut 27, where the ark is absent, however. The influence of the P literature on the author is evident in the sacramental function of the ark. Its holiness in Joshua is not the result of its role as the container of sacred law. In fact, the author of Joshua never states that the ark contains sacred law. Instead, it represents the divine holiness in the book of Joshua, as in the P literature. As a result, the sacred character of the ark must be protected at all times. The sacramental character of the ark in Joshua creates a series of parallels to the book of Exodus, rather than to the book of Deuteronomy.

There is a three-day period of preparation for theophany at the Jordan River (Josh 3:2; Exod 19:16), coupled with a process of sanctification (Josh 3:5; Exod 19:10) and the need to maintain a safe distance between the sacred and the profane in following the ark (Josh 3:4; Exod 19:12, 20–24). The sacramental character of the ark in Joshua is further underscored when it functions as the location from which the Deity speaks to Joshua during his intercession for the renewal of the presence of God (Josh 7:6–16). This function is similar to the role of the ark in the P literature, where the ark is also the location from which Yahweh speaks to Moses (Exod 25:22 and Num 7:89).

The fusion of traditions creates a unique theology of divine cultic presence in Joshua, in which the ark plays the central role throughout the entire sequence of revelation, loss, and renewal, rather than appearing only at the end of the story as in the P literature and in the book of Deuteronomy. The procession of the ark to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim also departs from the pentateuchal versions by emphasizing the role of the ark in war—a theme that is absent in both the P and the D accounts. The entire theophany of Yahweh in the book of Joshua, therefore, is centered on the ark. It is the vehicle for the appearance of "El, the living," at the Jordan River (3:1–5:12) and the manifestation of divine power in holy war against Jericho (5:13–6:27). The threat to holiness is the failure to execute the holy war, which also centers on the ark. Thus it is the booty from the city of Jericho taken by Achan, not the golden calf, that threatens the presence of "El, the living," in holy war (7:1–5). The loss of the Deity as a holy warrior forces Joshua to intercede before the ark for the presence of God (7:6–26). The intercession leads to renewed success in holy war, culminating in the ritual writing of the Torah before the ark at Ebal and Gerizim (8:1–35). The linking of holiness, the ark, and war fuels an interpretation in which the execution of the ban on the kings and their royal cities is necessary to secure the cultic presence of God in the promised land; its violation becomes the central threat to the sacred in the book of Joshua, as illustrated by the story of Achan.

The Ban

The ban (*ḥerem*) is a central theme for exploring the nature of holiness in the book of Joshua. The word occurs twenty-seven times, more often than in any other book in the Hebrew Bible; it appears fourteen times as a verb and thirteen times as a noun. The causative form of the verb, *heḥerîm,* "to put under a ban," describes the dedication of an object, person, or animal to total destruction in war, although it can also refer to the act of cultic sacrifice. The noun, *ḥerem,* "what is banned" or "devoted object," characterizes the booty from war, but it too can refer to the victim for sacrifice. In the case of war, objects under the ban cannot become a possession of warriors, nor can the human who sacrifices under the ban retain any portion of the slaughter or redeem it with money. All humans under the ban in war or in sacrifice are forbidden to live, without exception. The ban is an absolute law in the Hebrew Bible. There are no conditions for mitigating the execution of the ban.

The interpretation of the ban in Joshua, as an act of holy war, comes into focus from comparison with the other uses of the motif in the Hebrew Bible. The literary distribution of the ban is summarized in the table. The left column lists the books in which the motif appears and the central theme that is associated with it. The top row indicates whether the ban is used as a verb or a noun.

The Ban

	ḥāram (verb)	*ḥerem* (noun)
Exodus (1)	22:20	
Leviticus (7)		
Cult	27:28, 29	27:21, 28 [2], 29 [2]
Numbers (3)		
Cult		18:14
War	21:2, 3	
Deuteronomy (11)		
War	2:34	
War	3:6 [2]	
War and Booty	7:2 [2]	7:26 [2]
War and Booty	13:16	13:18
War	20:17 [2]	
Joshua (27)		
War	2:10	
War	6:18, 21	6:17, 18 [3]
Booty as Sacrilege (Achan)		7:1 [2], 11, 12 [2], 13
War	8:26	[2], 15
War	10:1, 28, 35, 37, 39, 40	
Booty as Sacrilege (Achan)	11:11, 12, 20, 21	22:20
Judges (2)		
War	1:17	
War	21:11	
1 Samuel (8)		
War (Saul and Agag)	15:3, 8, 9 [2], 15, 18, 20	15:21
Kings (3)		
War	1 Kgs 9:21	
War	1 Kgs 20:42	
War	2 Kgs 19:11	
Isaiah (5)		
War	11:15	
War	34:2, 5	
War	37:11	
War	43:28	
Jeremiah (4)		
War	25:9	
War	50:21, 26	
War	51:3	
Ezekiel (1)		
Cult		44:29
Micah (1)		
Cult	4:13	
Zechariah (1)		
War?		14:11

(*Continued*)

Malachi (1)		
War		4:6
Daniel (1)		
War	11:44	
Ezra (1)		
Excommunication	10:8	
Chronicles (4)		
Booty as Sacrilege (Achar)	1 Chr 4:41	4:41
War	2 Chr 20:23	
War	2 Chr 32:14	

Note: Numbers in parentheses and brackets are the number of times the terms appear.

The table illustrates that the verb, *ḥāram,* is used most frequently in the Hebrew Bible to describe a form of war in which the Deity demands that all life be destroyed. The noun, *ḥerem,* "what is banned" or "devoted object," refers to war booty that is dedicated wholly to the Deity. The Former and Latter Prophets provide illustration. These books use the verb, "to put under the ban," most often to describe the annihilation of the enemy in war (e.g., Judg 1:17; 1 Sam 15:3; Isa 11:15, and so forth). There are only a few exceptions to this. Micah 4:13 uses the verb to describe the sacrifice of booty to Yahweh. The noun characterizes the booty from war that is sacrificed to Yahweh, as for example in 1 Sam 15:21. Only Ezek 44:29 uses the noun to describe sacrificial objects outside of the context of war: "They [the priests] shall eat the grain offering, the sin offering, and the guilt offering; and every devoted thing [*ḥerem*] in Israel shall be theirs." The distribution points to two meanings of the ban, which have an unequal distribution in the Hebrew Bible: The first, and more prominent meaning, concerns war and war booty; and the second meaning describes a form of cultic sacrifice. The different meanings of the ban come into clearer focus in the Pentateuch.

P. D. Stern argued that the book of Deuteronomy and the P literature contain different interpretations of the ban (1991: 125–26). In Deuteronomy, *ḥerem* is tied to war. The verb *heḥerîm,* "to put under the ban," describes the total destruction of a nation. Deuteronomy 2:34 illustrates, when Moses describes the nature of the defeat of Sihon as "utterly destroying men, women, and children." He concludes, "We left not a single survivor" (see also Deut 3:6; 13:16 [Eng. 15]; 20:17). The ban is violated if Israel makes a covenant with a nation and thus shows mercy: "When Yahweh your God gives them [the indigenous nations] over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them. Make no covenant with them and show them no mercy" (Deut 7:2). The noun *ḥerem,* "what is banned" or "devoted object," refers to war booty, which is *tôʿēbâ,* "an abhorrent thing," as is illustrated in the command in Deut 7:26 that prohibits the private possession of war booty: "Do not bring an abhorrent thing [*tôʿēbâ*] into your house." The Israelites must "utterly detest [*šāqaṣ*] and abhor [*tāʿab*] it, for it is a devoted object [*ḥerem*]." The same teaching emerges in Deut 13:18 (Eng. 17), when it states that a devoted object (*ḥerem*) should not stick (*dābaq*) to the hands of Israelites, which most likely expresses the desire to possess privately. The power of the devoted object to contaminate the Israelites in both Deut 7:26 and 13:18 resides in the *desire* of the people, not in the devoted object itself. This is underscored in the description of the devoted object as *tôʿēbâ,* "abhorrent," which means deception, "the two-faced or hypocritical

attitude of the malefactor" (Weinfeld, 1972: 268). The remedy, therefore, also lies with the person, who must not act hypocritically by professing allegiance to Yahweh while also *desiring* the devoted object for profane possession. A violation will trigger divine anger, leading to death; but the contamination is limited to the person who acted in the hypocritical manner.

The interpretation of Deut 7:26 and 13:18 illustrates that the ban in Deuteronomy is limited to war and that it is aimed at reinforcing the *attitude* of the Israelites toward the indigenous nations. The ban demands absolute social and religious exclusion through the destruction of foreign objects and the extermination of foreign people. The unconditional requirement of the ban is enforced through divine command; it is Yahweh, not Moses, who demands the destruction of the nations. The singling out of divine images as objects under the ban in Deut 7:26 may introduce a relationship between warfare and the sacred in Deuteronomy, in which case the execution of people or the destruction of objects under the ban would represent a transfer from the profane to the sacred realm. The characterization of the war camp as holy in Deut 20:10–15 (Eng. 9–14) strengthens this interpretation. But the book of Deuteronomy is not explicit in identifying the ban as holy war. Even though the ban is a divine command, its execution is not a sacred action, nor do people under the ban belong to the Deity, making their deaths sacrifices to Yahweh. Rather, they are repugnant or repulsive to Israelites; they must be detested and destroyed. In the case of objects it means forbidding the private possession of banned objects. The intermingling of warfare, the ban, and the presence of Yahweh in the war camp at most infuses war with a mystical perspective, as noted by Stern (1991: 220–21) and D. S. Earl (2010: 105–11), without transforming war into a sacred act of sacrifice to Yahweh. H. H. Schmid adds that the mystical quality of war may also be related to the ideology that ties warfare to a deeper mythological conflict between chaos and cosmic order (1972: 91–120). In this case, the execution of the ban is tied to achieving cosmic balance, which will result in peace within the land.

The P literature provides a different interpretation of the ban as sacrifice that is undertaken independently of war, which is also evident in Ezek 44. Leviticus 27 is the primary teaching on this view of the ban, where the noun *ḥerem* occurs five times to characterize a gift that is given to the Deity in a vow. A vowed gift represents the transfer of a human, an animal, or a piece of property from the profane to the sacred world, and Lev 27 consists of regulations by which the worshiper could redeem the gift—thus transferring it back from the sacred to the profane realm. An adult male given to Yahweh in vow, for example, could be redeemed for fifty silver shekels, a female for thirty shekels, a child from three to five shekels, a house for one-fifth of its assessed value, and so forth. Leviticus 27:28–29 states that the ban represents a more extreme form of vowing to Yahweh in which redemption is not possible: "Nothing that a person owns that has been devoted to destruction [*ḥāram*] to Yahweh, be it human or animal, or inherited land-holding, may be sold or redeemed." The reason is "every devoted thing [*ḥerem*] is most holy to Yahweh [*qōdeš-qŏdāšîm hû' layhwh*]" and thus remains a possession of the Deity. The permanent transfer from the profane to the sacred world must be accomplished by sacrifice: "No human beings who have been devoted to destruction can be ransomed; they shall be put to death." The Priestly teaching on the ban is thoroughly grounded in cultic language, in which people or objects under the ban are transferred to the realm of the Deity, designated by the phrase "to Yahweh." D. P. Wright noted that

the Hebrew *ḥāram* in this context is roughly synonymous with the word *qādaš,* "to be holy, sanctify" (1992: 237). The correspondence indicates that the ban is grounded in cultic law in the P literature and that it identifies people and objects belonging to the sacred realm of God, rather than to the profane world of humans.

The P and D teachings on the ban contain a series of contrasts. First, the setting of war is absent in the P teaching. In fact, within P teaching, war is never holy, and any participation in war—even God-ordained war like the extermination of the Midianites in Num 31—makes the warriors ritually impure. Unlike Deuteronomy, moreover, the war camp would never be holy; it always pollutes. Purification for warriors to reenter the Israelite camp in the case of the war against Midian requires seven full days (Num 31:19–24). Second, the Hebrew phrase *layhwh,* "to Yahweh," indicates the cultic setting in the P teaching on the ban as a vow, in which there is a ritual transfer from the profane to the sacred realm. The phrase "to Yahweh" is absent in the teaching on the ban in Deuteronomy; it never designates the transfer of what is banned "to Yahweh." In the P teaching, by contrast, the transfer "to Yahweh" of the banned object or person is so strong that it cannot be undone. Third, the cultic setting of the P teaching also means that people or objects under the ban become "holy to Yahweh," meaning that they are separated from the profane world. Separation is also important in the teaching on the ban in Deuteronomy. It, too, demands that the Israelites separate themselves from banned objects or people when they are described as "abhorrent" and "detestable." These terms, however, demand social exclusion from other nations, rather than the separation of the sacred and the profane, as in the cultic teaching on the ban in the P literature.

The procession of the ark in Joshua combines the P and D teachings on the ban into an extreme political-religious teaching on genocide. The book of Joshua follows Deuteronomy in interpreting the ban within the context of war. The introduction of the theme in Josh 2:10 to describe the extermination of the kingdoms of Og and Sihon repeats the account of Moses in Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 2:34 and 3:6). The execution of the ban on Ai (Josh 8:26; 10:1), Makkedah (10:28), Eglon (10:35), Hebron (10:37), Debir (10:39), Hazor (11:11), and the cities of the Anakim (11:21) reinforces the setting of war. The book of Joshua also follows Deuteronomy in forbidding banned objects to be private possessions and warning against the *desire* to possess them (7:11, 15). The similarity has prompted scholars to relate Deuteronomy and Joshua in discerning the meaning of the ban. Nelson, for example, wrote that the execution of the ban in Joshua "illustrates Israel's obedience to Deuteronomy" (1997b: 46). But the book of Joshua does not follow the central argument of Deuteronomy that banned objects are abhorrent (*tôʿēbâ*) and something to be detested (*šāqaṣ*). In fact, this language is absent from the book of Joshua.

The ban in Joshua is grounded in the P teaching of the ban as a cultic act of sacrifice to Yahweh. The destruction of Jericho (Josh 6) and the sin of Achan (Josh 7) provide the cultic rationale for the ban. Many features in these stories follow the P teaching on the ban. Joshua uses sacrificial language in Josh 6:17 to announce the destruction of Jericho, when he states that because the city is under the ban, it must be devoted "to Yahweh." The sacrificial interpretation of the ban derives from Joshua's earlier encounter with the commander of the army of Yahweh "in Jericho" (5:13), where the divine being describes the ground of the city as sacred: "Remove your sandal from your foot,

because the place upon which you are standing, it is holy" (5:15). The sacred status of Jericho means that the private possession of its booty is "sacrilege [*wayyimʿălû . . . maʿal*] with regard to the ban [*baḥērem*]" (7:1). Such sacrilege in the P literature requires ritual atonement in the form of sacrifice (e.g., Lev 5:15–21; 26:40; Num 5:6, 12, 27; 31:16). The same process of sacrifice for atonement is followed in the execution of Achan and his family, which allows the camp to be purged from the contagion of the banned objects (Josh 7:13–15). The violation of the ban as sacrilege is not part of the vocabulary of Deuteronomy.

The book of Joshua combines warfare and sacrifice into an ideology of holy war that represents a new teaching that is different from Deuteronomy and the P literature. The combination of sacrifice and warfare is a central feature of religious violence, for it places the participants in a greater drama of ultimate significance (M. Juergensmeyer and M. Kitts, 2011: 220). The drama of ultimate significance for the author of Joshua is achieved through the selective combination of P and D teachings from the Torah. In the narrative world of the book of Joshua, the age of Moses is past and the revelation of the law in the Torah is secure. The present danger for Joshua's generation is any form of assimilation to the dominant culture that would violate the ban and lead to the loss of the divine warrior. The linking of the holiness of the ark, war, and sacrifice results in an extreme ideology in which the genocide of the kings and their royal cities in the promised land is necessary to secure the divine cultic presence on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem. The ideology of the ban means that the war is not for the purpose of conquest, but of extermination; it is an act of sacrifice "to Yahweh" that is intended to bring peace to the land (Josh 11:23).

Aniconic Religion

The antimonarchic, and thus countercultural, ideology of the book of Joshua continues in the cultic representation associated with the ark. The author of Joshua uses the procession of the ark to advance an aniconic form of Yahwism in which cultic representation is limited to uncut stones, rather than the iconography that characterizes royal cults. The memorial of the ark's crossing of the Jordan consists of twelve standing stones (Josh 4); the circumcision of the Israelites is performed at Gilgal with a stone knife that lacks manufacturing of any kind (5:2); the arrival of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim results in an altar of uncut stones (8:31); and even the writing of the Torah of Moses at Ebal and Gerizim is on an uncut stone without plaster (8:32).

B. Gladigow defines aniconism as a cult that lacks images of a deity in worship (1988: 472). Standing stones like those described in the book of Joshua are prime examples of aniconic worship They are associated with open-air cultic sites in the Hebrew Bible and throughout the ancient Near East, where they function as memorial stones and cultic stelae (Mettinger, 1995: 18–35). I. Cornelius contrasts the aniconism of the standing stones to the more common form of worship in the ancient Near East, in which there is iconic representation of deities in temples through images of humans (anthropomorphism), animals (theriomorphism), inanimate objects, or a mixture, such as the Egyptian representation of deities with human bodies and animal heads (1997). Mettinger defines aniconism further by introducing a distinction between a cult where there is simply no iconic representation (de facto aniconism) and a more intolerant rejection of the iconic representation of deities (iconoclastic or programmatic aniconism)

(1995: 18–27). The linking of the cultic standing stones with the procession of the ark in holy war in the book of Joshua represents the iconoclastic version of aniconism.

The origin of aniconism in ancient Israelite worship is unclear and debated (e.g., K. van der Toorn, 1997; B. B. Schmidt, 1995). R. Hendel detects the seeds of aniconism already in the imagery of Yahweh's empty throne above the ark in the Jerusalem temple (1997: 224). This may be the case, but, as noted by H. Niehr, interpreters tend to agree that worship in the monarchic period incorporates the iconic representation of the Deity in cultic ritual (1997). C. Uehlinger points out that the official royal state temples in Palestine during Iron Age II tend to represent dynastic deities with anthropomorphic cult statues (1997: 152). H. Piesl attributes the cultic anthropomorphism throughout the ancient Near East to the rise of high culture that accompanies the emergence of city-states and kings (1969: 42–43). Mettinger agrees: "In the towns the god is given a shape and a personal will and the interactions between the worshippers and the deity are characterized by the metaphorics of humans relationships: slave, subject, child, friend" (1995: 29). W. W. Hallo adds that the dominant role of the iconic representation of the Deity as a divine king highlights the political ideology of the royal cults in relating the God and the monarch (1988). Conversely, the rejection of the iconic representation of the Deity in aniconism reflects an antimonarchic ideology, especially in its iconoclastic form. This is true in the book of Joshua, where the procession of the ark to Shechem and the execution of the ban on kings and royal cities along the way leave only uncut stones in their wake.

The intolerant form of aniconism in Joshua is clarified when compared with Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy partially shares the ideology with Joshua. It too forbids divine images in the Israelite cult: "Since you saw no form when Yahweh spoke to you at Horeb out of the fire, take care and watch yourselves closely, so that you do not act corruptly by making an idol for yourselves" (Deut 4:15–16). Deuteronomy is also iconoclastic. The religious rationale for war against the indigenous nations is based in part on the fact that the worship of the foreign gods is iconic: "This is how you must deal with them: break down their altars, smash their pillars, hew down their sacred poles, and burn their idols with fire" (7:5; see also 12:3; 16:22). But the book of Deuteronomy also retains a modified form of iconic representation. B. B. Schmidt notes that the prohibition against images in passages like Deut 4:1–40 is directed at human-made images and astral bodies, but that the prohibitions "leave open the possibility that there was an acceptable cultic image of YHWH in Deuteronomistic and related circles" (1995: 85). Whether or not one follows Schmidt's interpretation of Deut 4:1–40, the presentation of Torah leaves no doubt that the book of Deuteronomy retains a modified form of iconic representation.

The stones in Deuteronomy that contain the Torah are manufactured tablets: Yahweh commands Moses in Deut 10:1–2: "Chisel [*pĕsāl*] two tablets of stone like the former ones, and come up to me on the mountain, and make an ark of wood. I will write on the tablets the words that were on the former tablets, which you smashed, and you will put them in the ark." Van der Toorn argues that the manufactured tablets "substitute for the icon of the deity" (1997: 240). In Deuteronomy, moreover, the ark acquires cultic significance, because it contains the manufactured stones or "*masseboth,*" as Mettinger describes them (1997: 198). The iconography associated with the Torah appears again later in the book, when the law is also written on manufactured stones

that are plastered with lime in Deut 27:2–3: "Set up large stones and cover them with plaster. You shall write on them all the word of this law when you have crossed over to enter that land."

The book of Joshua goes beyond the aniconism of Deuteronomy. The stones that memorialize the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 4:5–6, 8–9, 19–20 are erected in their natural state without plaster, thus departing from the command in Deut 27:2–3. The same is true for the ceremony on Ebal and Gerizim at the conclusion of the procession of the ark, where the Torah is written on the uncut stones of the altar in Josh 8:32, not on the plastered stones of Deut 27:2–3. Thus, nowhere in the book of Joshua is the command of Moses in Deut 27 fulfilled. The departure from Deuteronomy suggests a more extreme version of aniconism, in which any form of a manufactured object is rejected. Even the stone knives used for circumcision lack manufacturing to make them sharp (Josh 5:2). Coupled with this, it is noteworthy that the imagery of the chiseled "tablets of stone" in Deuteronomy, as the iconic representation of the law, is also absent from Joshua, even though the author prefers the Deuteronomistic identification "ark of the covenant," which in Deuteronomy refers to the chiseled "tablets of stone" in the chest.

The absence of the "tablets of stone" in Joshua underscores that the divine power in the ark does not arise from its function as a container of sacred chiseled stones. The holiness of the ark represents a more sacramental infusion of divine presence. Rather than containing manufactured stones, the ark deposits uncut stones at various sites as it processes to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, while leaving in rubble the manufactured stones by which the royal cities are built, as their walls fall down in the wake of the ark. The uncut stones are deposited in the middle of the Jordan River (Josh 4:9), on the west bank of the Jordan at Gilgal (4:2–5, 20), and at the altar near Shechem (8:30–35). The sacramental power of the ark in Joshua results in the intensification of iconoclastic aniconism as a holy war against royal cities and their kings, with the goal that life in the promised land would lack all icons or signs of manufacturing and become, instead, a counterculture, without cities or kings, in which there can finally be peace in the land (11:23).

Monotheism

The iconoclastic aniconism in the book of Joshua is reinforced by a monotheistic worldview. The role of monotheism in Israelite religion is debated (N. MacDonald, 2003). Part of the problem is definition. Monotheism simply means the belief in the existence of one God, in contrast to the belief in a world filled with many gods. The term is modern (K. Schmid, 2011: 275) and thus difficult to apply directly to the ancient Near East, where the polytheism of national gods represents the more common world theology of the period (M. S. Smith, 2011: 253–54). The problem of definition is compounded by past theories of monotheism in ancient Israelite religion, in which interpreters like Albright argued that Moses initiated a revolutionary form of monotheism, which stood over against the more common world theologies of polytheism (1957: 271–72). Most interpreters have abandoned the position of Albright with regard to the Mosaic origin of monotheism. If anything, the pendulum has swung in the other direction. M. S. Smith notes the rarity of monotheistic rhetoric in the Hebrew Bible and concludes that "the period of the monarchy sustained various forms of Israelite polytheism," with most

examples of monotheistic rhetoric concentrated in exilic and postexilic texts, where the language represents "inner community discourse establishing a distance from outsiders" (2001: 154–55). H. Vorländer agrees; he too concludes that the social context for the rise of monotheistic rhetoric is the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the minority status of the exiles in Babylon (1981). This process may, in fact, have begun earlier in reaction to the Neo-Assyrian Empire, while continuing into the postexilic period. The common thread throughout the rhetoric of monotheism is a reaction to empire (M. S. Smith, 2011: 269); it is the backdrop for interpreting the emerging monotheistic rhetoric in Deuteronomy, the P literature, and the book of Joshua. The comparison of Joshua with the monotheistic rhetoric in Deuteronomy and in the P literature will clarify how the author of Joshua combines the pentateuchal traditions to fashion the distinctive form of monotheism in the procession of the ark.

The book of Deuteronomy represents an emerging form of exclusive monotheism in which the characteristics of Yahweh cannot be equated to or correlated with any other god. The uniqueness of Yahweh provides the theological basis for Israel to be separate from the nations. The warning of Moses against intermarriage provides an example of the intertwining of religious and social exclusion in Deuteronomy: "Do not intermarry with [the indigenous nations], giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods" (7:3–4). M. S. Smith identifies two literary strategies in the monotheistic discourse of Deuteronomy that support the exclusive ideology (2001: 151–53). The first is the language of praise to Yahweh as the only God, who is known through a unique revelation: "To you it was shown so that you would acknowledge that Yahweh is God; there is no other besides him" (Deut 4:35). The rhetoric of praise is for the purpose of persuasion. The single rule of Yahweh is not assumed; Moses must encourage the Israelites to believe by describing the incomparability of Yahweh in persuasive sermons (M. S. Smith, 2001: 152). The second literary strategy is the denial of other gods: "Yahweh is God in heaven above and on earth below, there is no other" (Deut 4:39). The denial of other gods introduces polemical rhetoric into the book of Deuteronomy, which is meant to underscore that the character of Yahweh cannot be transferred or translated to any other deity. But the emphasis on persuasion and the denial of other gods in the monotheistic rhetoric of Deuteronomy betray the existence of other gods in the worldview of the book. In a pure monotheistic worldview there is no need to persuade readers about the unreality of other gods.

The worldview of Deuteronomy is henotheistic, not monotheistic. Thus, the book demands Israel's exclusive allegiance to Yahweh, while assuming the existence of other gods. Deuteronomy 32:8–9 provides a window into the henotheistic worldview when it describes the division of the nations by the high god, Elyon, according to the number of deities in the pantheon, with the result that "Yahweh's own portion was his people, Jacob his allotted share." R. K. Gnuse rightly concludes that this passage represents a polytheistic worldview in which Yahweh is distinct from Elyon, the high god, who gives Israel to Yahweh, one of the minor deities in the pantheon (1997: 182). The conflict in the textual versions of Deut 32:8 over the imagery of the pantheon—in which the older reading, "sons of God," reflected in the LXX, is rendered in the MT as "sons of Israel"—indicates the uneasiness of the henotheism in Deuteronomy within later tradition and the movement of the textual tradition toward a clearer form of monotheism.

The discovery of a fragment of Deut 32:8 at Qumran (4Q37 = 4QDt^{j}) shows that the henotheistic reading of the LXX represents the more original version of the book of Deuteronomy (P. Sanders, 1996: 156). Thus, the polemic against the foreign gods in Deuteronomy is due to the fact that they are an active threat that must be excluded from the cult and from Israel's relationship with Yahweh. The social exclusion of Israel from the indigenous nations is one means of protecting the people from the worship of foreign gods, especially in the face of the overwhelming cultural influence of the Mesopotamian empires in the late monarchic and exilic periods (M. S. Smith, 2011: 266–67).

The P literature represents an emerging form of inclusive monotheism, which recognizes foreign deities (K. Koch, 2007a: 12) while looking for characteristics in other gods that are compatible with or, as M. S. Smith says, "translatable" from one god to another (2008, 2011). T. L. Thompson adds that inclusive monotheism is not antagonistic toward polytheism or foreign gods; rather, it seeks to reinterpret and to restructure past conceptions of divinity with a more tolerant, intercultural hermeneutic that recognizes other deities in order to identify similarities as a basis for intercultural discourse (1995, 1996). The P literature in the Pentateuch represents a form of inclusive monotheism. K. Schmid points to Exod 6:3, where Yahweh is identified with the past manifestation of divinity as El Shaddai, indicating that "different tradition blocks in the Bible needed to be reconciled" by the P author during the exilic or postexilic period (2011: 279). The process of reconciling divergent traditions of divinity through inclusion is even more evident in the identification of Elohim in Gen 1, since this name is intended to include all other gods in the category of the creator. Schmid writes, "Others may venerate [Elohim] as Zeus or Ahuramazda, but actually, it is just God" (2011: 285). Thus, through the identification of the distinct divine names, Elohim (e.g., Gen 1), El Shaddai (e.g., Gen 17), and Yahweh (e.g., Exod 6) (Schmid, 2011: 271–89), the P author fashions an inclusive form of monotheism in which all other gods or manifestations of divinity are included in the divine names of Yahweh.

M. S. Smith notes that inclusive monotheism, like its exclusive counterpart, is a response to empire but that it functions differently (2008; 2001: 163–66). Inclusive monotheism does not embrace the resistance to empire evident in exclusive monotheism, where the polemic against the gods provides the religious basis for the rejection of the dominant culture. Instead, it favors intercultural discourse, where the awareness of God emerges among many different peoples. Such intercultural discourse tends to serve the interests of empire and political elites, such as the priestly intelligentsia who authored the P literature of the Pentateuch. Thus, the P authors recognize Persian rule as "God's aim in history" and are loyal to Persian hegemony (Schmid, 2011: 288). K. Koch (2007a: 29–30) recognizes the same loyalty to the Persian Empire in the inclusive monotheism of Ezra-Nehemiah, where Cyrus is idealized as recognizing Yahweh as the "God of heaven" (Ezra 1:2–4). The result is a series of parallels between the international rule of the Persians and the local rule of returning exiles in Yehud. Both recognize the same "God in heaven," who rules the world from a royal temple. T. M. Bolin identifies the same form of inclusive monotheism in a letter from Elephantine to Bogohi, the Persian governor, when Yahweh is again identified as the "god of Heaven" (CAP 30), indicating a shift from polytheism to an inclusive monotheism or universalism (1996b).

The monotheism in the book of Joshua represents a blending of Deuteronomy and the P literature, in the same way that the author combines these traditions to interpret the ban. The book of Joshua employs monotheism as a means of waging war against the indigenous kings and exterminating the population of the royal cities. In this way, Joshua mirrors the exclusive rhetoric that accompanies the emerging monotheism in Deuteronomy. But the author of Joshua constructs the monotheistic worldview of the book on the model of the P literature. Yahweh is identified as "El, the living," in the crossing of the Jordan River. This identification repeats the rhetoric of inclusive monotheism from the P literature, when Elohim is identified as the creator. Koch rightly concludes that the function of the divine names "Elohim" and "El, the living," is to clarify that the different manifestations of divinity represent the same God (2007a: 31). The emphasis on Shechem in the procession of the ark may indicate the influence of northern tradition on the author (e.g., Judg 9:46; see M. S. Smith, 2001: 140–42). The speech of Rahab also signals the influence of later postexilic conceptions of inclusive monotheism on the author, when she confesses Yahweh as the "God in heaven above and on the earth below" (Josh 2:11), repeating the proclamation of Cyrus (Ezra 1:2–4).

The blending of Deuteronomy and the P literature results in a unique form of monotheism in the book of Joshua. The identification of Yahweh with the inclusive title "El, the living," eliminates any polemic against foreign gods in Josh 1–12; the gods are absent in the spying of Jericho (Josh 2), in the story of the ark's procession to Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 3–8), and in the account of Joshua's wars against the southern and northern kings (Josh 9–12). The gods of the dominant culture simply do not exist in the narrative world of Joshua. The absence of foreign gods is not a form of inclusive monotheism, however. Instead, the intertwining of exclusive and inclusive forms of monotheistic rhetoric gives the book of Joshua a future orientation that is radically exclusive in its religious worldview. The worship of other gods is relegated to the past ancestors, not the present generation: "Across the River your fathers dwelt from time immemorial—Terah the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor. And they served other gods" (Josh 24:2). The past represents the failure of polytheism. Thus, there is no nostalgia in the book of Joshua. The future hope of life in the promised land does not reside in the past ancestors or the present culture of kings and royal cities; it resides instead in the present generation, who must make a new future by choosing to follow Yahweh in the extermination of the present dominant culture (24:15). The danger of foreign gods lingers for the present generation, as indicated in the reference to the polytheism of the Amorites (24:15). Thus, Joshua cautions the people not to return to a past form of polytheistic religion that died with the ancestors but instead to follow him into a new future by exterminating the dominant culture and thus bringing society into conformity with the divine world, where only one God exists (24:15).

The DtrN author brings the monotheistic rhetoric of the book of Joshua into closer conformity with Deuteronomy and thus qualifies the extreme form of exclusivity in the original form of the book. This is especially evident in the additional closing speech of Joshua in Josh 23, where the polemical rhetoric of exclusive monotheism from Deuteronomy reappears, thus conceding that life in the promised land includes other gods and cultures. In Josh 23, Joshua warns the Israelites: "Do not have intercourse with these remaining nations. The name of their gods you will not remember, you will not swear, you will not serve them, and you will not worship them. But to Yahweh your

God you will cling as you have done until this day" (23:7–8). The polemical rhetoric of Deuteronomy drives this speech. Joshua returns to the same topic several verses later: "You must carefully guard yourselves to love Yahweh your God. For if you turn and you cling to the rest of these remaining nations, and you worship with them, and you have intercourse with them and they you, then you must know for certain that Yahweh your God will not continue to dispossess these nations from before you. They will be to you a trap, a snare, a thorn in your side, and a prick in your eye, until you perish from this good ground that Yahweh your God gave you" (23:11–13). The inclusion of the polemical rhetoric from Deuteronomy indicates the worldview of the DtrN editor, which is more inclusive than the original version of Joshua, since it concedes a world of other nations and gods, which, in turn, requires more polemical rhetoric against other gods.

The overview of Deuteronomy and the P literature indicates that the emerging rhetoric of monotheism in ancient Israel takes two forms in responding to the growing Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires. Inclusive monotheism represents a form of cultural assimilation in which political elites, like the P authors or the authors of Ezra-Nehemiah, advance forms of intercultural discourse with imperial rulers through the identification of one god with another. Exclusive monotheism is a form of cultural resistance to the influence of empire that emphasizes the uniqueness of Yahweh, who is unlike any other deity. J. Assmann characterizes the rhetoric of exclusive monotheism as revolutionary and even countercultural in nature (1997: 44–54; 2008: 107–8). The insight of Assmann concerning "revolutionary monotheism" does not account for the full range of monotheistic rhetoric throughout the Hebrew Bible, but it certainly captures the perspective of the book of Joshua, which advances a form of violent and revolutionary monotheism, as Yahweh claims the promised land by destroying the kings and royal cities that are located in the path of the ark's procession to Ebal and Gerizim.

WARS AGAINST KINGS AND ROYAL CITIES

The procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 provides the religious basis for the wars of Joshua in Josh 9–12. The organic relationship between the cultic procession of the ark and the political war against the dominant culture of kings and city-states underscores the pragmatic and political aim of the author to reconstruct a new rural society under the strong charismatic leadership of Joshua. The message of the book is that in remaking the world, tribal Israel will recover the "the same charismatic intensity" as the "formative revelatory religious experiences long ago" associated with Moses, the mentor of Joshua (Marty and Appleby, eds., 1993b: 835, 837). When this goal is achieved, the land will finally have peace from war (Josh 11:23).

Joshua 9–12 is a literary unit within the book of Joshua. The unity of the section is established in the introduction of Josh 9:1–2, which states that the indigenous kings hear about the past victories of Joshua and gather their forces to war against the Israelites. The same motif is repeated in Josh 10:1 and 11:1, when the indigenous kings are again described as hearing about the victories of Joshua and reacting by preparing to wage war. The repetition ties the stories of war in Josh 10 and 11 together with the introduction in Josh 9, until the conflict between Joshua and the nations is resolved in Josh 12, where the defeated kings are listed. K. L. Younger Jr. rightly concludes that

the opening statement in Josh 9:1–2, its repetition in Josh 10:1 and 11:1, and the concluding summary of the defeated kings in Josh 12 presuppose one another, forming a literary unit in Josh 9–12 that narrates the conquest of "all the kings west of the Jordan" (Josh 9:1; 12:7). He continues: "While there are other conquest accounts before and after this section, this unit [Josh 9–12] . . . is the major narration of the conquest in the book" (1990: 197–98).

The introduction of Josh 9:1–2 also indicates that the story of the conquest in Josh 9–12 is dependent on the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8. The opening clause, "And when the kings . . . heard," ties the reaction of the indigenous rulers to the previous wars against Jericho and Ai in Josh 3–8. The identification of the kings, however, as including the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites is more extensive than in Josh 3–8; it expands the scope of the enemy beyond the singular cities of Jericho and Ai, which were positioned on the route of the ark's northward procession, to include the entire indigenous population of the promised land. The central theme of Josh 9–12, therefore, is the holy war against all of the kings and all of the royal cities in the promised land, as compared with the isolated battles against the fortresses of Jericho and Ai in the course of the ark's procession to Ebal and Gerizim.

The large scope of the story of war in Josh 9–12 and its dependence on Josh 3–8 come into clearer focus from an examination of the contrasting literary designs of the two sections. The procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 is a journey from outside of the promised land to its center at Ebal and Gerizim. The ark begins its procession on the east side of the Jordan River, moves westward across the river to Gilgal, and progresses northward through Jericho and Ai toward Shechem, until it finally rests at Ebal and Gerizim. The erection of stone monuments along the route and finally at Ebal and Gerizim marks the journey of the ark, while also signifying the divine possession of the land. The literary design of Josh 9–12 is in the opposite direction, moving outward from a central location to the periphery of the promised land. In Josh 9–12, the war of Joshua against the indigenous nations begins when the Israelites are located at the central altar near Shechem at the conclusion of Josh 3–8. From this starting point, the narrative recounts the deception of the Gibeonites at the camp of Gilgal (Josh 9) before describing two wide-ranging military campaigns that move outward across the promised land, one to the south (Josh 10) and another to the north (Josh 11), until Joshua conquers "the whole land, according to all that Yahweh spoke to Moses" (11:23). The purpose of Josh 9–12 is to realize the divine claim on the entire land after the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8. The wars of Joshua define the boundaries of the land, so that he functions as a "territorial hero," who defines the boundaries of the land through his military expeditions (D. Mendels, 1992: 81–99). The combined narrative strategy of Josh 3–8 and 9–12 is to define the boundaries and to depopulate the promised land of the indigenous nations and their royal cities so that "the land had rest from war" (11:23). The emptying of the land of its indigenous population in Josh 1–12 allows for the repopulation of the promised land in Josh 13–24 as a more rural and tribal society, where the only urban centers are religious Levitical cities (Josh 21) and judicial cities of refuge (Josh 20), in contrast to the royal cities of the indigenous nations.

The comparison of Josh 3–8 and 9–12 also highlights the author's different literary style and distinct aim in each section. In Josh 3–8, the author emphasizes cultic and ritual themes fashioned into a religious-political story, in which the cultic procession

of the ark links the stories together. The crossing of the Jordan is the occasion for a theophany of "El, the living" (Josh 3) and the erection of standing stones (Josh 4). The rituals of circumcision, Passover, unleavened bread, and the cessation of manna mark the arrival of the Israelites at Gilgal (5:2–12). The destruction of Jericho is also a liturgical event, in which trumpets or rams' horns, not swords, bring down the city walls (Josh 6). The theft of Achan provides the occasion to address the problem of sacrilege in the camp (Josh 7). When the ark finally reaches the goal of its procession, the journey culminates in the building of an altar, the writing of the Torah on uncut stones, and divine blessing from the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35). In Josh 9–12, the author ceases to explore cultic and ritual themes and focuses instead on the war against the indigenous kings. The new focus is accompanied by a change in literary style, in which the narrative becomes repetitive and even redundant. The formulaic pattern includes (1) the divine command that Joshua and Israel not fear, (2) the description of the Israelites attacking a city, (3) the reference to divine intervention to signal the defeat of the city, (4) the execution of the ban on the residents of the city, and (5) the separate execution of the king. The author intends for the religious and cultic emphasis in Josh 3–8 to provide the basis and rationale for the wars of genocide in Josh 9–12. In this way, the iconoclastic and antimonarchic cultic theology of the ark in Josh 3–8 provides the religious basis for the extermination of the indigenous kings and royal cities in Josh 9–12. The result is that religion (Josh 3–8) and war (Josh 9–12) remain organically related as a unified holy event in Josh 1–12.

Joshua 9–12 is based on the Assyrian royal conquest accounts. The comparison clarifies a range of similarities in literary structure and motifs and significant differences that provide insight into the perspective of the author of Joshua; it illustrates that the author of Josh 9–12 has chosen to describe the execution of the kings and the destruction of the royal cities in the promised land with the same genre of literature that monarchs use to demonstrate their royal power and their divine right to conquer other nations.

The Assyrian royal conquest accounts are a form of ancient imperial propaganda that emerges in tandem with the development of kingship in the ancient Near East (M. Liverani, 1995: 2355). Thus, as noted by Z. Bahrani, the violence of the wars of conquest is part of the growing urban culture of Mesopotamia (2008: 10). The form of the conquest reports appear already in Sumerian and Akkadian royal inscriptions, as is illustrated by the third-millennium BCE account of Entemena's war against Umma over border conflicts (J. S. Cooper, 1983). This text begins with Entemena stating that the border between Ningirsu (Lagash) and Shara (Umma) was established by the god Enlil and marked by a monument. Entemena recounts the war that ensued when "Ush, ruler of Umma, acted arrogantly: he smashed the monument and marched on the plain of Lagash," where he was defeated by the command of Enlil: "Ningursu, warrior of Enlil, at his just command, did battle with Umma. At Enlil's command, he cast the great battle-net upon it, and set up burial mounds for it on the plain" (translation by J. S. Cooper, 1986: 54). The purpose of the conflict account is to legitimate the rule of Entemena and to underscore that the transgression of Umma was not simply a political action, but a violation of the divine right of Entemena's kingship. The account establishes motifs that recur throughout the tradition of royal conquest accounts: (1) the legitimacy of king Entemena is anchored in divine election; (2) the crossing of

the border is an act of arrogance by King Ush; (3) the rebellion creates both social and cosmological disorder; and (4) the defeat of King Ush is ultimately a divine action that restores order. Subsequent Assyrian royal inscriptions repeat the same form millennia later. M. Liverani writes that "the literary model of a royal inscription is very rigid and based on previous inscriptions" (1995: 2355). Younger agrees, describing the fixed literary style as representing a "high-redundancy" message that is intended to support the ideology of the Assyrian kingship (1990: 72).

Younger identifies a range of motifs and even specific words that make up the standard features of the later Assyrian conquest accounts (1990: 72–79). The pattern can be summarized in the following manner: (1) The conquest account begins by establishing the setting and by underscoring that the rebellion of enemy kings against the Assyrian king creates disorder; (2) the Assyrian king musters an army and marches to war with divine aid; (3) the Assyrian army infuses terror in the enemy as it approaches; (4) the Assyrian king fights, pursues, and forces the submission of the rebel force before taking booty; (5) the defeat is followed by the exemplary punishment of the leader of the rebel force as a form of terror aimed at the population; and (6) the outcome of the battle leads to the establishment of a new relationship between the Assyrian king and the defeated enemy, thus restoring social and cosmological order (see also R. Achenbach, 2012: 4–13). The redundancy of the pattern is intended to reinforce the inevitable outcome of rebellion, which is death in war and the unavoidable submission of the survivors to the rule of the Assyrian king.

The conquest accounts emerge with the rise of kingship and the growth of urban civilization. As noted, they are present already in the Sumerian and Akkadian royal inscriptions of the third millennium BCE (Liverani, 1995: 2353–66). Younger (1990: 61–124) and Oded (1992) trace the development of the tradition from the third millennium to the more developed Assyrian tradition in the first millennium from Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 BCE) through Sennacherib (705–681 BCE). J. K. Hoffmeier underscores the cultural breadth of the tradition by identifying similar royal conquest accounts in Egypt (1994: 165–79), which is further reinforced by Younger's study of Hittite conquest accounts (1990: 125–63). These studies underscore how commonplace it was for kings to employ standard accounts of conquest to vindicate their rule. The use of the same form in the conquest stories of Josh 9–12 would not be unusual.

The nine campaigns of Ashurbanipal (668–626 BCE) illustrate the developed form of the Assyrian conquest accounts. D. D. Luckenbill described these compositions as representing "the high-water mark of Assyrian historical writing" (1926–1927, vol. 2: 290). I organize the accounts into six themes, although each theme contains more detailed variations (Oded, 1992). Their summary illustrates the aim of the literary tradition to vindicate the divine rule of the Assyrian king, with the goal of securing the submission of vassals at the periphery of the empire. The summary provides background for comparison with Josh 9–12.

1. The Assyrian conquest accounts begin with an act of *rebellion.* In the first campaign, for example, Ashurbanipal states that Tarkû, king of Egypt, "forgot the power of Ashur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, and trusted in his own strength" by marching against the Assyrian governors in Egypt (*ARAB* 2.770). In the third campaign, Ashurbanipal adds that Ba'li, the king of Tyre, "did not observe my royal

command and did not obey the word of my lips" (*ARAB* 2.779). The two examples illustrate that rebellion creates both *political* and *cosmological* disorder. Ba'li does not observe the rule of Ashurbanipal, and Tarkû violates the rule of the gods.

2. Wars of conquest are always empowered by the *gods.* Oded describes the theme of "making war by divine order" as the theological rationale of the Assyrian kings for waging war. He adds that the divine authorization for war infuses Ashurbanipal with superhuman qualities and strength (1992: 9–10, 151–52). Thus, Ashurbanipal marches against Tarkû in the first campaign with the aid of Ashur and Ishtar (*ARAB* 2.770); against Elam in the fifth campaign at the command of the entire pantheon (*ARAB* 2.787); and again in the eighth campaign with the aid of Ashur and Ishtar (*ARAB* 2.805). He receives visions about the outcome of events in the conflict with Ahshêri in the fourth campaign, when Ishtar reveals to Ashurbanipal, "I will bring about the death of Ahshêri, king of the Manneans, according as I have spoken" (*ARAB* 2.786). War itself is also waged through the gods. Thus, Ashurbanipal prays for divine assistance in war (*ARAB* 2.793) and states in another instance, "I had waged bitter warfare against Elam with the weapons of Ashur and Ishtar" (*ARAB* 2.788). Victory over the enemy, moreover, "quiets the hearts of the great gods" (*ARAB* 2.796), which most likely signifies the reestablishment of cosmic order.
3. The military force of the army and the divine presence creates *terror* in the enemy. Thus, upon hearing of the march of Ashurbanipal, "the terrible splendor of Ashur and Ishtar overcame [Tarkû, king of Egypt] and he went mad. The glory of [Ashurbanipal's] majesty, with which the gods of heaven and earth have crowned [the king of Assyria], overpowered him" (*ARAB* 2.771; see also *ARAB* 2.775). The same terror seizes the residents of Hilmu, Pillatu, Dummuki, Sulai, Lahiru, and Dibirîna as Ashurbanipal's mighty army marches toward Elam (*ARAB* 2.800). And, in the ninth campaign, Ashurbanipal recounts that when "the armies of Uaite' heard of the onslaught of the weapons of Ashur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, how they were coming to my aid in battle, and they revolted against him [their king]." The result is that the enemy king "became frightened and left the house into which he had fled" (*ARAB* 2.829).
4. The war is always *overwhelming* and *decisive.* Against the king of Tyre Ashurbanipal "threw up earthworks," "seized the approaches to the city," "made their lives miserable," and "made them submit to the yoke of Assyria" (*ARAB* 2.779). In the fifth campaign against Ahshêri, king of the Manneans, Ashurbanipal writes: "His strong cities, together with the small ones, whose number was countless, right up to the city of Izirtu, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire" (*ARAB* 2.786). In addition to destroying cities in the eighth campaign against Elam, Ashurbanipal adds, "Countless warriors of his I slew, with the sword I cut down his mighty fighters." A few lines later he continues: "I struck down the people living therein. I smashed their gods and pacified the divine heart of the lord of lords" (*ARAB* 2.808). The defeat results in booty from the vanquished king: silver, gold, property, precious stones, costly equipment, and weapons for warfare (*ARAB* 2.808). In addition to booty, tribute is also often increased, as in the defeat of the rebellious king Ahshêri of the Manneans, which requires his son, Uallî, to contribute thirty extra horses to Nineveh (*ARAB* 2.786).
5. Rebellious kings are *executed* to make an example and to instill terror and bring about submission in the Assyrian subject nations. For example, Ashurbanipal cuts off

the head of the king of Elam (*ARAB* 2.787), shackles the king of Gambulu (*ARAB* 2.788), makes Ummanigash crawl naked to Nineveh (*ARAB* 2.793), and hangs the head of the dead king Nabû-bêl-shumâte on the back of his surviving twin brother Nabû-kâtâ-sabat (*ARAB* 2.815). Z. Bahrani describes how the severed head of one of the Elamite kings migrates from text to iconic image in the palace of Ashurbanipal, where it "hangs like an ornamental trinket in the pine tree before the Assyrian king" in the gardens of Nineveh (2008: 230). Even rebellious people are made an example. On his return from the city of Ushu, Ashurbanipal writes, "The people of Ushu, who had not cowered before their governor(s), and had not paid their tribute, their yearly gifts, I slew." He continues: "The insubmissive people of Akku (Acre) I slaughtered. Their corpses I hung on stakes, surrounding the city (with them)" (*ARAB* 2.830). Ashurbanipal describes the intent of such public acts of terror: "Pa'e, who exercises the rulership over Elam in place of Ummanigash (the one crawling to Nineveh naked), reflected upon the fury of the terrible weapons of Ashur and Ishtar, which had been poured out over Elam, one, two and three times, and his courage forsook him. Fleeing from Elam, he laid hold of my royal feet" (*ARAB* 2.816).

6. The conquest accounts always result in the *submission* of the rebels, which restores order. In fact, the submission of the rebel king and the restoration of order would appear to be the point of the literature. The restoration of world order is "closely connected with the idea of empire" (Oded, 1992: 103). In the first campaign Ashurbanipal recounts how twenty-two kings of the seacoast who were "subject to me, brought their rich presents before me and kissed my feet" (*ARAB* 2.770). Repeatedly, kings submit to Ashurbanipal, "kiss his feet," and give their daughters as concubines (*ARAB* 2.779, 780, 781, 782). Such submission leads to mercy (*ARAB* 2.779) and even to a more successful rule by the conquered kings, because they acquire the help of Ashur and Ishtar (*ARAB* 2.784). Resistance, however, leads to death, or in the case of Ammu-ladi, the king of Kidri, social subjugation when Ashurbanipal places "a dog chain upon him and makes him guard a kennel" (*ARAB* 2.820).

Liverani states that the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, like that of Ashurbanipal, represent the most developed examples of imperial conquest propaganda in the ancient Near East. The reason for the development of the conquest accounts is the growing "expansionistic and 'imperialistic' policy from the Akkadian Dynasty down to the Neo-Assyrian Empire" (1995: 2361). The purpose of the conquest accounts remains essentially the same as the early Akkadian texts, however; namely, to legitimize the king as the rightful monarch, who rules the central land with divine support. But unlike the earlier account of Entemena, where the theme of war focused on the threat of invasion by the rebel, the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions idealize the power of the king as a conqueror, who not only controls the inner or central country, but also extends control over peripheral lands to create an empire.

The expanded focus of the Neo-Assyrian conquest accounts creates a form of colonial state terrorism that is aimed at controlling conquered populations on the periphery of the empire through "shock and awe." The rebellious enemy continues to be described as arrogant and treacherous. But rebellion is no longer trespass or invasion into the country of the king, as in the case of Entemena; rather, it is the refusal of a king at the periphery of the empire to submit as a vassal to the Assyrian emperor. Liverani writes

that "in refusing Assyrian suzerainty, the enemies refused to acknowledge the world order established by the gods; in their impious hubris, they put their trust in purely human features, while the Assyrians put their trust in God their sponsor" (1995: 2361). Thus, as noted by Younger, the submission of the enemy to the rule of the Assyrian king is at the center of the conquest accounts (1990: 122).

Joshua 9–12 contains a series of motifs that are similar to those of the ancient Near Eastern conquests accounts. Van Seters (1990) argues that the original form of Josh 1–12 lacks the stories of Rahab (Josh 2), the Priestly embellishments in the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3–5), the story of Achan (Josh 7), and the reading of the law at Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35). When these stories are removed, Van Seters identifies several parallels to the Assyrian campaign reports, including (1) divine encouragement at the outset of the battle and omens during the battle (1:1–11; 5:13–15; 10:12–13); (2) obstacles in the military march (Josh 3–4); (3) accounts of the battle—usually against a coalition (Josh 10–11); (4) the terror of the enemy, leading to submission (Josh 9); (5) the capture and the execution of the kings (Josh 10); and (6) a summary of the extent of the victory and amount of booty (Josh 11–12). Van Seters maintains that "all these correspondences in form and detail point rather strongly to a dependence [of the author of Josh 1–12] upon the Assyrian royal inscription tradition" (1990: 8). The similarities lead him to add that the conquest stories in Joshua are not the result of a long process of composition based on individual etiological stories, as Noth argued (1971b: 9–13); nor are they historical accounts to be correlated with archaeological research, as Albright assumed (1939). Instead, the conquest stories are exilic historiographic literature composed in the tradition of the Assyrian royal inscriptions (Van Seters, 1990: 12). The rigid and conservative nature of the conquest accounts noted by Liverani (1995: 2355) supports Van Seters's conclusions about the later composition of Josh 9–12.

Younger focuses more narrowly on Josh 9–12 (1990: 197–237, 357–61), which also contains the majority of Van Seters's parallels. Younger highlights a series of motifs in Joshua similar to those of the royal conquest accounts: (1) social disorder resulting from the coalition of kings who attack Gibeon (10:1–6); (2) divine aid to Joshua in the command that he not fear and in the assistance that he receives in battle (10:8, 10, 12–13); (3) the march of Joshua (10:7); (4) the fear of the enemy and the flight of the kings (10:8, 11, 16–17); (5) the pursuit of Joshua after the enemy (10:10); (6) the destruction of the enemy (10:19; 11:6–22); (7) the exemplary punishment of the rebellious kings (10:18–27); and (8) the submission of the Gibeonites (Josh 9). Younger concludes that Josh 9–12 and the ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts share a similar view of "the enemy" as a stereotyped opponent who represents a common threat regardless of the specific king or city-state. He adds that the ideology of terror in Josh 9–12 is the same as in the ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts. In each, "the destruction of the populations of enemy cities is a practice of an ideology of 'calculated frightfulness.' The execution and hanging of kings on trees must also be considered in the light of ancient Near Eastern ideologies of conquest. Such practices [are intended to] 'soften up' the opposition. The elimination of the population also enhances the speed of de-culturation and hence colonization. This is conquest for *Lebensraum*" (1990: 233).

Van Seters and Younger illustrate the influence of the ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts on the author of Josh 9–12. But their emphasis on similarities tends to obscure significant differences that provide important insight into the point of view of

the author of Josh 9–12. The comparison of Josh 9–12 with the six characteristics of the campaigns of Ashurbanipal noted above clarifies the ways in which the author of Joshua departs from the royal conquest tradition and actually reshapes it in an ironic fashion, as an antimonarchic story that describes the extermination of the kings and the obliteration of their cities from the promised land. Thus, the aim of the author is not to justify the divine right of kings, but to describe a world without kings.

Joshua 9–12 shares four of the six themes that appear in the campaigns of Ashurbanipal. The shared themes cluster around the description of warfare that is concentrated in numbers 2–5 of the above list. The four parallels are as follows:

1. Wars of conquest are always empowered by the *gods.* Joshua, like Ashurbanipal, receives visions about the outcome of events in the conflict (10:8; 11:6); he marches against the enemy kings with the aid of Yahweh (10:11); and he wages war through the power of God (10:12–13). Also, like Ashurbanipal, Joshua's victory over the enemy signifies the reestablishment of cosmic order, which in Josh 9–12 is peace in the land (11:23).
2. The military force of the army and the presence of the divine in the march create *terror* in the enemy. The enemy kings are fearful of the Israelites (10:1–2); and when they meet in battle, the enemy is confused and seeks to flee (10:10–11), just as Ashurbanipal's enemies were terrified of his approaching army.
3. The war is always *overwhelming* and *decisive.* The language of warfare to describe Joshua and Ashurbanipal is often identical. Joshua and the Israelite army burn down the royal cities, slaughter the inhabitants, and destroy the military weapons, while also plundering the possessions of the enemy (10:19–20; 11:7–22).
4. Enemy kings are *executed* to make an example. Thus, the five kings, who hide in the cave of Makkedah, are publicly paraded before the Israelite troops, who place their feet on the necks of the kings before hanging them on trees (10:16–27). Other kings are also singled out for execution (11:10, 12), as is also the case in the campaigns of Ashurbanipal.

Joshua 9–12 also departs from the campaigns of Ashurbanipal in significant ways. Most notably, Josh 9–12 lacks the first and the last themes from the campaigns of Ashurbanipal. Thus, in Josh 9–12 there is no act of rebellion that creates political and cosmological disorder (theme no. 1); nor do the wars in Joshua result in the submission of the rebels, leading to the reestablishment of order in the empire (theme no. 6). These themes are crucial to the campaigns of Ashurbanipal, since they supply both the rationale for (no. 1) and the intended outcome of (no. 6) the wars of conquest. In none of the campaigns of Ashurbanipal is the goal of war the complete extermination of all the enemies, since such an act is contrary to the establishment of an empire. Thus, even though the descriptions of the battles are violent and followed by exemplary executions, the intended outcome of war is the conquest and submission of the enemy as a means of maintaining control over vassal monarchs at the periphery of the empire. Oded explains the preference for conquest over extermination: "The Assyrian kings claimed the control of the 'four quarters of the world' to be their irrevocable right and fought to maintain it. . . . The extension of Assyrian hegemony over all countries constitutes a just cause for war" (1992: 163).

The absence of the two central themes of rebellion and submission in Josh 9–12 requires explanation, especially given the similarities between the battle stories of Joshua and Ashurbanipal. This departure in structure raises the question of what the author intends as the rationale and outcome of the wars in Josh 9–12. Younger suggests that the themes of rebellion and submission are in fact present in Josh 9–12. He interprets the attack of the five kings against the Gibeonites (10:1–6, esp. v. 6) as the act of rebellion that creates disorder, which prompts Joshua's war of conquest (1990: 73, 360), while the deceptive masquerade of the Gibeonites represents the submission of the enemy. He writes that "the reaction of the Gibeonites is to submit to Israel and to become integrated into its society" (1990: 200). In view of these parallels, Younger concludes that Josh 9–12 shares the ideology of the Assyrian conquest tradition, since "the similarities to the other ancient Near Eastern ideologies are too great to conclude otherwise" (1990: 235). But a closer examination illustrates that neither the example of the five kings as representing the motif of disorder nor the Gibeonites as fulfilling the motif of submission fit the model of the Assyrian conquest accounts.

The five kings do not function as rebels in Josh 9–12. They are not vassals to Joshua, nor are they in a subservient role that would allow them to function as mutineers in any way against Joshua. They are a superior power. In view of this, the five kings cannot function as the instigators of disorder. Instead, they signify ordered urban life in Syria-Palestine, and thus they correspond more to the role of Ashurbanipal in the Assyrian conquest accounts. Joshua and the Israelites represent the motif of rebellion in Josh 9–12; it is their incursion into Syria-Palestine that creates disorder in the political rule of the five kings. Moreover, the rebellion of Joshua and the Israelites is fueled by a religious vision of their divine right to the promised land, which is developed through the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim in Josh 3–8. The religious procession lays the foundation for the conflict against the indigenous kings, when Joshua battles against the royal cities in claiming the land. Thus, the ideology of warfare in the book of Joshua is not the defense of the political status quo based on the divine right of the king, as in the case of the early Akkadian account of Entemena; nor is it the ideology of the colonial maintenance of the empire, as in the case of Ashurbanipal, who not only claims the divine right to rule his land, but also the right to force the submission of vassals. The war stories in Josh 9–12 are just the reverse. The ideology of war in Josh 9–12 is a revolt model, which is fueled by the religious belief that the land is divinely promised to the Israelites, who are meant to live in it free of kings and royal cities. This view of war is antimonarchic. Joshua 10:16–43 represents an ideological perspective that accentuates "a confrontation between Israel and the royal aristocratic statist system of rule centered in the cities" (N. K. Gottwald, 1979: 552–54).

The Gibeonites do not fulfill the motif of the submission of the enemy in Josh 9–12. They are not vassals to Joshua. They represent a more powerful nation than the Israelites, and in this role they are identified with the five kings, as indigenous Hivites (9:1–2, 7), and as strong urban warriors, who occupy a royal city (10:1–2). Thus, the Gibeonites are neither submissive to nor rebels against Joshua. Instead, the author of Josh 9–12 uses the Gibeonites to develop the motif of the indigenous trickster who survives the absolute demand of the ban. The motif is repeated from the story of Rahab in Josh 2. Younger rightly notes that the Assyrian royal conquest accounts lack the motif of the

trickster (1990: 201). It is a unique development by the author of the book of Joshua to explore the theme of inclusivity in a story that is radically exclusive. Thus, even though the Gibeonite trick results in a covenant with the Israelites, the Gibeonites are not idealized as faithful vassals. In fact, Joshua curses their submission, because he is restricted from executing the ban on them (9:23). If anything, the Gibeonites function as rebels against the five kings, since the peace that they make with Joshua and the Israelites creates disorder among the rulers of the other royal cities. Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, reacts to the betrayal of the Gibeonites with fear; he summons the coalition of kings, and they go to war against the royal city of Gibeon to stop the rebellion and to reestablish order (10:1–11).

The absence of the themes of rebellion, as the rationale for war, and the submission of the enemy, as the goal of war, provides insight into the ideology of war in Josh 9–12. It is a story from the perspective of the rebel, rather than that of the ruling monarch. The goal of war in Josh 9–12, moreover, is not simply the overthrow of ruling monarchs, nor the conquest of royal cities; it is not even the reversal of social roles. Rather, the goal of war is the extermination of the enemy, including warriors, citizens, and children. Thus, Josh 9–12 is far more violent than the account of Ashurbanipal's campaigns, where the scope of death to the enemy is restricted by the goals of conquest and state terror in order to maintain control of the empire. There is no limit to the scope of death in Josh 9–12, since the author wishes to purge the land of all indigenous urban life, not conquer it.

The goal of the extermination of the enemy, rather than their conquest, also transforms the role of fear and terror. The execution of the enemy kings in the campaigns of Ashurbanipal is an ideology of calculated terror in order to control opposition, which Younger (1990: 233) noted above is part of the rationality of conquest aimed at maintaining colonial power. The wars in Josh 9–12 are not aimed at conquering the enemy, creating vassals, or maintaining power. Thus, although the fear of the enemy is underscored in the story (e.g., 10:2), the author directs the motif at Joshua and the Israelites, who must fear Yahweh and as a consequence be courageous in executing the ban. Yahweh states to Joshua at the outset of the war against the northern coalition of kings: "Fear not before them! For tomorrow at this time I am causing all of them to be slain before Israel. Their horses you will hamstring and their chariots you will burn in fire" (11:6). The public execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah in Josh 10:16–27 provides further illustration. Their execution is not aimed at the citizens of the royal cities in order to motivate them to surrender or to submit to Joshua. There is no possibility of military surrender in the wars of genocide in Josh 9–12. Instead, the motif of fear is directed at the Israelite army, when Joshua states to his troops, who place their feet on the necks of the five kings: "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Be courageous and strong because thus Yahweh will do to all of your enemies against whom you fight" (10:25). The motif of fear is intended to motivate the Israelites to continue the extermination of the kings and all the citizens of the royal cities, allowing neither surrender nor escape. This is not an "ideology of 'calculated frightfulness'" for the sake of conquest and colonization, as Younger suggests (1990: 233). It is a story of revolt fueled by rejection of the dominant culture in favor of a utopian vision of rural life in the promised land that requires the elimination of all kings, all royal cities, and all urban citizens, both adult and children.

PROMISED LAND

The opening divine speech to Joshua introduces the theme of the promised land, when Yahweh states: "Moses my servant is dead. And now arise and cross this Jordan, you and all this people, to the land which I am giving to them, to the Israelites. Every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread, I will give it to you, as I spoke to Moses" (1:2–3). The theme of the promised land is immediately given concrete, geopolitical meaning with the description of the land's boundaries "from the wilderness and this Lebanon to the great river, the River Euphrates; all the land of the Hittites to the Great Sea, the place where the sun goes down; will be your border" (1:4). The emphasis on the boundaries of the promised land continues through the allotment of the territories to the tribes in Josh 13–19, keeping the book concrete in its focus and oriented to the blending of religion and geopolitics. N. Wazana writes: "The idea of the Promised Land is not an abstract or random notion—a mere 'heavenly place' or 'matter of the heart.' It is a concrete concept grounded in physical reality—space and time—whether a historical entity that truly existed in the past or an idealized location of the imagination" (2013: 1).

The promise of land is tied to a web of related themes held together by the theology of covenant in the book of Joshua. The central content of covenant is the divine promise of land to Israel. The opening divine speech to Joshua, noted above, bonds the two themes of covenant and promised land, when Yahweh is revealed to Joshua as the God who made an oath to give the land to Moses (1:6). From this opening speech, Yahweh and covenant become inseparable; it is impossible to speak of one without the other in the book of Joshua. The presence of Yahweh with the people is limited to the ark of the covenant, which is the means by which Yahweh leads the people across the Jordan to possess the land (Josh 3 and 4); reveals the essential divine nature as "El, the living," who will drive out the indigenous nations (3:10); destroys the indigenous city fortress of Jericho (Josh 6); and claims the land by residing at Ebal and Gerizim.

The covenantal promise of land also defines the Israelites. As the recipients of the divine promise, the tribes become a chosen people, distinct from all of the other nations in the promised land (9:6). As a result, they must live by the strict statutes and ordinances of the covenant codified in the Torah of Moses (24:25), which includes complete separation from the indigenous culture (7:11, 15), upon the threat of losing the land (23:16). The linking of the themes of covenant and the promise of land makes the tribes an enclave community in the book of Joshua (E. Sivan, 1995), outsiders who must realize the divine promise of land through invasion. The need to invade in order to fulfill the promise of land ensures that the story remains politically focused, as opposed to being a nostalgic story of retreat from the dominant culture or a story focused exclusively on the cult of Yahweh. The unrealized promise of land also infuses the book of Joshua with a future utopian vision of what life could be like for the Israelite people if they embrace the central message of the covenant by making its revolutionary religious, social, and political ideology a reality.

Several features of utopian literature in the ancient world are important for interpreting the theme of the promised land in the book of Joshua. Utopian literature describes the ideal within human history (the "good place," *eu topia*), often with fantastic imagery ("no place," *ou topia*). It is not a genre of literature (K. Berge, 2012: 7),

but a social and literary perspective by which authors seek to reimage their present and transform it into a new future (M. D. Gordin, H. Tilley, and G. Prakash, 2010: 2). The future ideal contains a critique of the present social order. Utopian literature aims to exert social power and thus is polemical in nature (P. Ricoeur, 1986: 301). It is often "attached to political revolutions" (F. E. and F. P. Manuel, 1979: 13). L. Mumford notes that Plato wrote *The Republic* with a polemical purpose after Attica had been burned (1922: 31).

Ancient utopian literature advances two contrasting views of the ideal society: the rural and the urban. The rural utopia advocates a more primitive society that is threatened with the development of complex urban culture; it mistrusts technological development as hubris, because it detaches humans from a simpler way of life. Examples of ancient rural utopian literature include Dilmun in Sumerian mythology, the Golden Age in Hesiod's *Works and Days,* the Ethiopians and the Hyperboreans in the *Histories* of Herodotus, and the Garden of Eden in the Hebrew Bible. The urban utopia, on the other hand, idealizes the city. The vision is one of progress and reconstruction with the aid of technology, centered in the city (P. W. Porter and F. E. Lukermann, 1976; Mumford, 1966). The Deity resides at the center of the city; the rule of the monarch is divinely ordained; and the city walls seal off the dangers of the outside world (Mumford, 1961: 304). Examples of urban utopias include the divine founding of Uruk in Sumerian mythology, which inaugurates monarchic rule in human history (the Sumerian King List); the idealization of the *polis* in the Greek literary tradition, which undergirds Plato's description of the city in general in *The Republic* and of the particular city of Magnesia in *The Laws;* and Jerusalem as the city of God in the Hebrew Bible.

The visions of the promised land in exilic and postexilic literature of the Hebrew Bible share the characteristics of ancient utopian literature. The authors of Second Isaiah, Ezekiel, the P literature, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Ezra-Nehemiah seek to reimage their present and to transform it into a new future through descriptions of the promised land (J. Ferguson, 1975: 146–53; J. O. Hertzler, 1965: 7–20). The social experience shaping the visions of the promised land is imperialism and exile—perceived or real—which creates the desire for a homeland and national identity. The theology of the promised land vacillates between rural and urban views of the ideal society, as in ancient utopian literature, suggesting distinct reactions to empire. The urban view focuses on Jerusalem as the city of God. The Chronicler proclaims the utopian nature of the Jerusalem temple and its universal significance through the edict of Cyrus (2 Chr 36:23) (Schweitzer, 2007). The same vision is repeated at the outset of the book of Ezra: "Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: Yahweh, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem" (Ezra 1:2–4) (E. Stern, 1981: 17). Ezekiel (48:35) and Nehemiah (11:1, 18) idealize the reconstruction of Jerusalem through city planning and the careful use of scarce resources (Neh 4). The Persian government sanctions the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls in Nehemiah; it is a sacred act (3:2), which provides security (Neh 7). Ezekiel may even employ the imagery of the *axis mundi* to signify the cosmic significance of Jerusalem (5:5; 38:12). Haggai adds to the utopian mythology, stating that God dwells at the center of the city, controlling the weather and supplying food for humans from the temple (Hag 2:10–19). The rebuilding of Jerusalem even holds promise for a Messianic age of salvation with an ideal king, according to the prophet Zechariah (6:9–14; see also Hag 2:20–23). The

postexilic additions to Isaiah reinforce the universal significance of the city of Jerusalem even further, stating that the Torah of Yahweh will go forth from Jerusalem to provide law for the nations (Isa 2:2–4). All of these utopian descriptions place Jerusalem in the context of the Persian Empire as a city of universal significance.

The theology of the promised land in the book of Joshua represents a rural utopian vision of society, which is a rejection of the city-states of the empire. The rebuilding of Jerusalem, as the city of God, so dominant in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, is absent in the book of Joshua. The absence is likely polemical; the only evaluation of Jerusalem in Joshua is that it remains polluted to this very day (15:63). The sense of alienation from the urbanization of the Persian Empire is demonstrated in the peculiar plot of the book of Joshua in which the rural ideal of the promised land must be achieved through an invasion that destroys the urban centers. Thus, the tribes in Joshua are alien to the promised land, an enclave people, separate from the surrounding culture because of the covenant, which makes them God's chosen people. N. Na'aman comments on the peculiar nature of the plot: "The claim of a migration and penetration from outside is remarkable; one would rather expect a nation to emphasize its antiquity in the land, which better supports its right to this land" (1994: 231). The plot is shaped by the overwhelming geopolitical experience of imperial power, which, in the case of Joshua, represents a threat, making the Israelites foreigners to the promised land. Unlike the urban visions of Ezra-Nehemiah, the utopia of the promised land in Joshua is a new tribal society centered in the northern region of Shechem, which requires a violent iconoclastic revolution against cities for its realization. The promised land in Joshua can have peace only when it is emptied of all royal cities and their citizens and replaced by a new tribal society, in which the only cities are judicial and religious centers (Josh 20–21).

Reception History

H. G. Gadamer provides the presupposition to the methodology of reception history, when he states that the goal of hermeneutics is not to reproduce the objective meaning of a text, but "to clarify the conditions in which understanding takes place" (1975: 263). With this definition, Gadamer broadens the lens of interpretation from the study of the text as an isolated object in the past to the interaction between the text and the reader through time. He also characterizes this process as *Wirkungsgeschichte,* "the history of effects," through the dynamic relationship of text and reader. As a consequence, the conditions under which understanding takes place include the text, but also the social location, the worldview, and the preconceptions of the reader. The inherent relationship between the text and the reader's worldview or prejudice, as the precondition for understanding, ensures that the interpretation of any text will necessarily change through time, since the horizon or point of encounter between the text and different readers is never the same.

The relationship between the text and the historically conditioned reader is the process that creates tradition for Gadamer, since tradition comes into being from the continual merging of the past and the present though the fusion of ever-changing horizons (1975: 258). The creation of tradition in reception history, moreover, is not simply the history of interpretation, as though the creative force for new readings resides with

the interpreter, who simply "receives" and refashions the biblical text. Reception history is at the same time the active influence of the Bible on the reader, who is shaped by the text. H. Schneidau clarifies the active role of the Bible in reception history, writing that "the book is not just an unfailing source of material; in spite of all the tomes that have been written on So-and-so's 'use of the Bible,' the point is how the Bible uses authors," since it "keeps demanding new interpretations" (1976: 2).

The reception history of Joshua explores the creative tension between the book's demand to be interpreted, especially as it achieves a canonical status as Scripture, and the reader, whose changing expectations introduce new ideas and address new problems that exceed the horizon of the original audience. This overview of reception history is organized in three general time periods to illustrate the diverse readings of Joshua as the horizon of interpretation changes: (1) The Second Temple period (520 BCE–70 CE) represents an unusual phase in the reception history of Joshua, where interpretation and literary formation intermingle in a range of Hebrew and Greek writings on the book; (2) the late antiquity (200–500 CE) and medieval (500–1500 CE) periods contain writings on Joshua from the church fathers, classical rabbinic literature, and Islam, where the book of Joshua provides insight into Christ, the Torah, and Allah's grace and judgment; (3) the modern to the present period spans literature from the Renaissance (ca. 1500 CE) to the twenty-first century, where the emphasis on the literal interpretation of the book of Joshua, in conjunction with the rise of nationalism, accentuates problems of war and violence. I highlight only representative literature from each period to illustrate the changing historical conditions in which the understanding of the book of Joshua takes place and to locate the social context of my reading of Joshua.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

The book of Joshua became an object of reflection and exposition soon after its composition. The significant differences between the MT and the LXX and the difficulty in determining the direction of dependence illustrate the fluidity of Joshua throughout the Second Temple period. F. García Martínez comments on the same fluidity of the book in its early reception history: "There is certainly an awareness of the distinction between 'text' and 'interpretation,' but the great majority of the [ancient compositions of Joshua] simply develop the old, revered texts in order to modify them, introduce new ideas, defend particular points of view, [or] address new problems" (2008: 159).

The reception history of the book of Joshua is evident in a limited number of texts from the Hellenistic period on. The New Testament literature of the first century CE mentions Joshua only twice: in the sermon of Stephen to recount the entry of the Tent of Meeting into the promised land (Acts 7:45) and in the eschatological discourse on the theme of rest in Hebrews, where the unfulfilled conquest of Joshua points to a future rest in Christ (Heb 4:8). Rahab appears in the Matthean genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:5), while also becoming idealized as a hero both of faith (Heb 11:31) and of works (Jas 2:25). The historical writings of 1 and 2 Maccabees in the first century BCE idealize Joshua as a faithful warrior who fulfilled the divine command entrusted to him (1 Macc 2:55; see also the reference to Jericho in 2 Macc 12:15). Earlier, in the second century BCE, Sirach eulogizes Joshua as one of the heroes of faith, again emphasizing his role as a warrior, who took "vengeance on the enemies that rose against them, so that

he might give Israel its inheritance" (46:1). Sirach underscores further the miraculous power of Joshua in making the sun stand still and his function in tradition as "the successor of Moses in the prophetic office" (46:1). The Dead Sea Scrolls, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus also illustrate the flexibility of the story of Joshua among authors of the Second Temple period by the way in which they interpret the character of Joshua with a range of images, from prophet to warrior. The texts also demonstrate a tendency to integrate and to harmonize the message of Joshua with the themes of the election of David and Jerusalem, even though these themes conflict with the central message of the book.

The idealization of Joshua as a prophet is prominent in the Qumran texts in the reinterpretation of Joshua's curse on the city of Jericho in Josh 6:26 (Noort, 2000: 207). This line of interpretation is surprising, since the "prophetic quality [of Joshua] is not prominent in the biblical book of Joshua, in which he merely utters a curse" (Tov, 1998: 248). Yet the transformation of Joshua's curse on city building into a prophecy about future city building allows the authors at Qumran to reinterpret the antimonarchic and, more specifically, the anti-Jerusalem ideology in the book. Tov notes the reinterpretation of Joshua as prophet in 4Q379 22 ii when "Joshua knows in advance that someone will actually rebuild Jericho" (1998: 248). The further reinterpretation of the curse in 4QTest assumes the completion of the prophecy of Josh 6:26; it identifies the builder as Belial, perhaps a reference to John Hyrcanus I (H. Eshel, 1991; J. J. Collins, 1997: 71); it may even change the identity of the city from Jericho to Jerusalem (Noort, 2000: 210) and expand the interpretation of Joshua from being a prophet to a messianic figure (D. C. Mitchell, 2005: 545–53). The anti-Jerusalem ideology in the book of Joshua is actually reversed in 4Q422, when Joshua foretells the election of David and the construction of Jerusalem as the "rock of Zion" to account for his failure to come to Jerusalem, all of which is absent in the book of Joshua. Tov writes, "Only in retrospect did this failure to come to Jerusalem pose a problem, prompting Joshua's apologetic speech in 4Q522" (1998: 246).

Joshua is also a prophet in Josephus and in Pseudo-Philo. But these first-century CE retellings of Joshua move in a different direction from the Qumran manuscripts. Both accounts play down many of the miraculous events that are associated with the crossing of the Jordan or the destruction of Jericho, while also emphasizing the role of Joshua as a military leader. In both cases, the prophetic role of Joshua is reinterpreted from the power to predict the future to the ability to write history. In *Biblical Antiquities,* Pseudo-Philo describes Joshua's prophetic role as his taking on the garments of wisdom from Moses; the special office changes him into "another man" (20.1–2) who fulfills the prophecy of Eldad and Medad from Num 11 (20.5). Joshua's gift of prophecy, however, is no longer the ability to predict the future, as in the case of Eldad and Medad, but to interpret history (20.3–4).

In *Jewish Antiquities,* Josephus also reinterprets Joshua's prophetic role to be that of an historian. L. Feldman writes: "Just as Moses (*Ant*. 4.320) at the close of his life, 'prophesies' to each of the tribes the things that are past, so the Book of Joshua is a prophetic book, as it is reckoned also by the rabbis (b. B. Bat. 14A); and Joshua himself is a member of Josephus's own profession—that is, a historian—and thus, as noted, akin to a prophet in Josephus's view" (1998: 447). For Josephus, the gift of prophecy to write history no longer requires a rite of passage; it is simply innate and consists of the qualities of wisdom, eloquence, courage, endurance, flexibility, and piety. These qualities

are reminiscent of Thucydides' idealization of Pericles (*History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.60.5–6), and their application to Joshua is likely part of a larger apologetic to defend Judaism to the Romans (Feldman, 1998: 445).

LATE ANTIQUITY AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS

The interpretation of Joshua in the late antiquity and medieval periods moves away from a focus on Joshua as a prophet and a military leader. Christian interpreters read the book to clarify the role of Christ in the story. The rabbinic interpreters maintain a more literal interpretation of the plain sense of the text, but for the purpose of relating the book of Joshua to Torah rather than exploring the meaning of war. The interpretation of Joshua as a story of war is retained in Arabic literature, both in Islam and in Samaritan readings.

For the church fathers, the new "condition in which understanding takes place" is the need to discern the multiple ways in which a spiritual interpretation of the book of Joshua provides insight into the mystery of Jesus, the Christ. Origen (185–250 CE) provides an example. In the *Homilies on Joshua,* he illustrates the new hermeneutical perspective in his evaluation of the wars that dominate the book: "Unless those physical wars bore the figure of spiritual wars, I do not think the books of Jewish history would even have been handed down by the apostles to the disciples of Christ, who came to teach peace, so that they could be read in the churches" (15.1). Building on the similarity of the name Joshua/Jesus, Origen adds: "The book [of Joshua] does not so much indicate to us the deeds of the son of Nun as it represents for us the mysteries of Jesus, my Lord" (1.3). Uncovering the mystery of Jesus, the Christ, from the story of Joshua, the son of Nun, requires the literal meaning of the text to fade in the quest for the spiritual. Origen describes his philosophy of interpretation in the story of the ceasing of manna in Josh 5:10–12, where three kinds of food indicate three forms of knowledge: (1) the dough taken from Egypt is instruction in school; (2) the manna during the wilderness journey is the study of the divine law; and (3) the first fruit from the land is the spiritual enlightenment that comes through Christ (6.1). For Origen, the goal of interpretation is the third form of knowledge, that is, enlightenment into the mystery of union with Christ through the spiritual interpretation of the book of Joshua.

Origen applies the typological method to reinterpret the identity of Joshua, as well as the central themes of the promised land, the rite of passage through the Jordan River, the ban against the nations, and the demand for absolute exclusion from the indigenous culture. As the successor of Moses, Joshua signifies the transition in salvation history from the law to the mystery of Christ (*HomJosh* 2.2). In his role of leading the army into the promised land, Joshua, the son of Nun, represents Jesus, the Christ (1.1; 9.10; 15.1). The promised land, according to Origen, is "the land about which the Lord says, 'Blessed are the meek, who will possess the land as their inheritance'" (2.2). In this way, the war over the promised land becomes an internal struggle for the Christian against vices, demonic powers (1.5–6), and the "gloom of the heart" (3.1). As a consequence, the enemy is no longer the indigenous nations, but the "violent impulses of anger and rage," which the believer must expel from the "land of promise" (1.5). Origen explains: "Within us are the Canaanites; within us are the Perizzites; here are the Jebusites" (1.6).

The rite of passage through the Jordan River signifies the baptism of Christians, which prepares the believer for spiritual warfare. This is also the meaning of the second circumcision of Josh 5:2–9 (*HomJosh* 5.5–6); it equips the believer to wage the "sanctified war" of the ban against the chaos of Ai, over "which the Devil is the king and chief" (8.2). Victory is the complete separation from the idolatry of the profane world. Achan illustrates the danger of not waging the total war of the ban; he was seduced to steal the "tongue of gold," whose deeper meaning goes beyond the mere object to signify "the beauty in the discourses of philosophers." Origen warns his audience: "If you read a poet with properly measured verses, weaving gods and goddesses in a very right tune, do not be seduced by the sweetness of eloquence, for it is the 'tongue of gold.' If you take it up and place it in your tent, if you introduce into your heart those things that are declared by the [poets and philosophers], then you will pollute the whole church of the Lord" (7.6–8). Thus, the battle against the metaphorical nations is absolute, as it states in Josh 8:22–24: "And they struck them with the edge of the sword until not one of them was left who might be saved or who might escape" (*HomJosh* 8.7).

The hermeneutical perspective of Origen is reflected to different degrees in the church fathers from the second through the eighth centuries CE. For example, Tertullian (160–225 CE) interprets Joshua as prefiguring Jesus, who leads the Christian into the eternal land of promise "flowing with milk and honey" (*Against the Jews* 9.3). Similar interpretations are repeated by Lactantius (240–320 CE), who identifies Joshua with Jesus to signify the change from law to grace (*Epitome of the Divine Institutes* 4.17.11), and by Chrysostom (347–407 CE), who reaffirms that Joshua underwent a name change from Hoshea because he is a type of Christ (*Homilies on Hebrews* 27.6.12). Gregory of Nyssa (329–390 CE) interprets the crossing of the Jordan River as baptism and the twelve stones as anticipating the apostles (*On the Baptism of Christ* 1). John of Damascus (676–749 CE) continues along the same line of typological and spiritual interpretation, identifying the crossing of the Jordan as the process by which the Christian leaves behind useless pleasure, "that is the sin which holy baptism circumcises" (*Orthodox Faith* 4.25.12). The fathers continue to spiritualize war and the demand for Joshua to be courageous. Pachomius (292–348 CE) encourages Christians not to be fainthearted, by which he means lazy (*Instructions* 21.32), while Paulinus of Nola (354–431 CE) uses the story of Jericho's defeat without military means to illustrate how the Christian's armor in the spiritual war is God (*Poem* 26.99–114.2). But the church fathers also return to a more literal interpretation of Joshua, especially after the church becomes wedded to the empire. Augustine (343–430 CE) provides illustration in his theory of just war based on a more literal reading of Joshua's ambush in the attack on Ai: "Inasmuch as God ordered Joshua to plant an ambush in their rear, that is, to plant warriors in hiding to ambush the enemy, we learn that such treachery is not unjustly carried out by those who wage a just war" (*Questions on Joshua* 10–11.1).

The rabbinic tradition does not employ the typological interpretation of the church fathers but focuses instead on the literal meaning of the text, understood as the plain sense, in order to clarify how the book of Joshua relates to Torah. Examples of legal exegesis include the celebration of first fruits in Josh 5:10–12: The first sheaf offering was at least one-third grown (b. Roš. Haš. 13A); it was eaten after Passover, not before (b. Giṭ. 7A); and only obligatory sacrifices compatible with Passover were offered (b. Zebaḥ. 111B). The second circumcision after the crossing of the Jordan River

invalidates the original circumcision of Abraham (b. Yebam. 72A); the lack of circumcision of the wilderness generation is explained by the absence of the north wind and clear skies (b. Yebam. 72A); and the relationship of circumcision and the sprinkling of water is spelled out (b. Yebam. 72A; b. Zebaḥ. 117B). The building of the high-place altar at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim does not violate the law of the central sanctuary, because it precedes the establishment of Jerusalem (b. Šabb. 56A).

The rabbis also provide clarification on central events in the book of Joshua. For example, Rahab knew that the Canaanites feared the Israelites and that there was no spirit left in them because she had sex with all of them (b. Zebaḥ. 116AB). Achan's sacrilege violates all five books of Torah, and it even includes sex with a betrothed girl. But the power of confession is so great that it saves him in the future life (b. Sanh. 44A). Jericho is placed under the ban because it was destroyed on the Sabbath (b. Mo'ed Qaṭ. 17A). The syntax of Joshua's curse on the city is explored to determine whether there are any limits on the ban over time with regard to both the city structure and its vegetation (b. Sanh. 113A). The rabbis note that three people actually stop the sun in the sky: Moses, Joshua, and Nagedimon b. Gurion (b. Ta'an. 20A). They also debate how long the sun was in the sky in Josh 10, whether twenty-four, thirty-six, or forty-eight hours (b. 'Abod. Zar. 25A). In many places the rabbis clarify matters of geography. The Jordan River, for example, is included within the promised land, even though it functions as the boundary of the land; thus both sides of the Jordan are included in the land (b. Bek. 55AB). The city of Tiberias is Rakkath in Josh 19:35 (b. Meg. 5B); and the letters of the cities of Kinah, Dimonah, and Abadab in Josh 15:22 contain the message that one must maintain peace toward one's neighbor (b. Giṭ. 7A).

The rabbis idealize Joshua. He is identified as the author of his book and the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, which record the death of Moses (b. B. Bat. 14B). The reference to the "book of the Torah of God" (Josh 24:26) may be a reference to the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, the list of the cities of refuge, or more likely, Joshua's own book (b. Mak. 11A). Joshua is the successor of Moses; together the two heroes represent the two hornets that Yahweh predicts will lead Israel in crossing over into the land in Exod 23:28 (b. Soṭah 36A). The rabbis state further that Joshua marries Rahab and that the prophetess Huldah is one of their descendants (b. Meg. 14B). Joshua is remembered most for his courage, which is defined as studying Torah (b. Ber. 32B), rather than warring against the indigenous nations. He is glorified for observing Torah (b. Ber. 58A), and he is criticized when he does not. A parade example is his confrontation with the commander of the army of Yahweh, which is interpreted as a story of the punishment of Joshua for failing to study Torah (b. 'Eruv. 63A; b. Sanh. 44B). Joshua is also criticized for not fulfilling the Mosaic command to build an altar immediately after crossing the Jordan River (Deut 27:4) and instead traveling an extra sixty miles to Shechem (b. Soṭah 36A; b. Sanh. 44B). Joshua is said to go into the valley during the night, when he fought against Ai (Josh 8:13), which means that he studied law (b. 'Eruv. 63B). The subordination of war to Torah study is perhaps most evident when Moses asks Joshua whether he has any doubts about succeeding him as leader. Joshua expresses his doubts by stating that he forgot three hundred laws and has seven hundred doubts. This prompts the Israelites to seek his death. At this moment of crisis, the Deity advises Joshua on how he might save his life: "To tell you what you have forgotten is no longer possible, but go and preoccupy them with a patriotic war" (b. Tem. 16A).

The influence of the book of Joshua appears in Arabic literature, both Islamic and Samaritan. Joshua is not named in the Qur'an, but he and Caleb are referred to in Sura 5, which presents a summary of the spy story in Num 13–14. Sura 5 begins by listing obligations of diet, the cultic calendar, and hygiene that believers must fulfill. Then it turns to Jewish and Christian unbelievers, who think they are followers of God but in reality will be rejected by Allah. The Israelites in the wilderness illustrate the divine rejection when they fear to fight against the indigenous nations in order to seize the holy land. But even at a time of divine judgment, two (Joshua and Caleb) are separated out to receive the grace of Allah: "Two men of those who feared, upon both of whom Allah had bestowed a favor, said: Enter upon them by the gate, for when you have entered it you shall surely be victorious, and on Allah should you rely if you are believers" (Sura 5.23). The lesson of the story is that "[Allah] forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases; and Allah's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and to Him is the eventual coming" (Sura 5.19). The positive portrait of Joshua continues into later Islamic literature, where he is idealized as a faithful follower of Allah in the role of a judge, rather than a prophet (al-Ṭabarī', 2010: vol. 3).

The book of Joshua also appears in the Arabic Samaritan Chronicle of the book of Joshua, which is likely a medieval composition, written when Samaritans where under Islamic rule. The work rewrites the book of Joshua (chapters 9–40), while also including the prophetic career of Moses (chapters 1–8) and the subsequent history of Israel into the Roman period (chapters 41–50). Joshua becomes the successor of Moses in the opening chapter, when he is invested with the office of the Khalifate (chapter 1), so that he acquires profound secrets, dream visions, scientific knowledge, and spiritual perfection to fight enemies and to rule over creation (chapter 2). The aim of the book is to idealize Joshua as a warrior king, not as a prophet, and to make clear that Shechem, not Jerusalem, is the location of the Blessed Mountain and the only authentic place of worship.

The events of the book of Joshua begin in chapter 9, with a paraphrase of the commission of Joshua from Josh 1, but then the Samaritan Chronicle departs from the events in Joshua to recount an extended covenant ceremony that summarizes themes from Josh 23–24. The Israelites agree to the covenant conditions of Joshua, and his monarchic rule is sharply drawn with their acceptance: "O our master and our lord, we hear and will obey the command of God—Mighty and Powerful—and of His true and faithful Prophet [Moses], and also thy command, O king, and the command of our imâm and our rulers" (chapter 11). Joshua assumes the throne and immediately undertakes a census, before the events of the biblical book of Joshua are recounted in chapters 13–21, including the spying of Jericho (chapter 13), the crossing of the Jordan River (chapters 14–16), the celebration of Passover, the confrontation with the commander of the divine army and the fall of Jericho (chapter 17), the covenant with the Gibeonites (chapter 19), the wars with the Canaanites (chapters 20–21), and the division of the land (chapter 22). The crossing of the Jordan remains a miraculous event (chapter 15), as does the collapse of the walls of Jericho, when the Israelites shout: "God is omnipotent in battles. God is His name" (chapter 17). But the miracle of Joshua stopping the sun is removed from his initial wars and placed instead at the close of his life story, while the circumcision of the Israelites after the crossing of the Jordan River is absent altogether.

The Samaritan Chronicle of Joshua adds new material to the life of Joshua after the division of the land. Once the division is complete, Joshua builds a fortress at Samaria and places the tabernacle at the Blessed Mountain as the central place of worship. The story lingers at this point to clarify the schedule of Joshua's weekly work routine after the establishment of Samaria. The schedule blends the roles of warrior, king, and student of Torah: one day of the week is reserved for meeting with the priest, Eleazar; one day for counsel; one day for administration; and three days for the study of Torah (chapter 24). After twenty years of peace (chapter 25), however, war takes over when Shaubak, the son of Haman and a member of the race of giants, gathers an army to attack Joshua (chapters 26–38). The story of the war is dominated by the exchange of letters between Shaubak and Joshua, in which the majesty of Joshua's rule is clarified (chapters 26–31). When the battle finally takes place, it is a contest of magic, in which Joshua needs the help of his cousin Nabih from the tribe of Manasseh on the east side of the Jordan. Nabih neutralizes the spell that protects Shaubak and kills him with a magical arrow, while Joshua assists Nabih by stopping the sun (chapter 37). This results in peace in the land and worship at the Blessed Mountain (chapter 38). The Samaritan Chronicle of Joshua blends the roles of warrior and king in idealizing Joshua, while avoiding any association of him with Jerusalem.

The merging of the warrior and royalty in the representation of Joshua also appears in the European symbolism associated with the Nine Worthies in the late medieval period. The Nine Worthies come to represent the ideal of chivalry in the early fourteenth century CE (J. Huizinga, 1997: 63) and can be divided into three groups of three heroes each from classical, Jewish, and Christian traditions:

Classical	*Jewish*	*Christian*
Hector	Joshua	King Arthur
Alexander the Great	David	Charlemagne
Julius Caesar	Judas Maccabeus	Godfrey of Bouillon

The Nine Worthies represent the virtues of the ideal warrior prince. Huizinga explains that the Nine Worthies glorify honor, knighthood, and royalty by blending the romance of chivalry with religion (1996: 76–77). From the perspective of the Reception History of the book of Joshua, it is noteworthy that the tendency to harmonize the antimonarchic and anti-Jerusalem themes of the book with Jerusalem and David, evident already at Qumran, is completed in the imagery of the Nine Worthies, where Joshua and David are now linked, along with Judas Maccabeus, as the Jewish representatives of the warrior prince. Noort (2000: 202) illustrates the close linking of David and Joshua, citing Meisterlied from W. van Anrooij (1998: 20),

> War kam in konig der geheissen was David?
> War kame in richter Josewe, der manichen strit
> Durch gerechtigkeit erfochten het by sinre zit?
>
> [Where is now a king called David
> Where is now Joshua, the judge, who fought in his days
> Many a battle for justice's sake?]

MODERN TO THE PRESENT PERIOD

The reception history of Joshua in the modern period is far too complex to be reviewed in any detail. Yet there are trends in the interpretation of Joshua that begin in the modern period and continue into the present time and influence my own reading of the book. The modern period of interpretation is characterized by the rejection of the typological hermeneutic of the church fathers in favor of a more literal reading of the text. The influence of the rabbis on Christian interpreters is evident in this shift in methodology, but the focus is not to clarify Torah. Instead, the aim in the modern period is to undertake a literal interpretation of the book as a source of divine revelation for individual and social moral guidance. I focus on John Calvin (1509–1564), whose commentary on Joshua demonstrates the shift in hermeneutics. Although Calvin's commentary was written at the very outset of the modern period, it illustrates in surprising ways how the emphasis on the literal reading of the text, along with the emergence of political nationalism, creates moral and theological problems in the interpretation of the book that continue to the present time.

The commentary on Joshua is Calvin's last book, published in 1563. In a letter dated November 30, 1563, Calvin states that friends had encouraged him to write the commentary. He does not provide the reason for the encouragement, but the urgency of the request is evident in Calvin's rapid completion of the book, despite illness that eventually led to his death six months later (1949: v [translator's preface]). The pressing need for the commentary is likely related to the religious wars in France, in which Calvin and his Geneva church played an active role. France was experiencing religious conflict at least from the mid-sixteenth century, as is demonstrated by the massacre of Waldensians at Mérindol (1545); the failed attempt of Huguenots to kidnap the French king, Francis II, at Amboise (1560); and the retaliation against the Huguenots in the massacre at Vassy (1562).

R. M. Kingdon identifies the active role of Calvin's church through the Geneva Company of Pastors during the early conflicts of the French wars of religion. Calvin formed this group initially "to aid him in directing Geneva's moral and spiritual life" (2007: 1), but it quickly expanded in 1555 to undertake mission activity among Waldensians in the Piedmont region and eventually in France to assist Huguenots. Kingdon summarizes the effect of this activity: "In 1562, just subsequent to the most substantial dispatch of pastors, the religious ferment to which these men had ministered finally roused passions to an intensity that flared into the war that would continue, with only minor pauses, for forty years. Only seven years had elapsed between the inception of the Geneva Company's concentrated missionary effort and the beginning of the French religious wars" (2007: 2).

Kingdon's historical analysis suggests that the religious wars in France were a likely cause for the urgency behind the commentary on the conquest wars in Joshua, especially given the role of the Geneva Company of Pastors. The assumption is reinforced in Calvin's interpretation of Joshua. He writes that the book is meant to provide guidance in war on how a people who "had already gained signal victories and become the occupants of a commodious and tolerably fertile tract of country" must proceed to fulfill "the Divine promise as to the land of Canaan [that] still remained suspended" (1949:

xviii). This theme appears in the book of Joshua, but only in a peripheral way and only then if the focus is limited to the eastern tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. It more clearly mirrors Calvin's contemporary situation, with the growing conflict between his Geneva church and France.

Calvin's commentary on Joshua is a surprisingly modern book. The opening sentence of the introduction anticipates the issues of authorship and authority that will dominate the modern period of interpretation: "As to the author of this Book, it is better to suspend our judgment than to make random assertions. Those who think that it was Joshua, because his name stands on the title page, rest on weak and insufficient grounds" (1949: vii). The quotation indicates that the authority of the book for Calvin does not stem from its authorship, but from its inclusion in the canon. On this basis Calvin concludes that the book is inspired and that it "confers benefits of no ordinary kind on those who attentively peruse it" (1949: xviii)—benefits that Calvin struggles to discern through an examination of the virtues and the vices in the central characters, the tension between nationalism and the betrayal of one's homeland, and the acceptable limits of violence in war, especially in the execution of the ban. These themes are complicated for Calvin by the need to discern divine providence in events that appear inhumane to him and thus resist easy moral application.

The book of Joshua provides a resource on individual virtues and vices. The immediacy of impending war in the crossing of the Jordan River and the uncertainty of its outcome allow Calvin to probe the emotions of turmoil, uncertainty, and anxiety that inflict all humans in such situations (1949: 27–28). Virtue in this situation is to recognize the power of divine election and to trust in it. Faith allows humans to be "animated for strenuous exertion," while disbelief leads to "cowardice." The power of the story of Rahab is that she demonstrates virtue, which springs from faith (1949: 52). Joshua too demonstrates virtue, and he models authority by looking beyond his own life and leading the people with a vision of a future that extends far beyond him (1949: 263). The first generation of Israelites, however, lack virtue, since they had the power to obtain the full possession of the land but refused to do so (1949: 28). Their lack of virtue is an act of cowardice that demonstrates contempt for the word of God, which can only lead to failure (1949: 33).

The interpretation of virtue extends beyond the individual to include social and national ethics. For example, Calvin has a surprisingly long section of commentary on whether it was legal for Rahab to let the spies out of her window and thus lower them down the wall of Jericho. The reason is that in Calvin's time it was criminal to overleap walls (1949: 54). The legal problem launches Calvin on an extended commentary through the mythology of Romulus and Remus and the laws of Cicero before he concludes that although questionable, the act was excusable because of necessity. He reinforces his conclusion by noting that Paul did the same thing in Damascus. A more pressing problem for Calvin throughout the commentary is the role of emergent nationalism, which he concludes is an innate virtue: "We know that the love of our country, which is as it were our common mother, has been implanted in us by nature" (1949: 46). Given this, the removal of the "reproach of Egypt" in circumcision acquires a political meaning for Calvin; it indicates that the Israelites at the time of the exodus were not "rebels against legitimate authority" in "revolting from the king under whose government they lived." Instead, their liberty was simply restored by God, "who had

long ago taken them under his special protection" (1949: 81–82). The innate law of "love of country" also raises the question of whether Rahab's "treachery to her country [is] excusable." Calvin writes: "When Rahab knew that the object intended was the overthrow of the city in which she had been born and brought up, it seems a detestable act of inhumanity to give her aid and counsel to the spies" (1949: 46). Calvin's commentary anticipates the wars of nationalism that will dominate the modern era. The resolution of the ethical conflict for Calvin is special revelation or divine command: "It was therefore only the knowledge communicated to her [Rahab's] mind by God which exempted her from fault, as having been set free from the common rule" (1949: 46). But this solution simply pushes the ethical problem back to God, and it is intensified when Calvin reflects on the nature of warfare as genocide in the execution of the ban.

Calvin was not a pacifist; he would certainly not agree with Origen that the only value in the book of Joshua is to reject the literal reading, with its violent ideology of war, in favor of a spiritual meaning that advances the peace of Christ. For Calvin, there can be no hermeneutical escape through typology; the divine revelation in the book must be embedded in its message of war. This is evident in the opening verses of the commentary, when Calvin interprets any hint of the peaceful possession of the land as a divine strategy to motivate the people: "And as the people might not have acquiesced sufficiently in a bare command, he promises, while ordering them to pass the Jordan, to give them peaceable possession of the whole land, and of every spot of it on which they should plant their foot. For as nothing tends more than distrust to make us sluggish and useless, so when God holds forth a happy issue, confidence inspires us with vigour for any attempt" (1949: 27).

Despite Calvin's quest for revelation though the literal interpretation of the book, he struggles with the ethics of the ban. He repeatedly reflects on the inhumanity of "the indiscriminate and promiscuous slaughter, making no distinction of age or sex, but including alike women and children, the aged and decrepit" (1949: 97). "Even the calmest minds are aroused," he continues, in reading that "Joshua slew all who came in his way without distinction, although they threw down their arms and suppliantly begged for mercy" (1949: 163). Calvin even provides his own opinion on this matter, writing that "in our judgment at least, the children and many of the women also were without blame" (1949: 163). But the literal meaning of the text, as the signifier of the word of God, forces Calvin to counter his own instincts with the conclusion that Joshua cannot be judged for his actions, "when it is added, that so God had commanded, there is no more ground for obloquy against him, than there is against those who pronounce sentence on criminals" (1949: 163). Thus, what would be "the guilt of detestable cruelty . . . by savage tribes scarcely raised above the level of the brutes . . . becomes them to embrace with reverence, as proceeding from God" (1949: 163). So, in the end, the inhumanity of the ban is the decision of God, and "Joshua could do nothing else than obey his command" (1949: 163).

But the divine command for genocide through the ban remains problematic; it leads Calvin into complex arguments about providence, reprobation, and the arrogance of kings who resist the will of God. Such resistance leads to the hardening of their hearts, which ultimately makes the kings the protagonists of their own slaughter. The argument is only loosely related to the central themes of Joshua; it is predicated, instead, on the thesis that God commands Israel to offer peace to the indigenous nations—a

theme that is absent in the book: "But although God required that the laws of war should be observed according to use and wont, and that, therefore, peace should be offered on condition of submitting, he merely wished to try the minds of those nations, that they might bring destruction upon themselves by their own obstinacy. At the same time it was intimated to the Israelitish people, that they must destroy them" (1949: 138–39). The genocide of the ban, therefore, was "wonderfully arranged by the secret providence of God, that, being doomed to destruction, they [the nations] should voluntarily offer themselves to it, and by provoking the Israelites be the cause of their own ruin" (1949: 174). Thus, all the wars in the book of Joshua are initiated by the nations, according to Calvin, not the Israelites. In every case, the Israelites did not "assail [the nations] with hostile arms until they had been provoked." This is even true of Jericho, since "by having shut their gate, [they] were the first to declare war" (1949: 174). Thus, in the end, the book of Joshua is a story of divine providence, which is meant to bring about historical change. Yet the ferociousness of the destruction of such wars of change remains unresolved for Calvin. He concludes: "In vain shall we murmur or make noisy complaint, that he [God] has doomed the whole offspring of an accursed race to the same destruction; the potter will nevertheless have absolute power over his own vessels, or rather over his own clay" (1949: 164).

Calvin illustrates the ethical problems that arise from a literal interpretation of the book of Joshua, and his commentary provides the paradigm for similar readings throughout the modern period. Calvin seeks relief from the social implications of genocide by reading the book within the larger context of divine command, in which the violence of war is part of the mysterious providence of God and thus a story that must be perceived as special revelation by the person of faith. All religious interpreters of Joshua in the modern period confront the same problems as Calvin. Some follow him and interpret the violence as special revelation, emphasizing the central role of divine command in the execution of genocide (e.g., E. H. Merrill). Others avoid the ethical dilemma by redefining "literal" from the plain sense of the text to its historical reliability, while judging the book to be unhistorical (e.g., Noth). Still other interpreters read the book of Joshua as history but seek to account for the violence as historical process conceived as a form of manifest destiny (e.g., Albright).

Interpreters who argue that Joshua is historical and who also wish to read the book as providing direct authoritative revelation for contemporary religious readers are forced, like Calvin, to explain the brutality of the book as an act of special revelation and divine judgment. E. H. Merrill illustrates this hermeneutical approach. He anchors the destruction of the indigenous nations in God and argues that the Canaanites were "irretrievably lost to anti-God idolatry" and "in illegal occupation of the land God had promised to Abraham and his descendants." Thus, "Yahweh's war against them had to result in their utter annihilation," lest they proselytize the people (2003: 82). Merrill even follows Calvin's interpretation of hardness to complicate the divine annihilation of the Canaanites, noting that divine hardening of the heart is ultimately the result of the process of human resistance to God, which eventually leads to "the destruction of the irredeemable rebel" (2003: 86).

The focus on composition in the modern period, with the aim of identifying anonymous authors, provides a different approach for interpreting the violence of the book of Joshua. Calvin initiates this approach when he rejects Joshua as the author.

His insight is extended in the modern historical-critical interpretation of Joshua to the point where the entire story of the conquest is rejected as an historical event. As a result, the ethical implications of the ban are relegated to the world of fantasy or ideology and thus downplayed, since the genocide in the book never actually happened and the indigenous nations are only legendary. The historicity of the ban in the ancient Near East, as is reflected for example in the Mesha Stele, is still affirmed within this hermeneutical perspective, but Joshua represents later theological reflection on this social reality, not historical genocide. Noth represents this position; the story of the ban in Joshua is the result of the theological expansion by the Deuteronomist of etiologies originally devoid of the ban. Thus, the ethics of *ḥerem* is no more than a literary trope—perhaps for the purpose of identity formation or social exclusion—but certainly not an account of historical genocide (1971b; see also R. Achenbach, 2012: 21–22). In this case, the violence in the book of Joshua is no different from the cosmic imagery of war throughout ancient Near Eastern mythology or in later apocalyptic literature, such as in the Revelation of John in the New Testament, which contain similar violent stories of the slaughter of evil forces. Noth's solution has come to dominate the historical-critical interpretation of genocide in Joshua.

A more complex literal reading of Joshua as both the account of an historical event and as authoritative Scripture also emerges, in which the conquest in Joshua is interpreted within an evolutionary view of historical process, conceived as a form of manifest destiny. The concept of manifest destiny arises out of the North American experience of expansion; the term is attributed to J. L. O'Sullivan, when he argued against dissenters to the annexation of Texas that they are "limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions" (1845: 6). The notion of manifest destiny is infused with religious imagery that incorporates the notion of American exceptionalism, based on a belief in the virtue of the American people; the affirmation of the providence of God, understood as the chosenness of the people; and a sense of mission to remake the world through historical process or destiny, which will result in blessing (A. Stephanson, 1995: xi–xiv). These presuppositions support a social triumphalism.

Manifest destiny gives rise to a view of historical process under divine direction that supports land claims and nation building throughout the colonial period and up to the present time. C. Cherry compiled a representative summary in *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* (1971). The Pilgrims, for example, identified themselves as the New Israel, a chosen people entering the promised land; the Revolutionary War mirrored the battles of Joshua, the son of Nun, against the Canaanites, according to Ezra Stiles; and Thomas Jefferson employed biblical imagery of the promised land in his second inaugural address, calling for help upon the "Being, in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life" (1971: 43, 65, 88). These well-used images informed O'Sullivan's use of manifest destiny by the mid-nineteenth century. In his history of Senator Benton, Theodore Roosevelt defines the doctrine of westward expansion as "our manifest destiny to swallow up the land of all adjoining nations who were too weak to withstand us" (Morris, 2001: 330). In *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster,* D. H. Akenson expands

the influence of manifest destiny beyond North America to include the Afrikaners, who understood themselves as God's chosen people and South Africa as the promised land, and more recently the rise of the modern state of Israel and its dispute over land with the indigenous Palestinians (1992: 76–77, 319–22).

Manifest destiny is not confined to land claims or the triumphalism associated with nation building in the modern period. It is also refashioned into a hermeneutical perspective that supports a literal interpretation of the conquest in Joshua as historical process under divine direction. But the hermeneutical perspective of manifest destiny neither idealizes the brutality of the book nor directly attributes the genocide to divine command, as Calvin was forced to do. Albright represents this perspective when he cautions the modern reader to reserve judgment on the genocide of the ban in Joshua. He historicizes and universalizes the practice as "apparently universal among the early Semites" (1957: 280). Then he turns his comments directly to the reader with the reminder of the brutality of manifest destiny in the American colonial experience: "And we Americans have perhaps less right than most modern nations, in spite of our genuine humanitarianism, to sit in judgment on the Israelites of the thirteenth century B.C., since we have, intentionally or otherwise, exterminated scores of thousands of Indians in every corner of our great nation and have crowded the rest into great concentration camps." He immediately tempers the judgment, however, by also recognizing "that this was probably inevitable," since from "the impartial standpoint of a philosopher of history, it often seems necessary that a people of markedly inferior type should vanish before a people of superior potentialities" (1957: 280).

Thus, historical process allows Albright to retain a literal reading of the genocide of the Canaanites without the ethical dilemmas that plagued Calvin. The Canaanites, Albright says, practiced "orgiastic nature-worship" with "sensuous nudity" and "gross mythology." He concludes: "It was fortunate for the future of monotheism that the Israelites of the conquest were a wild folk, endowed with primitive energy and ruthless will to exist, since the resulting decimation of the Canaanites prevented the complete fusion of the two kindred folk which would almost inevitably have depressed Yahwistic standards to a point where recovery was impossible" (1957: 281). The same historical process repeats a millennium later, when the superior Romans crush the Carthaginians, whose belief system mirrored that of the Canaanites (1957: 281). Albright does not attribute the genocide in Joshua to divine command, nor does he justify the conquest ethically; it is simply part of the evolution of historical process: "When such a process takes place . . . there is generally little that can be done by the humanitarian—though every deed of brutality and injustice is infallibly visited upon the aggressor" (1957: 280–81).

The twenty-first-century reader of Joshua enters a new hermeneutical horizon. The modern era does not allow for a retreat to typological readings as a strategy to rescue the book of Joshua from its violent message, as is suggested, for example, by D. S. Earl, who looks to Origen for a solution to the problem of genocide (2010; 2011). The modern era demands a literal reading of the book of Joshua, but in the emerging postmodern setting, the historicity of Joshua no longer plays a role in evaluating the violence of the book; the postcolonial context leaves no room for the belief in manifest destiny; cultural pluralism cautions against the social appropriation of concepts such as "chosenness" with a narrow reading of genocide as a story of liberation; and the increasing

violence in Western religions, punctuated by the terrorist events of September 11, 2001, underscores the urgency to scrutinize anew the religious meaning of war and genocide in Joshua through a literal reading of the book. In the presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature in 2002, J. J. Collins stated that the merging of these issues demands renewed reflection "on the ways in which the Bible appears to endorse and bless the recourse to violence and to ask what the implications may be for the task of biblical interpretation" (2003: 4). I summarize the forces presently influencing the interpretation of Joshua before reflecting on the violence of the book within the hermeneutical framework of religious fundamentalism.

It is no longer possible to adopt the position of Noth and many other historical-critical interpreters of the modern period who avoid the ethical problems of genocide in Joshua by identifying the book as simply ideology or fictional theology, rather than as history. The rhetoric of Joshua alone is now recognized as having the power to create social violence, when the text fuses with the horizon of the reader. This, of course, is the insight of Gadamer that gives rise to the study of reception history in the first place. R. A. Warrior summarizes the present hermeneutical situation. The new insights into history, which show that Israel was always indigenous to the land of Canaan, do not change the status of the indigenous nations in the narrative of Joshua. Warrior writes: "People who read narratives read them as they are, not as scholars and experts would like them to be read and interpreted. History is no longer with us. The narrative remains" (2006: 277). J. Barr rightly concludes that the lingering ethical problem of a book like Joshua is not whether it is fact or fiction, but the force of its rhetorical ideology in which genocide is commanded, reinforced by the canonical status of the book (1993: 209). This is the original problem for Calvin at the outset of the modern period of interpretation.

The emergence of cultural and religious pluralism no longer allows for a narrow appropriation of the conquest as a story of liberation or as a resource to advance an ideology of manifest destiny. G. Yee underscores the insight of postcolonial interpreters that the exodus-conquest mythology "can be used to inspire liberation, but also legitimate oppression" (2010: 231). This is true already in the historical-critical study of the book of Joshua. For example, S. Niditch may be correct that the ban in the ancient Near Eastern world indicates respect for the value of human life, since the enemy is judged to be worthy of sacrifice (1993: 209). Yet Collins underscores the limited perspective of the interpretation with the response, "One hopes that the Canaanites appreciated the honor" (2003: 6). Postcolonial interpreters broaden the critical evaluation of the conquest from text to reader. Warrior, a member of the Osage nation of American Indians, counters the theological history of the Puritans and the manifest destiny of Jefferson in the use of the exodus-conquest myth by identifying "with the Canaanites, the people who already lived in the promised land" (2006: 277). Given the prominent use of the exodus-conquest myth to sanctify colonialism as manifest destiny, Warrior questions whether "Native Americans and other indigenous people dare trust the same god in their struggle for justice" (2006: 240). M. Dube probes the same hermeneutical problem from the perspective of an indigenous African, who stands outside of the Afrikaner myth of being chosen (2000). Writing from a Palestinian perspective, E. W. Said judges the use of the exodus-conquest myth in the rise of the modern state of Israel as an instance of blaming the victim (1988); the Palestinian priest N. S. Ateek declares

the use of the conquest myth in Joshua to accord "the primary claim over the land to Jews" as an abuse of the Bible (2006: 227–28). The historical conflicts drive home the conclusion of Yee that the exodus-conquest mythology "can be used to inspire liberation, but also legitimate oppression."

The violence of fundamentalism is increasingly dominating religious discourse and action in the Western world. R. Albertz writes: "Since September, the 11th, 2001 it has become obvious to everyone in the world that religiously motivated fanaticism and violence constitute a dangerous political threat to all human civilizations." He adds that the terrorist bombings in Madrid and London underscore the broad scope of "this new kind of religiously induced cruelty," which "cannot be limited to Islamic religion" (2009: 373). Collins agrees, writing that the problem of contemporary violence in religion "is not peculiar to Islam, but can also be found in attitudes and assumptions that are deeply embedded in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures" (2003: 18). In view of this, Albertz writes, "All theologians are asked to examine the violent potential of their own religious tradition" (2009: 373). There is no more important book for the study of religious violence in Jewish and Christian Scriptures than Joshua, with its story of divinely commanded genocide. Given this, I return to the question of Collins: How does the book of Joshua "endorse and bless the recourse to violence and . . . what are the implications . . . for the task of biblical interpretation?" (2003: 4).

The starting point for examining the violence of Joshua is to recognize that the story has nothing to do with the triumphalism of manifest destiny. The book is not a story of conquest, as advocated by Albright, in which "a people of markedly inferior type should vanish before a people of superior potentialities" (1957: 280). The violence in the book of Joshua is just the reverse: It is a reactionary fantasy about the extermination of a superior people, whose technologically advanced city-states threaten the tribes who reject the dominant culture while living in a camp. The central plot of the book is to secure a pure form of religion and culture by destroying the infrastructure of the more superior city-states, executing all of the kings and undertaking genocide on the urban citizens, who have become irreversibly contaminated through assimilation into the more advanced society. The sense of threat from the dominant culture, the desire to reverse technological advancement, the need to avoid contamination, and the prominent role of conflict are central features of religious fundamentalism in the modern period. The review of research on the rise of fundamentalism provides a window into similar cultural forces influencing the author of Joshua during the Persian period. The comparison will illustrate that, although fundamentalism is a recent development in religion, the forces that give rise to it are not unique to the modern period in the history of religion.

M. Marty and R. S. Appleby describe common traits or patterns that characterize fundamentalist movements in the modern period (1991; 1993a; 1993b; 1994; 2004; see esp. 1991: 814–42; 1993a: 1–21). Fundamentalism originates in twentieth-century Protestantism as an embattled form of spirituality, in which adherents perceive themselves at risk in the emerging secular culture; but it branches out to include adherents in both Western and Eastern religious traditions, who also experience the same threatening forces of modernity. Fundamentalists advocate a pure form of religious extremism in reaction to the corrupting influence of the dominant culture. The reactionary character of fundamentalism requires the identification of the cultural threat, perceived

as the enemy, since it is crucial for establishing the separate identity of the group and for providing orientation for mission, conceived as conflict, opposition, and even war. The self-identity of fundamentalists is grounded in the need to be separate from the dominant culture, with clearly defined boundaries. As a consequence, fundamentalists often perceive themselves as outsiders or as exiles in their own land. E. Sivan captures the sense of alienation and the social exclusion of fundamentalists as representing "enclave communities" by gathering statements of self-identity from Jewish and Christian fundamentalists, such as "strangers here within a foreign land," prisoners of a "new Babylonian captivity," or simply "Christians in exile" (2004: 14). The danger confronting the fundamentalists in exile is the constant allure of the dominant culture with the desire to assimilate. The insidiousness of the dominant culture, according to Sivan, is its scope "in every walk of life, appealing to instinct, to the subconscious, to mimetic action. It unwittingly subverts norms of behavior well before consciousness follows suit, molding social and ritual practice even among people who still consider themselves true believers" (2004: 15–16).

The weapon of resistance in the fundamentalist war against the dominant culture is the selective retrieval of religious tradition, with the aim of remaking a theocentric world order under strong charismatic leadership. According to Marty and Appleby, fundamentalists tend to be "people of the book," who use authoritative tradition to create a worldview that is meant to counter the threat of modernity and to preserve identity over against the dominant culture (1993b: 5). Thus, the retrieval of sacred tradition is not nostalgic. Fundamentalists do not wish to return to a lost or bygone golden era. Instead, they are focused on making a new future society that functions as an antidote to the present evil age. The anxiety over the dominant culture influences the selective and pragmatic retrieval of tradition, indicating the degree to which fundamentalists are a part of the culture they reject. Marty and Appleby write: "These retrieved 'fundamentals' are refined, modified, and sanctioned in a spirit of shrewd pragmatism: they are to serve as a bulwark against the encroachment of outsiders who threaten to draw the believers into a syncretistic, areligious, or irreligious milieu" (1993a: 835). The retrieval of tradition is demystified, narrow in scope, and focused more on a pragmatic political interpretation than on cultic and sacramental rituals, in order to reconstruct a new utopian society under strong charismatic leadership. The hope is that in remaking the world, the fundamentalist community will recover "the same charismatic intensity" as the "formative revelatory religious experiences long ago" (1993b: 835, 837).

Fundamentalism is a religious reaction to cultural developments in the modern period; it has a "symbiotic relationship with modernity," according to K. Armstrong, because it is a reaction against Western scientific and secular culture (2000: xiii). But there are similar reactionary religious movements throughout history, even if the term "fundamentalism" is restricted to the modern period. W. H. McNeill recognizes prototypes to fundamentalism reaching back to 700 BCE as a result of tension between rural and urban developments in which social relations are inequitable (1993: 561). Armstrong agrees, noting that the Axial Age (700–200 BCE) represents a time of similar rapid change in culture, urbanism, and economics that challenged established religious worldviews and practice, creating anxiety and even hostility against the dominant culture (2000: xiv–xv). This is the setting for interpreting the violent story of genocide in the book of Joshua.

The book of Joshua represents a political-religious reaction against the cultural transformation of society that begins with the Neo-Assyrians and continues through the Neo-Babylonian and Persian empires, reaching its high point under Hellenism, with the emergence of the *polis.* The author shares many of the same anxieties that drive contemporary fundamentalism. The power of kings and royal city-states is overwhelming in the story, giving rise to a sense of threat, which the leading protagonist, Joshua, counters by encouraging the Israelite tribes not to fear the nations but to be strong and courageous in resistance (Josh 1:9). The dominant culture is contaminated, resulting in the self-identity of tribal Israel as foreigners in their own land. The sense of alienation drives the plot of Joshua, as a story of the external invasion of a polluted culture, which nevertheless remains seductive. Joshua warns the people in front of Jericho not to desire the lifestyle of the city: "Keep away from the things devoted to destruction, lest you become devoted to destruction and you take from the devoted thing, and you designate the Israelite camp to be devoted to destruction, and you make it taboo" (6:18). The only solution is the social separation of the tribes as camp-dwellers and the destruction of the dominant culture of city-states in order to make a new world order. Only when all of the royal cities are destroyed, all of the kings executed, and all of the indigenous urban population exterminated can there finally be peace in the land (11:23).

The weapon of resistance in Joshua to the influence of the dominant culture is the Torah of Moses (Josh 1; 8:30–35). The emphasis on an authoritative religious book, from which the author of Joshua selectively retrieves core traditions, is similar to that of modern fundamentalism. This selective retrieval of themes from the central cultic traditions of the Pentateuch leads to the fashioning of a political-religious interpretation of holy war that has the aim of destroying the polluted, dominant culture and constructing a new religious society from its rubble. The divine presence is concentrated in the ark; the central theme of holiness is no longer centered on the cultic presence of the Deity, as in the P literature and in Deuteronomy, but on the political execution of the ban to purge the land of social and cultural contamination. Moreover, the retrieval of tradition is not a nostalgic retreat from urban culture; instead, it is aimed at destroying the city-states of the dominant culture and replacing them with a new rural utopian society, which can only take place under the strong charismatic leadership of Joshua.

The aim of the following commentary is to explore in more detail the nature, function, and causes of religious violence in the book of Joshua and to trace the ongoing interpretation of the central theme of religious violence in the literary and textual history of the book, as it acquired authoritative status in the Hebrew and Greek canons. I hope that the study will provide a resource for understanding the radical political-religious theology of the book of Joshua and perhaps aid in evaluating the violence of religious fundamentalism that now dominates contemporary culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This page intentionally left blank

Abadie, P.
2005: Le livre de Josué, critique historique. *CaE* 134: 3–49.

Abel, F.-M.
1949: Les stratagems du livre de Josué. *RB* 56: 321–39.
1950: L'anathème de Jéricho et la maison de Rahab. *RB* 57: 321–30.
1951: L'apparition du chef de l'armée de Yahweh à Josué (Jos. V. 13–15). SA 27/28: 109–13.
1967: *Géographie de la Palestine. Tome I–II: Géographie physique et historique.* 3rd ed. Paris: J. Gabalda.

Achenbach, R.
2012: Divine Warfare and YHWH's Wars: Religious Ideologies of War in the Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament. Pp. 1–26 in *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the University of Haifa 2–5 May, 2010,* edited by G. Galil, A. Gilboa, A. M. Maeir, and D. Kahn. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Aharoni, Y.
1967: *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography.* Philadelphia: Westminster.
1976: Nothing Early and Nothing Late: Re-Writing Israel's Conquest. *BA* 3: 55–76.
1982: *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel.* Philadelphia: Westminster.

Aichele, G., and T. Pippin (eds.)
1998: *Violence, Utopia and the Kingdom of God: Fantasy and Ideology in the Bible.* London: Routledge.

Akenson, D. H.
1992: *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Albers, E.
1891: *Die Quellenberichte in Josua I–XII: Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Hexateuchs.* Bonn: Verlag von Otto Paul.

Albertz, R.
2007a: The Canonical Alignment of the Book of Joshua. Pp. 287–303 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.,* edited by O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
2007b: Die kanonische Anpassung des Josuabuches: Eine Neubewertung seiner sogenannte "priesterschriftlichen" Texte. Pp. 199–216 in *Les dernières redactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque,* edited by T. Römer and K. Schmid. BETL 203. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
2009: Monotheism and Violence: How to Handle a Dangerous Biblical Tradition. Pp. 373–88 in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort,* edited by J. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos. VTSup 124. Leiden: Brill.

Albertz, R., G. N. Knoppers, and O. Lipschits (eds.)
2007: *Judah and Judaeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Albright, W. F.
1924: Ai and Beth-Aven. *BASOR* 4: 141–49.
1939: The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology. *BASOR* 74: 11–23.
1957: *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process.* 2nd ed. New York: Doubleday.
1961: *The Archaeology of Palestine.* Repr. ed. New York: Pelican.
1963: *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra: An Historical Study.* New York: Harper.
2006: *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel.* OTL. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.

Albright, W. F., and J. L. Kelso
1968: *The Excavation of Bethel, 1934–1960.* AASOR 39. New Haven, Ct.: American School of Oriental Research.

Alfrink, B. J.
1951: Die Achan-Erzählung (Jos. 7). SA 27/28: 114–29.

Allegro, J. M., and A. A. Anderson
1968: 4Q175. Pp. 58–59 in *Qumran Cave 4.* DJD 5. Oxford: Clarendon.

Alt, A.
1953a: Josua. Pp. 176–92 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Volume 1. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung = Pp. 13–29 in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testmaents,* edited by P. Volz, F. Stummer, and J. Hempel. BZAW 66. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1936.
1953b: Bermerkungen zu einigen Judäischen Ortslisten des Alten Testaments. Pp. 289–315 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Volume 2. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
1953c: Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums. Pp. 316–37 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Band Volume 2. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

1953d: Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina. Pp. 89–125 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Volume 1. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung = The Settlement of the Israelites in Palestine. Pp. 133–69 in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion,* translated by R. A. Wilson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966.

al-Ṭabarī'
2010: *Annals of the Prophets and Kings,* edited by M. J. de Goeje. Leiden: Brill.

Amit, Y.
1978–1979: Le javelot de Josué (Josué 8,18,26). *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 5–6: 14–18.
1999: *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing.* Translated by J. Chipman. Leiden: Brill.

Anbar, M.
1985: The Story About the Building of an Altar on Mount Ebal: The History of Its Composition and the Question of the Centralization of the Cult. Pp. 304–9 in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft,* edited by N. Lohfink. BETL 68. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
1994: La critique biblique à la lumière des Archives royales de Mari: Jos 8. *Biblica* 75: 70–74.

Anderson, G. A.
2011: What About the Canaanites? Pp. 269–82 in *Divine Evil? The Moral Character of the God of Abraham,* edited by M. Bergmann, M. J. Murray, and M. C. Rea. New York: Oxford University Press.

Andrews, D. K.
1964: Yahweh and the God of the Heavens. Pp. 45–57 in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek,* edited by W. S. McCullough. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Arayaprateep, K.
1972: A Note on *yr'* in Joshua 4:24. *VT* 22: 240–42.

Armstrong, K.
2000: *The Battle for God: A History of Fundamentalism.* New York: Random House.

Assis, E.
2004: The Choice to Serve God and Assist His People: Rahab and Yael. *Biblica* 85: 82–90.
2012: A Literary Approach to Complex Narratives: An Examination of Joshua 3–4. Pp. 401–14 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Assmann, J.
1997: *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
2008: *Of God and Gods: Egypt, Israel, and the Rise of Monotheism.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ateek, N. S.
2006: A Palestinian Perspective: Biblical Perspectives on the Land. Pp. 227–34 in *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World,* edited by R. S. Sugirtharajah. 3rd ed. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.

Auld, A. G.
1978: Textual and Literary Studies in the Book of Joshua. *ZAW* 90: 412–17.
1979b: Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts. Pp. 1–14 in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament,* edited by J. A. Emerton. VTSup 30. Leiden: Brill.
1980: *Joshua, Moses and the Land: Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch in a Generation Since 1938.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1985: *Joshua, Judges, and Ruth.* Daily Study Bible. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.
1998a: *Joshua Retold: Synoptic Perspectives.* Old Testament Series. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1998b: Le texte Hébreu et le texte Grec de Josué: une comparaison à partir du chapitre 5. *Foi et Vie. Cahier biblique:* 67–78.
1999: Joshua, Book of. Pp. 625–32 in *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation,* edited by J. H. Hayes. Volume 2. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.
2005: *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus.* Septuagint Commentary Series. Edited by S. E. Porter, R. S. Hess, and J. Jarick. Leiden: Brill.

Ausloos, H.
2012: The Book of Joshua, Exodus 23 and the Hexateuch. Pp. 259–66 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Avi-Yonah, M.
1951: *The Holy Land: A Historical Geography from the Persian to the Arab Conquest 536 B.C. to A.D. 640.* 2nd ed. Jerusalem: Carta.

Babcock, B.
1975: "A Tolerated Margin of Mess": The Trickster and His Tales Reconsidered. *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 11: 147–86.

Bächli, O.
1970: Zur Aufnahme von fremden in die altisraelitische Kultgemeinde. Pp. 21–26 in *Wort-Gebot-Glaube,* edited by H J. Stoebe. ATANT 59. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag.

Bahrani, Z.
2008: *Rituals of War: The Body and Violence in Mesopotamia.* Brooklyn, N.Y.: Zone.

Baldry, H. C.
1956: *Ancient Utopias: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University on 28 November, 1955.* Southampton: University of Southampton.

Ballhorn, E.
2011: *Israel am Jordan: Narrative Topographie im Buch Josua.* BBB 162. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

2012: Die Gestaltung des Gilgal (Josua 3–4): Das Buch Josua als Heterotopie. Pp. 415–32 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Barr, J.
1990: Mythical Monarch Unmasked? Mysterious Doings of Debir King of Eglon. *JSOT* 48: 55–68.
1993: *Biblical Faith and Natural Theology.* The Gifford Lectures for 1991. Oxford: Clarendon.

Barsani, L., and U. Dutiot
1985: *The Forms of Violence: Narrative in Assyrian Art and Modern Culture.* New York: Schocken.

Barstad, H. M.
1991: The Old Testament Personal Name Rachab: An Onomastic Note. *SEÅ* 54: 43–49.
1996: *The Myth of the Empty Land: A Study in the History and Archaeology of Judah in the "Exilic" Period.* SOSup. 28. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
2003: After the "Myth of the Empty Land": Major Challenges in the Study of Neo-Babylonian Judah. Pp. 3–20 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Bartfeld, H.
2008: Uncovering the Latest Stratum Added to the Composition Describing the Conquest of Jericho (Jos. 6) by Text-Critical Research. *Beit Mikra* 53: 5–30.

Barth, C.
1968: Theophanie, Bundschliessung und neuer Anfang am dritten Tage. *EvT* 28: 521–33.

Barthélemy, D.
1982: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament 1: Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Nehémie, Esther.* OBO 50/1. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag.

Bartlett, J. R.
1970: Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites. *VT* 20: 257–77.
1978: The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Re-examination. *JBL* 97: 347–51.

Batto, B. F.
1983: The Reed Sea: Requiescat in Pace. *JBL* 102: 27–35.

Bautch, R. J.
2009: *Glory and Power, Ritual and Relationship: The Sinai Covenant in the Postexilic Period.* LHB/OTS 471. New York: T. & T. Clark.

Becker, U.
1990: *Richterzeit und Königtum: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Richterbuch.* BZAW 192. Berlin: de Gruyter.
2006: Endredaktionelle Kontextvernetzungen des Josua-Buches. Pp. 139–61 in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche*

Perspektiven zur Deuteronomismus-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten, edited by M. Witte, K. Schmid, D. Prechel, and J. C. Gertz. BZAW 365. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Becking, B.

2007: Do the Earliest Samaritan Inscriptions Already Indicate a Parting of the Ways? Pp. 213–22 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.,* edited by O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Becking, B., and M. C. A. Korpel

1999: *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times.* OTS 42. Leiden: Brill.

Beek, M.

1971: Josua und Retterideal. Pp. 35–42 in *Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W. F. Albright,* edited by H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

1982: Rahab in the Light of Jewish Exegesis (Josh 2:1–24; 6:17, 22–23, 25). Pp. 37–44 in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. Dr. J. P. M. van der Ploeg,* edited by W. D. Delsman. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

1994: Joshua the Savior. Pp. 145–53 in *Voices from Amsterdam: A Modern Tradition of Reading Biblical Narrative,* edited by M. Kessler. SBLSemeiaSt. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Begg, C. T.

1986: The Function of Josh 7,6–8,29 in the Deuteronomistic History. *Biblica* 67: 320–34.

1997a: The Ceremonies at Gilgal/Ebal According to Pseudo-Philo. *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses. Louvain Journal of Theology and Canon Law* 73: 72–83.

1997b: The Cisjordanian Altar(s) and Their Associated Rites According to Josephus. *BZ* 41: 192–211.

2005a: The Rahab Story in Josephus. *Liber Annuus. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 55: 113–30.

2005b: The Fall of Jericho According to Josephus. *EstBib* 63: 323–40.

2007: Joshua's Southern and Northern Campaigns According to Josephus. *BZ* 51: 84–97.

2012: Josephus' and Pseudo-Philo's Rewritings of the Book of Joshua. Pp. 555–88 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Beilner, W.

1952–1953: Das Sonnenwunder im Buche Josue. *BL* 20: 103–8.

Bellis, A.

1994: *Helpmates, Harlots, and Heroes: Women's Studies in the Hebrew Bible*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.

Benjamin, C. D.

1921: *The Variations Between the Hebrew and Greek Texts of Joshua: Chapters 1–12.* Leipzig: W. Drugulin.

Benjamin, D. C.
1983: *Deuteronomy and City Life: A Form Criticism of Texts with the Word CITY (ʿîr) in Deuteronomy 4:41–26:19.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Berge, K.
2012: Literacy, Utopia and Memory: Is There Public Teaching in Deuteronomy? *JHS* 12: 1–19.

Berman, J. A.
2004: *Narrative Analogy in the Hebrew Bible: Battle Stories and Their Equivalent Non-Battle Narratives.* VTSup 103. Leiden: Brill.

Bersani, L., and U. Dutoit
1985: *The Forms of Violence: Narrative in Assyrian Art and Modern Culture.* New York: Schocken.

Berthelot, K.
2007: The Biblical Conquest of the Promised Land and the Hasmonaean Wars According to 1 and 2 Maccabees. Pp. 45–60 in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology: Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books,* edited by G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér. JSJSup 118. Leiden: Brill.

Betlyon, J. W.
1992: Coinage. Pp. 1076–89 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Biddle, M. E.
1998: Literary Structures in the Book of Joshua. *RevExp* 95: 189–201.

Bieberstein, K.
1995: *Josua-Jordan-Jericho: Archaeologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1–6.* OBO 143. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.

Bietenhard, S.
1999: Michal und die Frau am Fenster. *Theologische Zeitschrift* 55: 3–25.

Bimson, J. J.
1978: *Redating the Exodus and Conquest.* JSOTSup 5. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press.

Bird, P.
1989: The Harlot as Heroine: Narrative Art and Social Presumption in Three Old Testament Texts. *Semeia* 46: 119–39.

Blaschke, A.
1998: *Beschneidung: Zeugnisse der Bibel und verwandter Texte.* Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 28. Tübingen: A. Franke.

Blenkinsopp, J.
1972: *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1991: Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah. Pp. 22–53 in *Second Temple Studies 1: Persian Period,* edited by P. R. Davies. JSOTSup 117. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

1992: *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible.* AYBRL. New York: Doubleday.
2003: Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period. Pp. 93–107 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
2006: Benjamin Traditions Read in the Early Persian Period. Pp. 629–45 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and M. Oeming. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Blenkinsopp, J., and O. Lipschits (eds.)
2003: *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Blum, E.
1997: Der kompositionelle Knoten am Übergang von Josua zu Richter: Ein Entflechtungsvorschlag. Pp. 181–212 in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans,* edited by M. Vervenne and J. Lust. BETL 133. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
2002: Esra, die Mosetora und die persische Politik. Pp. 231–56 in *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden,* edited by R. G. Kratz. Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 22. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
2003: Beschneidung und Passa in Kanaan: Beobachtungen und Mutmassungen zu Jos 5. Pp. 292–322 in *Freiheit und Recht: Festschrift für F. Crüsemann,* edited by C. Hardmeier. Gütersloh: Kaiser.
2012: Überlegungen zur Kompositionsgeschichte des Josuabuches. Pp. 137–58 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Bolin, T. M.
1996a: When the End Is the Beginning: The Persian Period and the Origins of Biblical Tradition. *SJOT* 10: 3–15.
1996b: The Temple of יהו at Elephantine and Persian Religious Policy. Pp. 127–44 in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms,* edited by D. Edelman. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Boling, R. G.
1966: Some Conflated Readings in Joshua-Judges. *VT* 16: 293–98.

Boling, R. G., and G. E. Wright
1982: *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary.* AYB 5. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Boorer, S.
1992: *The Promise of Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch.* BZAW 205. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Bordreuil, P.
1990: À Propos de Milkou, Milkart et Milk'ashtart. Pp. 11–22 in *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert,* edited by E. M. Cook. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Brekelmans, C. H. W.
1959: *De Herem in het Oude Testament.* Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerji.
1989: Joshua v 10–12: Another Approach. Pp. 89–95 in *New Avenues in the Study of the Old Testament: A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap and the Retirement of Prof. J. M. Mulder,* edited by A. S. van der Woude. Leiden: Brill, 1989.

Brekke, T.
2011: *Fundamentalism: Prophecy and Protest in an Age of Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brenner, A.
2002: Wide Gaps, Narrow Escapes: I Am Known as Rahab, the Broad. Pp. 47–58 in *First Person: Essays in Biblical Autobiography,* edited by P. R. Davies. Biblical Essays 81. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Brettler, M. Z.
1989: Jud 1,1–2,10: From Appendix to Prologue. *ZAW* 101: 433–35.

Briend, J.
1996: Les sources de l'histoire deutéronomique: Recherches sur Jos 1–12. Pp. 343–74 in *Israël construit son histoire: L'historiographie deutéronomiste à la lumière des recherches récentes,* edited by A. de Pury, T. Römer, and J.-D. Macchi. MdB 34. Geneva: Labor et Fides = Pp. 360–86 in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research,* edited by A. de Pury, T. Römer, and J.-D. Macchi. JSOTSup 306. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Briggs, P.
2005: Testing the Factuality of the Conquest of Ai Narrative in the Book of Joshua. Pp. 157–96 in *Beyond the Jordan: Studies in Honor of W. Harold Mare,* edited by G. A. Carnagey. Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock.

Bright, J.
2000: *A History of Israel.* 4th ed. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.

Brodsky, H.
1992: Bethel. Pp. 710–22 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Bronner, L. L.
1994: Aggadic Attitudes Toward Prostitution: Rabbinic Rehabilitation of the Marginalized Woman. Pp. 33–40 in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies. Volume 1: Rabbinic and Talmudic Literature,* edited by D. Assaf. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.

Brueggemann, W. A.
1977: *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith.* OBT. Philadelphia: Fortress.
1994: Revelation and Violence: A Study in Contextualization. Pp. 285–318 in *A Social Reading of the Old Testament: Prophetic Approaches to Israel's Communal Life,* edited by W. Brueggemann and P. D. Miller. Minneapolis: Fortress.

2009: *Divine Presence Amid Violence: Contextualizing the Book of Joshua.* Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock.

Buber, M.
1950: *Paths to Utopia.* New York: Macmillan.

Budde, K.
1895: The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament. *New World* 4: 235–79.
1887: Richter und Josua. *ZAW* 7: 93–166.

Burger, J.
1996: Historical Geography and Textual Interpretation: An Idealistic Approach. *OTE* 9: 192–203.

Burnett, J. S.
2002: History of Biblical Israel: Major Problems and Minor Issues. *JBL* 121: 748–50.

Butler, T. C.
1983: *Joshua.* WBC 7. Waco, Tex.: Word Books.

Butticaz, S.
2002: Josué et la rhétorique de la violence: Le cas de la prise d'Aïen Jos 8/1–29. *ETR* 77: 421–27.

Cahill, J.
2003: Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy: The Archaeological Evidence. Pp. 13–80 in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology,* edited by A. G. Vaughn and A. Killebrew. SBLSymS 18. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Callaway, J. A.
1980: *The Early Bronze Age Citadel and Lower City at Ai et-Tell.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
1985: Response. Pp. 72–78 in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Conference on Biblical Antiquity,* edited by J. Amitai. Jerusalem: Israeli Exploration Society.
1993: Ai. Pp. 39–45 in *NEAEHL,* edited by E. Stern. Volume 1. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Calvin, J.
1949: *The Book of Joshua.* Translated by H. Beverridge. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
1995: *Institutes of the Christian Religion, 1536 Edition,* translated and annotated by F. L. Battles. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Campbell, A. F.
1975: *The Ark Narrative.* SBLDS 16. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press.

Campbell, K. M.
1972: Rahab's Covenant: A Short Note on Joshua ii 9–21. *VT* 22: 243–44.

Carden, M.
2006: Joshua. Pp. 144–66 in *The Queer Bible Commentary,* edited by R. E. Goss, M. West, and T. Bohache. London: SCM Press.

Carr, D.
2008: *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Carroll, R. P.
1991: Textual Strategies and Ideology in the Second Temple Period. Pp. 108–24 in *Second Temple Studies,* edited by P. R. Davies. JSOTSup 117. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
1992: The Myth of the Empty Land. *Semeia* 59: 79–93.

Causse, A.
1996: From an Ethnic Group to a Religious Community: The Sociological Problem of Judaism. Pp. 95–118 in *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible,* edited by C. E. Carter and C. L. Meyers. Translated by D. W. Baker. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 6. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns. Reprint of Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse: Le problème sociologique du judaïsme. *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 14 (1934): 285–335.

Cazelles, H.
1954: La mission d'Esdras. *VT* 4: 113–40.

Chapman, R. L.
2003: Annotated Index to Eusebius' Onomasticon. Pp. 99–162 in *The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea,* edited by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, R. L. Chapman III, and J. E. Taylor. Jerusalem: Carta.

Chapman, S. B.
2003: How the Biblical Canon Began. Pp. 29–51 in *Homer, the Bible and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World,* edited by M. Finkelberg and G. G. Stroumsa. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 2. Leiden: Brill.
2009: Joshua Son of Nun: Presentation of a Prophet. Pp. 13–26 in *Thus Says the Lord: Essays on the Former Prophets in Honor of Robert R. Wilson,* edited by J. J. Ahn and S. L. Cook. LHB/OTS 502. New York: T. & T. Clark.

Charlesworth, J. H.
2000: XJoshua. Pp. 231–39 in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert,* edited by J. Charlesworth, N. Cohen, H. Cotton, E. Eshell, P. Flint, H. Misgav, M. Morgenstern, K. Murphy, M. Segal, A. Hardeni, and B. Zissu. DJD 38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Charlesworth, J. H. (ed.).
1983: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.* Volumes 1–2. New York: Doubleday.

Cherry, C. (ed.)
1971: *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Childs, B. S.
1963: A Study of the Formula "Until This Day." *JBL* 82: 279–92.
1974: The Etiological Tale Re-Examined. *VT* 24: 287–97.

Chirichigno, G. C.
1987: The Use of the Epithet in the Characterization of Joshua. *Trinity Journal* 8: 69–79.

Clements, R. E.
2000: Achan's Sin: Warfare and Holiness. Pp. 113–26 in *Shall Not the Judge of All the Earth Do What Is Right? Studies on the Nature of God in Tribute to James L. Crenshaw,* edited by D. Penchansky and P. L. Redditt. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Coats, G. W.
1968: *The Murmuring Motif in the Wilderness Traditions of the Old Testament: Rebellion in the Wilderness.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.
1969: The Song of the Sea. *CBQ* 31: 1–17.
1972: The Wilderness Itinerary. *CBQ* 34: 135–52.
1985a: The Ark of the Covenant in Joshua: A Probe into the History of a Tradition. *HAR* 9: 137–57.
1985b: An Exposition for the Conquest Theme. *CBQ* 47: 47–54.
1987: The Book of Joshua: Heroic Saga or Conquest Theme? *JSOT* 38: 15–32.

Coggins, R. J.
1975: *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered.* Atlanta: John Knox.

Cohen, S.
2001: *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, and Uncertainties.* Hellenistic Culture and Society. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohn, H. H.
1971: Herem. Pp. 344–56 in *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* edited by C. Roth and G. Wigoder. Volume 8. Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica.

Cohn, R. L.
1994: Before Israel: The Canaanites as Other in Biblical Tradition. Pp. 74–90 in *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity,* edited by L. J. Silberstein and R. L. Cohn. New York: New York University Press.

Colenso, A.
1872: *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined, Part IV: The Later Legislation of the Pentateuch*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green.

Collins, J. J.
1997: *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls.* London: Routledge.
2003: The Zeal of Phinehas: The Bible and the Legitimization of Violence. *JBL* 122: 3–21.
2004: *Does the Bible Justify Violence?* Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress.

Conrad, E. W.
1985: *Fear Not Warrior: A Study of 'al tîra' Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures.* BJS 75. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press.

Coogan, M.
1990: Archaeology and Biblical Studies: The Book of Joshua. Pp. 19–32 in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters,* edited by W. Propp. Biblical and Judaic Studies 1. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Cooper, A., and B. R. Goldstein
1993: The Cult of the Dead and the Theme of Entry into the Land. *BibInt* 1: 285–303.

Cooper, J. S.
1983: *Reconstructing History from Ancient Inscriptions: The Lagash-Umma Border Conflict*. Sources from the Ancient Near East 2/1. Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1983.
1986: *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions I: Presargonic Inscriptions.* New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society.

Coote, R. B.
1998: The Book of Joshua: Introduction, Commentary and Reflections. Pp. 555–719 in *NIB,* edited by L. Keck et al. Volume 2. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.

Corley, J.
2010: Joshua as a Warrior in Hebrew Ben Sira 46:1–10. Pp. 207–48 in *Visions of Peace and Tales of War,* edited by P. J. Beentjes and J. Liesem. DCLY. Berlin: de Gruyter.
2011: Canonical Assimilation in Ben Sira's Portrayal of Joshua and Samuel. Pp. 57–77 in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes,* edited by J. Corley and H. van Grol. DCLS 7. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Cornelius, I.
1997: The Many Faces of God: Divine Images and Symbols in Ancient Near Eastern Religions. Pp. 21–43 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East,* edited by K. van der Toorn. CBET 21. Leuven: Peeters.

Cowles, C. S., E. H. Merrill, D. L. Gard, and T. Longman
2010: *Show Them No Mercy: 4 Views on God and Canaanite Genocide.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan.

Cowley, A.
1923: *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Crane, O. T.
1890: *The Samaritan Chronicle or the Book of Joshua, the Son of Nun.* New York: Alten.

Creach, J. F. D.
2003: *Joshua*. Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox.

Creanga, O.
2007: The Silenced Songs of Victory: Power, Gender and Memory in the Conquest Narrative of Joshua (Joshua 1–12). Pp. 106–23 in *A Question of Sex? Gender and*

Difference in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond, edited by D. W. Rooke. Hebrew Bible Monographs 14. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Crook, Z. A.
2006: Reciprocity: Covenantal Exchange as a Test Case. Pp. 78–91 in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context,* edited by P. F. Esler. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Cross, F. M.
1966: Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times. *HTR* 59: 201–11.
1973: *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
1975: A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration. *JBL* 94: 4–18.
1990: A Response to Zakovitch's "Successful Failure of Israelite Intelligence." Pp. 99–104 in *Text and Tradition: The Hebrew Bible and Folklore,* edited by S. Niditch. SBLSemeiaSt. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Crown, A. D. (ed.)
1989: *The Samaritans.* Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Crown, A. D., and R. Pummer
2005: *A Bibliography of the Samaritans.* American Theological Library Association Bibliography 51. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow.

Culley, R.
1984: Stories of the Conquest: Joshua 2, 6, 7, and 8. *HAR* 8: 25–44.

Cunningham, K.
1997: *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art,* edited by T. A. Green. Volume 2. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.

Curnock, G. N.
1939: Another Neglected Parallel: Joshua 10:12–13 and Iliad II:410–417. *ExpTim* 50: 378.

Curtis, A. H. W.
1994: *Joshua.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
2007: Joshua: Historical Mapping. Pp. 99–108 in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography—L'historiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne,* edited by G. J. Brooke and T. Römer. BETL 207. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Damien, N.
2012: Josué: De la géographie à l'histoire, l'impossible conquête. Pp. 315–46 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

David, R.
1990: Jos 10,28–39, témoin d'une conquete de la Palestine par sud? *ScEs* 42: 209–29.

Davies, G. I.
1983: The Wilderness Itineraries and the Composition of the Pentateuch. *VT* 33: 1–13.

Davies, M.
1995: On Prostitution. Pp. 225–48 in *The Bible in Human Society: Essays in Honour of John Rogerson,* edited by R. P. Carroll, D. J. A. Clines, and P. R. Davies. JSOTSup 2000. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Davison, J. M.
1991: Myth and the Periphery: Mythic Geography and Myths of Wandering. Pp. 49–63 in *Myth and Polis,* edited by D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Day, J.
2005: Whatever Happened to the Ark of the Covenant? Pp. 250–70 in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel. Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar,* edited by J. Day. *LHB/OTS* 422. London: T. & T. Clark.
2007: Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Old Testament. Pp. 113–37 in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld,* edited by R. Rezetko, T. H. Lim, and W. B. Aucker. VTSup 113. Leiden: Brill.

Debel, H.
2012: A Quest for Appropriate Terminology: The Joshua Texts as a Case in Point. Pp. 51–65 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Deurloo, K. A.
1999: Die neue Generation, im Land beschnitten (Josua 5,2–9). *Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche* 30: 19–25.

Dever, W. G.
1992: Beitin, Tell. Pp. 651–52 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
2001: *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us About the Reality of Ancient Israel.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
2003: *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

de Wette, W. M. L.
1806–1807: *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Halle: Schimmelpfennig.

Dietrich, W.
1999: Niedergang und Neuanfang: Die Haltung der Schlussredaktion des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes zu den wichtigsten Fragen ihrer Zeit. Pp. 45–70 in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times,* edited by B. Becking and M. C. A. Korpel. OtSt 42. Leiden: Brill.

Dillmann, A.
1886: *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josue.* Leipzig: Hirzel.

Dimant, D.
2002: The Apocryphon of Joshua—4Q522 9 ii: A Reappraisal. Pp. 179–204 in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*

in Honor of Emanuel Tov, edited by S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, W. W. Fields, and E. Ben-David. VTSup 94. Leiden: Brill.

2005: Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the *Apocryphon of Joshua.* Pp. 105–34 in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002,* edited by E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements. STDJ 58. Leiden: Brill.

Dines, J. M.

2005: *The Septuagint.* London: T. & T. Clark.

Dion, P. E.

1970: The "Fear Not" Formula and Holy War. *CBQ* 32: 565–70.

Dorsey, D. A.

1980: The Location of Biblical Makkedah. *TA* 7: 185–93.

1991: *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel.* ASOR Library of Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Douglas, E.

2005: Reading the Book of Joshua Theologically: The Problem of Violence. *ScrB* 35: 61–72.

Dozeman, T. B.

1996a: The *yam-sûp* in the Exodus and in the Crossing of the Jordan River. *CBQ* 58: 407–16.

1996b: *God at War: Power in the Exodus Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press.

2002: Geography and Ideology in the Wilderness Journey from Kadesh Through the Transjordan. Pp. 173–89 in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Discussion,* edited by J. C. Gertz, K. Schmid, and M. Witte. Berlin: de Gruyter.

2003: Geography and History in Herodotus and in Ezra-Nehemiah. *JBL* 123: 449–66.

2012: Joshua 1,1–9: The Beginning of a Book or a Literary Bridge? Pp. 159–82 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Drews, R.

1989: The "Chariots of Iron" of Joshua and Judges. *JSOT* 45: 15–23.

Drinkard, J. F.

1998: The History and Archaeology of the Book of Joshua and the Conquest/Settlement Period. *RevExp* 95: 171–88.

Driver, G. R.

1967: Notes on Joshua. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 57: 149–65.

Dube, M.

2000: *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible.* St. Louis: Chalice.

Durham, J. I.

2000: The Succession of Joshua. Pp. 139–62 in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History,* edited by G. N. Knoppers and J. G.

McConville. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Dus, J.
1960a: Die Analyse zweier Ladeerzählungen des Josuabuches (Jos 3–4 und 6). *ZAW* 72: 107–34.
1960b: Gibeon—eine Kultstätte des *šmš* and die Stadt des benjaminitischen Schicksals. *VT* 10: 353–74.

Earl, D. S.
2010: *Reading Joshua as Christian Scripture.* Journal of Theological Interpretation Supplement 2. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
2011: *The Joshua Delusion? Rethinking Genocide in the Bible.* Eugene, Ore.: Cascade.

Edelman, D.
1996: Ethnicity and Early Israel. Pp. 25–55 in *Ethnicity and the Bible,* edited by M. Brett. Leiden: Brill.
2003: Gibeon and the Gibeonites Revisited. Pp. 153–67 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Ehrlich, A. B.
1910: *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel. Band 3: Josua, Richter, I. u. II. Samuelis.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Ehrlich, C. S.
2004: Josua und das Judentum. Pp. 87–100 in *Bibel und Judentum: Beiträge aus dem christlich-jüdischen Gespräch,* edited by S. Carl. Zürich: Pano Verlag.

Eisler, R.
1926: Joshua and the Sun. *AJSL* 42: 73–85.

Eissfeldt, O.
1922: *Hexateuch-Synopse: Die Erzählung der Fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit them Anfange des Richterbuches in ihre vier Quellen zerlegt und in deutscher Übersetzung dargeboten samt einer in Einleitung und Anmerkungen gegebenen Begründung.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
1970: Gilgal or Shechem? Pp. 90–101 in *Proclamation and Presence,* edited by J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter. London: SCM.

Elazar, D. J.
1989: The Book of Joshua as a Political Classic. *Jewish Political Studies Review* 1: 93–150.

Elliger, K.
1934: Josua in Judäa. *PJ* 30: 47–71.

Ellis, R. R.
1998: The Theological Boundaries of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Book of Joshua. *RevExp* 95: 235–50.

Elssner, T. R.
2003: Wer fürchtet sich? Eine Anmerkung zu וַיִּירְאוּ in Jos 10,2. *BN* 118: 24–26.

2008: *Josua und seine Kriege in jüdischer und christlicher Rezeptionsgeschichte.* Theologie und Frieden. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Eph'al, I.
1978: The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.: Maintenance and Cohesion. *Or* 47: 74–90.

Erlandsson, S.
1980: זנה Pp. 99–104 in *TDOT,* edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Volume 4. Translated by D. E. Green. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Eshel, H.
1991: The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho. *RevQ* 15: 409–20.

Evans, M. J.
2005: Women. Pp. 989–99 in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books,* edited by B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity.

Ewald, H.
1869: *The History of Israel,* translated by R. Martineau. Volume 2. London: Longmans, Green.

Fabry, H.-J.
1985: Spuren des Pentateuchredaktors in Jos 4,2ff: Anmerkungen zur Deuteronomismus-Rezeption. Pp. 351–56 in *Das Deuteronomium, Enstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft,* edited by N. Lohfink. BETL 68. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
2000: Der Altarbau der Samaritaner: Ein Produkt der Text- und Literargeschichte? Pp. 35–52 in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel,* edited by U. Dahmen, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

Fales, F. M.
2014: *War in the Assyrian Empire.* Ancient World at War. London: Blackwell.

Farber, Z. I.
2012: Timnat Ḥeres and the Origins of the Joshua Tradition. Pp. 301–14 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Farmer, K. A.
1978: *The Trickster Genre in the Old Testament.* PhD diss., Southern Methodist University.

Faust, A.
2007: *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance*. London: Equinox.

Feldman, L. H.
1998: *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
2001: Philo's Interpretation of Joshua. *JSP* 12: 165–78.

Feldman, S.
1986: "Sun Stand Still": A Philosophical-Astronomical Midrash. Pp. 77–84 in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, edited by C. Goldberg. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Fensham, F.
1964: The Treaty Between Israel and the Gibeonites. *BA* 27: 96–100.

Fenton, P. B.
1996: Le symbolisme du rite de la circumambulation dans le judaïsme et dans l'islam: étude comparative. *RHR* 213: 161–89.

Ferguson, J.
1975: *Utopias of the Classical World.* AGRL. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Fernández, A.
1930: Critica historico-literaria de Jos. 3,1–5,1. *Biblica* 11: 93–98.

Fewell, D. N.
1992: Joshua. Pp. 63–66 in *The Women's Bible Commentary,* edited by C. A. Newsom and S. H. Ringe. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1992.

Fields, W. W.
1992: The Motif "Night as Danger" Associated with Three Biblical Destruction Narratives. Pp. 17–32 in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon,* edited by M. Fishbane et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Finley, M. I.
1967: Utopianism: Ancient and Modern. Pp. 3–20 in *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse,* edited by K. H. Wolff and B. Moore Jr. Boston: Beacon.

Finkel, J.
1974: The Case of the Repeated Circumcision in Joshua 5:2–7: A Historical and Comparative Study. *Annals of the Jewish Academy of the Arts and Sciences. New York:* 177–231.

Finkelstein, I., and A. Mazar
2007: *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel.* SBLABS 17. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Finkelstein, I., and N. A. Silberman
2001: *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts.* New York: Free Press, Simon & Schuster.

Finkelstein, I.
1988: *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement.* Jerusalem: Biblical Archaeology Society.
1991: The Emergence of Israel in Canaan: Consensus, Mainstream and Dispute. *SJOT* 2: 47–59.

Fishbane, M.
1985: *Biblical Interpretation.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Flanagan, J. W.
1976–1977: The Deuteronomic Meaning of the Phrase *'kôl yiśra'ēl.' SR* 6: 159–68.

Fleming, D. E.
1999: The Seven-Day Siege of Jericho in Holy War. Pp. 211–28 in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine,* edited by R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo, and L. H. Schiffman. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Flight, J. W.
1923: The Nomadic Idea and the Ideal of the Old Testament. *JBL* 42: 158–226.

Floss, J. P.
1982: *Kunden oder Kundschafter: Literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung zu Jos 2: Text, Schichtung, Überlieferung.* Volume 1. ATSAT 16. St. Ottilien: Eos.
1986: *Kunden oder Kundschafter: Literaturewissenschaftliche Untersuchung zu Jos 2: Komposition, Redaktion, Intention.* Volume 2. ATSAT 26. St. Ottilien: Eos.

Flusser, D., and S. Safrai
1980: Who Sanctified the Beloved in the Womb? *Immanuel* 11: 46–55.

Fox, M.
1974: Sign of the Covenant: Circumcision in the Light of the Priestly *'ôt* Etiologies. *RB* 81: 537–96.

Frankfort, H.
1948: *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fredriksson, H.
1945: *Jahwe als Krieger.* Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.

Freedman, D. N. (ed.)
1992: *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary.* 6 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Freedman, D. N., and D. F. Graf (eds.)
1983: *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel.* Sheffield: Almond.

Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P., R. L. Chapman III, and J. E. Taylor (eds.)
2003: *The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea.* Jerusalem: Carta.

Fretheim, T. E.
1968: The Ark in Deuteronomy. *CBQ* 30: 1–14.

Fritz, V.
1969: Die sogenannte Liste der besiegten Könige in Jos 12. *ZDPV* 85: 136–61.
1973: Das Ende der spätbronzezeitlichen Stadt Hazor Stratum XIII und die biblische Überlieferungen in Josua 11 and Richter 4. *UF* 5: 123–39.
1987: Conquest or Settlement: The Early Iron Age in Palestine. *BA* 50: 84–100.
1994: *Das Buch Josua.* HAT 1/7. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
2011: *The Emergence of Israel in the Twelfth and Eleventh Centuries B.C.E.* Translated by J. W. Barker. Biblical Encyclopedia 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Frolov, S.
2008: Joshua's Double Demise (Josh. xxiv 28–31; Judg. ii 6–9): Making Sense of a Repetition. *VT* 58: 315–23.

Frye, N.
1966: Varieties of Literary Utopias. Pp. 25–49 in *Utopias and Utopian Thought,* edited by F. E. Manuel. Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin.

Frymer-Kensky, T.
1997: Reading Rahab. Pp. 57–68 in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg,* edited by M. Cogan, B. L. Eichler, and J. H. Tigay. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Fuhs, H. F.
1999: עבר. Pp. 408–25 in *TDOT,* edited by G. J. Botterwek, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry. Translated by D. W. Stott. Volume 10. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Gadamer, H. G.
1975: *Truth and Method.* London: Sheed and Ward.

Gangloff, F.
2004: Joshua 6: Holy War or Extermination by Divine Command (*Herem*)? *NETR* 25: 3–23.

García Martínez, F.
2008: Light on the Book of Joshua from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Pp. 145–59 in *After Qumran: Old and New Editions of Biblical Texts, The Historical Books,* edited by H. Ausloos et al. BETL 246. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
2011: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Joshua. Pp. 97–109 in *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* edited by N. Dávid and A. Lange. CBET 57. Leuven: Peeters.

Garstang, J.
1931: *Joshua and Judges.* The Foundations of Bible History. London: Constable.

Garstang, J., and J. B. E. Garstang
1940: *The Story of Jericho.* London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott.

Gaster, M.
1908: Das Buch Josua in hebräisch-samaritanischer Rezension, entdeckt und zum ersten Mal Herausgegeben. *ZDMG* 62: 209–79, 494–549.

Geoghegan, J. C.
2003: "Until This Day" and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History. *JBL* 122: 201–27.

George, D. B.
2000: Yahweh's Speech at Jos 1,2–6 and Deut 11: Semantics, Intertextuality, and Meaning. *ZAW* 112: 356–64.

Gertz, J. C.
2006: Kompositorische Funktion und literarhistorischer Ort von Deuteronomium 1–3. Pp. 103–23 in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und*

religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomisus"—Diskussion in der Tora und den Vorderen Propheten, edited by M. Witte. BZAW 365. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Gevirtz, S.
1963: Jericho and Shechem: A Religio-Literary Aspect of City Destruction. *VT* 13: 52–62.

Giles, T., and R. T. Anderson
2005: *Tradition Kept: The Literature of the Samaritans.* Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.

Gladigow, B.
1988: Anikonishe Kulte. Pp. 472–73 in *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe,* edited by H. Cancik, B. Gladigow, and M. Laubscher. Volume 1. Stuttgart-Cologne: W. Kohlhammer.

Glatt-Gilad, D. A.
2009: Revealed and Concealed: The Status of the Law (Book) of Moses Within the Deuteronomistic History. Pp. 185–99 in *Mishneh Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay,* edited by D. A. Glatt-Gilad. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Glueck, N.
1943: Some Ancient Towns in the Plains of Moab. *BASOR* 91: 13–18.
1961: *Das Wort Hesed im Alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche Gemeinschaftgemässe Verhaltungsweise.* 2nd ed. BZAW 47. Berlin: A. Töpelmann.

Gnuse, R. K.
1997: *No Other Gods: Emergent Monotheism in Israel.* JSOTSup 241. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Goldhagen, D. J.
2010: *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity.* New York: Pacific Affairs.

Goldstein, J. A.
1983: *II Maccabees.* AYB 41A. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Gomes, J.
2006: *The Sanctuary of Bethel and the Configuration of Israelite Identity.* BZAW 368. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Good, E. M.
1962: The Book of Joshua. Pp. 988–96 in *IDB.* Volume 2. New York: Abingdon.

Goodblatt, D. M.
2006: *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gooding, D. W.
1977: Tradition of Interpretation of the Circumcision at Gilgal. Pp. 149–64 in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies Held at the Hebrew*

University of Jerusalem, 13–19 August 1973, edited by A. Shinan. Volume 1. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Gordin, M. D., H. Tilley, and G. Prakash (eds.)
2010: *Utopia/Dystopia: Conditions of Historical Possibility.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Gordon, R. P.
2003: Gibeonite Ruse and Israelite Curse in Joshua 9. Pp. 163–90 in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson,* edited by A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Görg, M.
1991a: *Josua.* Die neue Echter Bibel. Würzburg: Echter Verlag.
1991b: Mythos und Geschichte in Jos 10,12–14. Pp. 346–60 in *Aegyptiaca-biblica: Notizen und Beiträge zu den Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und Israel.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1998: Die Anfänge der kritischen Datierung des Buches Josua. *BN* 94: 11–14.

Gottwald, N. K.
1979: *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 B.C.E.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.
1995: Theological Education as a Theory-Praxis Loop: Situating the Book of Joshua in a Cultural, Social Ethical, and Theological Matrix. Pp. 107–18 in *The Bible in Ethics: The Second Sheffield Colloquium,* edited by J. W. Rogerson et al. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Grabbe, L. L., and R. D. Haak (eds.)
2001: "*Every City Shall Be Forsaken": Urbanism and Prophecy in Ancient Israel and the Near East.* JSOTSup 330. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Gradwohl, R.
1976: Der "Hügel der Vorhäute" (Jos V, 3). *VT* 26: 235–40.

Gray, J.
1986: *Joshua, Judges and Ruth.* NCB. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Grayson, A. K.
1991: Assyrian Warfare. Pp. 217–21 in *The Cambridge Ancient History: The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and the Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.,* edited by J. Boardman. Volume 3.2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2000: *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Greenspoon, L. J.
1983: *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua.* HSM 28. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press.
1992: The Qumran Fragments of Joshua: Which Puzzle Are They Part of and Where Do They Fit? Pp. 159–94 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writing,* edited by G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars. SBLSCS 33. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
2005: The Book of Joshua—Part 1: Texts and Versions. *CurBR* 3: 229–61.

Grelot, P.
1956: La dernière étape de la redaction sacerdotale. *VT* 6: 174–89.

Gressmann, H.
1914: *Die Anfänge Israels: Von 2 Mosis bis Richter und Ruth*. Schriften des Alten Testament 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
1922: *Die Anfänge Israels: Von 2 Mosis bis Richter und Ruth*. Schriften des Alten Testament 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Grimes, R. L.
1975: Masking: Toward a Phenomenology of Exteriorization. *JAAR* 43: 508–16.

Grintz, J. M.
1961: 'Ai Which Is Beside Beth-Aven: A Re-Examination of the Identity of 'Ai. *Biblica* 42: 201–16.
1966: The Treaty of Joshua with the Gibeonites. *JAOS* 86: 113–26.

Grosby, S.
2002: *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Gruenthaner, M. J.
1948: Two Sun Miracles of the Old Testament. *CBQ* 10: 271–90.

Grünwaldt, K.
1992: *Exil und Identität: Beschneidung, Passa und Sabbat in der Priesterschrift.* BBB 85. Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain.

Guillaume, P.
1998: Une traversée qui n'en finit pas (Josué 3–4). *Cahiers bibliques de foi et vie* 97: 21–32.

Gunkel, H.
1931: Sagen und Legenden: II. Zu Israel. Pp. 49–60 in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by A. Bertholet, H. Faber, and H. Stephan. Volume 5. 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Gunn, D. M.
1974a: Narrative Patterns and Oral Tradition in Judges and Samuel. *VT* 24: 286–317.
1974b: The "Battle Report": Oral and Scribal Convention. *JBL* 93: 513–18.
1987: Joshua and Judges. Pp. 102–21 in *The Literary Guide to the Bible,* edited by R. Alter and F. Kermode. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Habel, N. C.
1991: Conquest and Dispossession: Justice, Joshua, and Land Rights. *Pacifica* 4: 76–92.
1995: *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies.* OBT. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Halbe, J.
1975a: Gibeon und Israel: Art, Veranlassung und Ort der Deutung ihres Verhältnisses in Jos IX. *VT* 25: 613–41.
1975b: *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex. 34,10–26: Gestalt und Wesen, Herkunft und Wirken in vordeuteronomistischer Zeit.* FRLANT 114. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hall, R. G.
1992: Circumcision. Pp. 1025–31 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Hall, S. L.
2010: *Conquering Character: The Characterization of Joshua in Joshua 1–11.* LHB/OTL. New York: T. & T. Clark.

Hallo, W. W.
1988: Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Divine King. Pp. 54–66 in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986,* edited by J. A. Emerton. VTSup 40. Leiden: Brill.

Halperin, B.
1975: Gibeon: Israelite Diplomacy in the Conquest Era. *CBQ* 37: 303–16.
1988: *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History.* San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Hamlin, E. J.
1983: *Inheriting the Land: A Commentary on the Book of Joshua.* ITC. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Haran, M.
1959: The Ark and the Cherubim. *IEJ* 9: 30–38, 89–94.
1961b: The Gibeonites, the Nethinim, and the Sons of Solomon's Servants. *VT* 11: 159–69.

Harlow, D. C., K. M. Hogan, M. Goff, and J. S. Kaminsky (eds.)
2011: *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Harris, J. G.
2000: *Joshua, Judges, Ruth.* Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.

Hauck, F., and S. Schulz
1968: *pornē.* Pp. 579–95 in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* edited by G. W. Bromiley. Volume 6. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Havrelock, R.
2007a: The Two Maps of Israel's Land. *JBL* 126: 649–67.
2007b: My Home Is over Jordan: River as Border in Israeli and Palestinian National Mythology. *National Identities* 9: 105–26.
2011: *River Jordan: The Mythology of a Dividing Line.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hawk, L. D.
1991: *Every Promise Fulfilled: Contending Plots in Joshua.* Louisville, Ky.: Westminster.
1992: Strange Houseguests: Rahab, Lot, and the Dynamics of Deliverance. Pp. 89–97 in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible,* edited by D. Fewell. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.
1996: Fixing Boundaries: The Construction of Identity in Joshua. *ATS* 32: 21–31.
2000: *Joshua.* Berit Olam. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press.

2008a: The God of the Conquest: The Theological Problem of the Book of Joshua. *TBT* 46: 141–47.

2008b: Conquest Reconfigured: Recasting Warfare in the Redaction of Joshua. Pp. 145–60 in *Writing and Reading War: Rhetoric, Gender, and Ethics in the Biblical and Modern Contexts.* SBLSymS 42. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Hawkins, R. K.

2008: The Survey of Manasseh and the Origins of the Central Hill Country Settlers. Pp. 165–79 in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History,* edited by R. S. Hess, G. A. Klingbeil, and P. J. Ray. BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

2013: *How Israel Became a People*. Nashville, Ky.: Abingdon.

Hayes, J. H., and J. M. Miller

1986: *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah.* Philadelphia: Westminster.

Hayes, J. H., and J. M. Miller (eds.)

1977: *Israelite and Judaean History.* OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Heither, T.

2006: *Die Homilien des Origenes zum Buch Josua.* Beiträge zur Friedensethik 38. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Heller, J.

1958: Der Name *Eva*. *TA* 26: 636–56.

1965: Die Priesterin Raab. *Communio viatorum* 8: 113–17.

1966: Die Schweigende Sonne. *Communio viatorum* 9: 73–78.

Hendel, R. S.

1988: The Social Origins of the Aniconic Tradition in Early Israel. *CBQ* 50: 365–82.

1992: Worldmaking in Ancient Israel. *JSOT* 56: 3–18.

1997: Aniconism and Anthropomorphism in Ancient Israel. Pp. 205–28 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East,* edited by K. van der Toorn. CBET 21. Leuven: Peeters.

Hertog, C. G. den

1992: Ein Wortspiel in der Jericho-Erzählung (Jos. 6)? *ZAW* 104: 99–100.

1996: *Studien zur griechischen Übersetung des Buches Josua.* Inaugural-Dissertation, Giessen.

1998: Jos 5,4–6 in der griechischen Übersetzung. *ZAW* 110: 601–6.

2002: Eschatologiserung in der griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua. Pp. 107–17 in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Lenne,* edited by F. Postma, K. Sprink, and E. Talstra. ACEBTSup 3. Maastricht: Shaker.

Hertzberg, H. W.

1953: *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth.* ATD 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hertzler, J. O.

1965: *The History of Utopian Thought.* New York: Cooper Square.(Orig. pub. New York: Macmillan, 1923).

Hess, R. S.
1994a: Asking Historical Questions of Joshua 13–19: Recent Discussion Concerning the Date of the Boundary Lists. Pp. 191–205 in *Faith, Tradition, and History,* edited by A. R. Millard et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
1994b: Late Bronze Age and Biblical Boundary Descriptions of the West Semitic World. Pp. 123–38 in *Ugarit and the Bible. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992,* edited by G. J. Brooke, George, A. H. W. Curtis, and J. F. Healey. UBL 11. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
1994c: Achan and Achor: Names and Wordplay in Joshua 7. *HAR* 14: 89–98.
1996a: *Joshua: An Introduction and Commentary.* TOTC 6. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity.
1996b: A Typology of West Semitic Place Name Lists with Special Reference to Joshua 13–21. *BA* 59: 160–170.
1996c: Joshua 1–12 as a Centrist Document. Pp. 53–67 in *"Dort ziehen Schiffe dahin . . . ," Collected Communications to the XIVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Paris 1992,* edited by M. Augustin and K.-D. Schunck. BEATAJ 28. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
1996d: Non-Israelite Personal Names in the Book of Joshua. *CBQ* 58: 205–14.
1998: Rhetorical Forms in Joshua 10:4. Pp. 363–67 in *"Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf." Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70 Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen,* edited by M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper. AOAT 250. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
1999: Early Israel in Canaan: A Survey of Recent Evidence and Interpretations. Pp. 492–517 in *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography,* edited by V. P. Long. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
2008a: The Jericho and Ai of the Book of Joshua. Pp. 33–46 in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History,* edited by R. S. Hess, G. A. Klingbeil, and P. J. Ray. BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
2008b: War in the Hebrew Bible: An Overview. Pp. 19–32 in *War in the Bible and Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century,* edited by R. S. Hess and E. A. Martens. BBRSup 2. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Hess, R. S., G. A. Klingbeil, and P. J. Ray Jr. (eds.)
2007: *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History.* BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Hiebert, T.
1992: Divine Warrior. Pp. 876–80 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 6. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Hill, A. E.
1988: The Ebal Ceremony as Hebrew Land Grant?. *JETS* 31: 399–406.

Hillers, D.
1968: Ritual Procession of the Ark and Ps 132. *CBQ* 30: 48–55.

Hoffman, Y.
1994: The Concept of "Other Gods" in the Deuteronomistic Literature. Pp. 66–84 in *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature,* edited by H. G. Reventlow. JSOTSup 171. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Hoffmeier, J. K.
1986: The Arm of God versus the Arm of Pharaoh in the Exodus Narratives. *Biblica* 67: 378–87.
1994: The Structure of Joshua 1–11 and the Annals of Thutmose III. Pp. 165–79 in *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context,* edited by A. R. Millard, J. K. Hoffmeier, and D. W. Baker. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Holladay, J. S.
1968: The Day(s) the Moon Stood Still. *JBL* 87: 166–78.

Holland, T. A., and E. Netzer
1992: Jericho. Pp. 723–40 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 3. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Hollenberg, J.
1876: *Der Charakter der alexandrinischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua and ihr textkritischer Wert.* Moers: J. G. Eckner.

Holmes, S.
1914: *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hölscher, G.
1919: Zum Ursprung der Rahabsage. *ZAW* 38: 54–57.

Holzinger, H.
1901: *Das Buch Josua.* KHC 6. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

Hom, M. K.
2004: A Day Like No Other: A Discussion of Joshua 10:12–14. *ExpTim* 115: 217–23.

Hoppe, L.
1982: *Joshua, Judges: With an Excursus on Charismatic Leadership in Israel.* Old Testament Message 5. Wilmington, Del.: Glazier.

Horn, P. H.
1987: Josua 2,1–24 im Milieu einer "Dimorphic Society." *BZ* 31: 264–70.

Hostetter, E. C.
1995: *Nations Mightier and More Numerous: The Biblical View of Palestine's Pre-Israelite Peoples.* Bibal Dissertation Series 3. North Richland Hills, Tex.: D & F Scott.

Houston, J. M.
1978: The Concepts of "Place" and "Land" in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition. Pp. 224–37 in *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems,* edited by D. Ley and M. S. Samuels. London: Croom Helm.

Houtman, C.
2009: Josua im Urteil einiger Freidenker. Pp. 339–54 in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort,* edited by J. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos. VTSup 124. Leiden: Brill.

Howard, D. M.
1995: All Israel's Response to Joshua: A Note on the Narrative Framework of Joshua 1. Pp. 81–91 in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Festschrift for David Noel Freedman,* edited by Astrid B. Beck et al. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
1998a: *Joshua.* New American Commentary. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Holman.
1998b: "Three Days" in Joshua 1–3: Resolving a Chronological Conundrum. *JETS* 41: 539–50.

Huizinga, J.
1996: *The Autumn of the Middle Ages.* Translated by R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (original publication 1919).

Hulst, A. R.
1965: Der Jordan in den alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. *OTS* 14: 162–88.

Hynes, W. J., and W. G. Doty (eds.)
1993: *Mythical Trickster Figures.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Isaac, E.
1960: Religion, Landscape and Space. *Landscape* 9: 14–18.

Ishida, T.
1979: The Structure and Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations. *Biblica* 60: 461–90.

Ishwaran, K.
1988: Utopias in Axial Age Civilizations: Papers from Hebrew University Seminar, 1985–1987. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 29: 1–49.

Jacob, E.
1995: Une théophanie mystérieuse. Josué 5, 13–15. Pp. 131–35 in *Ce Dieu qui vient. Études sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament offertes au Professeur Bernard Renaud à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire,* edited by R. Kuntzmann. LD 159. Paris: Cerf.

Jacobs, S. L.
2009: The Last Uncomfortable Religious Question? Monotheistic Exclusivism and Textual Superiority in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as Sources of Hate and Genocide. Pp. 35–46 in *Confronting Genocide: Judaism, Christianity, Islam,* edited by S. L. Jacobs. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Japhet, S.
1979: Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles. *JBL* 98: 205–18.
1983: People and Land in the Restoration Period. Pp. 103–25 in *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit,* edited by G. Strecker. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1993: *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary.* OTL. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.

Jastrow, M.
1936: Joshua 3:16. *JBL* 36: 53–62.

Jenni, E.
1961: Zwei Jahrzehnte Forschung an den Bücheren Josua bis Könige. *TRu* 27: 1–32, 87–146.

Jeremias, J.
1965: *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung.* WMANT 10. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

Jericke, D.
1996: Josuas Tod und Josuas Grab: Eine redaktionsbeschichtliche Studie. *ZAW* 108: 347–61.

Jobling, D.
1986: The Jordan as a Boundary: Transjordan in Israel's Ideological Geography. Pp. 88–134 in *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible II,* edited by D. Jobling. JSOTSup 39. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Johnston, P., and P. Walker (eds.)
2001: *The Land of Promise.* Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity.

Johnstone, W.
1969: Old Testament Technical Expressions in Property Holding: Contributions from Ugarit. *UF* 6: 109–317.

Jones, A.
2011: *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction.* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Josephus, Flavius
1926–1965: *Jewish Antiquities,* translated by H. St. J. Thackeray et al. 10 vols. LCL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Juergensmeyer, M., and M. Kitts
2011: The Connection Between War and Sacrifice. Pp. 217–22 in *Princeton Readings in Religion and Violence,* edited by J. Juergensmeyer and M. Kitts. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Juergensmeyer, M., and M. Kitts (eds.)
2011: *Princeton Readings in Religion and Violence.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kallai, Z.
1981: Territorial Patterns, Biblical Historiography and Scribal Tradition: A Programmatic Survey. *ZAW* 93: 427–32.
1982: The Wandering-Traditions from Kadesh-Barnea to Canaan: A Study in Biblical Historiography. *JJS* 33: 175–84.
1983: The Reality of the Land and the Bible. Pp. 76–90 in *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit.* Jerusalem-Symposium 1981 der Hebräischen Universität und der Georg-August-Universität. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1997: The Patriarchal Boundaries, Canaan and the Land of Israel: Patterns and Applications in Biblical Historiography. *IEJ* 47: 69–82.

1998: *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography: Collection of Studies.* BEATAJ 44. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Kalluveettil, P.
1982: *Declaration and Covenant: A Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formula from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East.* AnBib 88. Rome: Pontifical Institute.

Kaminsky, J. S.
1995a: Joshua 7: Holiness Violation and Corporate Punishment. Pp. 67–95 in *Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible,* edited by J. S. Kaminsky. JSOTSup 196. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
1995b: Joshua 7: A Reassessment of Israelite Conceptions of Corporate Punishment. Pp. 315–46 in *The Pitcher Is Broken. Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlström,* edited by S. W. Holloway and L. K. Handy. JSOTSup 190. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
2011: Israel's Election and the Other in Biblical, Second Temple, and Rabbinic Thought. Pp. 17–30 in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor John J. Collins,* edited by D. C. Harlow, K. M. Hogan, M. Goff, and J. S. Kaminsky. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Kartveit, M.
2009: *The Origin of the Samaritans.* VTSup 128. Leiden: Brill.

Kasten, D. L.
2000: Narrator Devices in Joshua's Ruse: Translating Joshua 8:15. *JOTT* 13: 1–13.

Kaufmann, Y.
1985: *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Canaan.* Jerusalem: Magnes.

Kearny, P.
1973: The Role of the Gibeonites in the Deuteronomistic History. *CBQ* 35: 1–19.

Keel, O.
1974: *Wirkmachtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament.* OBO. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Keel, O., and M. Küchler
1982: *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Band 2: Der Süden.* Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Kelle, B. E., and F. R. Ames (eds.)
2008: *Writing and Reading War: Rhetoric, Gender, and Ethics in Biblical and Modern Contexts.* SBLSymS 42. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Keller, C. A.
1956: Über einige alttestamentliche Heiligtumslegenden II. *ZAW* 68: 85–97.

Kellermann, D.
1987: Das Buch Josua und das Buch der Richter. Pp. 69–87 in *Höre, Israel! Jahwe ist einzig. Bausteine für eine Theologie des Alten Testaments,* edited by E. Sitarz. BBB 5. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.

Kempinski, A.
1993: When History Sleeps, Theology Arises: A Note on Joshua 8:30–35 and the Archaeology of the "Settlement Period." Pp. 175–83 in *Malamat Volume,* edited by B. A. Levine. EI 24. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society (Hebrew with English abstract on p. 237).

Kenyon, K. M.
1979: *Archaeology in the Holy Land.* 3rd ed. New York: Praeger.
1993: Jericho. Pp. 674–81 in NEAEHL, edited by E. Stern. Volume 2. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Kim, W.
2004: The Rhetoric of War and the Book of Joshua. Pp. 90–103 in *Seeing Signals, Reading Signs: The Art of Exegesis. Studies in Honor of Anthony F. Campbell, SJ, for His Seventieth Birthday,* edited by M. A. O'Brien and N. Howard. JSOTSup 415. London: T. & T. Clark.

Kingdon, R. M.
2007: *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563.* Geneva: Librairie Droz (original publication 1956).

Kippenberg, H. G.
1971: *Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliches Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Period.* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 30. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Kislev, I.
2009: The Investiture of Joshua (Numbers 27:12–13) and the Dispute on the Form of the Leadership in Yehud. *VT* 59: 429–45.

Klein, R. W.
2006: *1 Chronicles: A Commentary.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Klingbeil, G. A., R. S. Hess, and P. J. Ray Jr. (eds.)
2007: *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History.* BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Knauf, E. A.
2007: Bundesschlüsse in Josua. Pp. 217–24 in *Les dernières redactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque,* edited by T. Römer and K. Schmid. BETL 203. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
2008: *Josua.* ZBK. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag.
2010: History in Joshua. Pp. 130–9 in *Israel in Transition 2: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIA (c. 1250–850 BCE): The Texts,* edited by L. Grabbe. LHB/OTS 521. European Seminar in Historical Methodology 8. New York: T. & T. Clark.
2012: Die Adressatenkreise von Josua. Pp. 183–210 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Knierim, R.
1985: The Composition of the Pentateuch. SBLSP 24: 393–415.
1995: *The Task of Old Testament Theology: Method and Cases.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Knobel, A. W.
1861: *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua.* Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

Knoppers, G. N.
2004: *1 Chronicles 1–9.* AYB 12A. Edited by D. N. Freedman. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
2006: Revisiting the Samarian Question in the Persian Period. Pp. 265–89 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and M. Oeming. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
2011: Parallel Torahs and Inner-Scriptural Interpretation: The Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs in Historical Perspective. Pp. 507–32 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research,* edited by T. B. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz. FAT 20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
2013: *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Knoppers, G. N., O. Lipschits, and R. Albertz (eds.)
2007: *Judah and Judaeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Koch, K.
2007a: Der hebräische Gott und die Gotteserfahrungen der Nachbarvölker: Inklusiver und exclusiver Monotheismus im Alten Testament. Pp. 9–41 in *Der Gott Israels und die Götter des Orients: Religionsgeschichliche Studien II: Zum 80. Geburtstag von Klaus Koch,* edited by F. Hartenstein and M. Rösel. FRLANT 216. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2007b: Monotheismus und politische Theologie bei einem israelitischen Propheten im babylonischen Exil. Pp. 294–320 in *Der Gott Israels und die Götter des Orients: Religionsgeschichliche Studien II: Zum 80. Geburtstag von Klaus Koch,* edited by F. Hartenstein and M. Rösel. FRLANT 216. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Koenen, K.
2003: *Bethel: Geschichte, Kult und Theologie.* OBO 192. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Köhlmoos, M.
2006: *Bet-El: Erinnerungen an eine Stadt.* FAT 49. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Koorevaar, H. J.
1990: *De Opbouw van het Boek Jozua.* Heverlee: Centreum voor Bijbelse Vorming België.

Korpel, M. C. A., and B. Becking (eds.)
1999: *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times.* OTS 42. Leiden: Brill.

Kosman, A.
2002: The Story of a Giant Story: The Winding Way of Og King of Bashan in the Jewish Aggadic Tradition. *HUCA* 73: 157–90.

Kramer, P. S.
2000: Rahab: From Peshat to Pedagogy, or: The Many Faces of a Heroine. Pp. 156–77 in *Culture, Entertainment and the Bible,* edited by G. Aichele. JSOTSup 309. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Kratz, R. G.
2005: *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament,* translated by J. Bowden. New York: T. & T. Clark.

Kraus, H. J.
1951: Gilgal. *VT* 1: 181–99.
2000: Gilgal: A Contribution to the History of Worship in Israel. Pp. 163–78 in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah. Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History,* edited by G. N. Knoppers and J. G. McConville. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Krause, J. J.
2012: Der Zug durch den Jordan nach Josua 3–4: Eine neue Analyse. Pp. 383–400 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.
2012: Vor wem soll die Auskundschaftung Jerichos geheim gehalten warden? Eine Frage zu Josua 2:1. *VT* 62: 454–56.

Kruger, H. A. J.
2000: Sun and Moon Marking Time: A Cursory Survey of Exegetical Possibilities in Joshua 10:9–14. *JNSL* 26: 137–152.

Kuenen, A.
1865: *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined,* translated by J. W. Colenso. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green.
1886: *The Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch,* translated by P. H. Wicksteed. London: Macmillan.

Kuhrt, A.
1987: Usurpation, Conquest and Ceremonial: From Babylon to Persia. Pp. 20–55 in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies,* edited by D. Cannadine and S. Price. Past and Present Publications. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kuper, L.
2009: Theological Warrants for Genocide: Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. Pp. 3–34 in *Confronting Genocide: Judaism, Christianity and Israel,* edited by S. L. Jacobs. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Lambert, G.
1954: Josué à la bataille de Gabaon. *NRTh* 76: 374–91.

Langlamet, F.
1969: *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jourdain.* CahRB. Paris: J. Gabalda.
1971: Josué II et les traditions de l'Hexateuque. *RB* 78: 5–17, 161–83, 321–54.
1972: La traversée du Jourdain et les documents de l'Hextateuch. Note complémentaire sur Jos III–IV. *RB* 79: 7–38.

Langlois, M.
2011: *Le texte de Josué 10: Approche philogique, épigraphique et diachronique.* OBO 252. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lanoir, C.
1998: Rahab, traîtresse ou passeuse? (Josué 2 et 6). *Foi et vie* 97: 33–39.

Lapp, P. W.
1969: *Biblical Archaeology and History.* New York: World Publication.

Latvus, K.
1998a: *God, Anger and Ideology: The Anger of God in Joshua and Judges in Relation to Deuteronomy and the Priestly Writings.* JSOTSup 279. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press.
1998b: From Army Campsite to Partners in Peace: The Changing Role of the Gibeonites in the Redaction Process of Josh. X 1–8; xi 19. Pp. 111–15 in *Lasset uns Brücken bauen . . .": Collected Communications to the XVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament,* edited by K.-D. Schunk and M. Augustin. BEATAJ 42. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Layton, S. C.
1990: *Archaic Features of Canaanite Names in the Hebrew Bible.* HSM 47. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Lemche, N. P.
1991: *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites.* JSOTSup 110. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Levin, Y.
2011: The Wars of Joshua: Weaning Away from the Divine. Pp. 37–50 in *War and Peace in Jewish Tradition: From the Biblical World to the Present. The Third Annual Conference of the Israel Heritage Department, The Ariel University Center of Samaria, Ariel, Israel,* edited by Y. Levin and A. Shapira. Jewish Studies Series. New York: Routledge.
2012: Conquered and Unconquered: Reality and Historiography in the Geography of Joshua. Pp. 361–70 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Levine, B. A.
1963: The Netînîm. *JBL* 82: 207–12.
1989: *Leviticus.* JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.
1993: *Numbers: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* AYB 4A. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Levine, B. A., and J.-M. De Tarragon
1984: Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty. *JAOS* 104: 649–59.

Levine, E.
2000: The Land of Milk and Honey. *JSOT* 87: 43–57.

Levitas, R.
1990: *The Concept of Utopia.* Syracuse, N.Y.: University of Syracuse Press.

Liddel, H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones
1996: *A Greek-English Lexicon: With a Revised Supplement.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lind, M. C.
1980: *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel.* Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press.

Linington, S.
2005: The Term בְּרִית in the Old Testament. Part III: An Enquiry into the Meaning and the Use of the Word in Joshua and Judges. *OTE* 18: 664–80.

Lipinski, E.
2004: *Itineraria Phoenicia.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 127. Leuven: Peeters.

Lipschits, O., and J. Blenkinsopp (eds.)
2003: *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Lipschits, O., G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz (eds.)
2007: *Judah and Judaeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Lipschits, O., G. N. Knoppers, and M. Oeming (eds.)
2011: *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Lipschits, O., and M. Oeming (eds.)
2006: *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Liver, J.
1963: The Literary History of Joshua IX. *JSS* 8: 227–43.

Liverani, M.
1979: The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire. Pp. 297–317 in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires,* edited by M. Trolle Larson. Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 7. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
1995: The Deeds of Ancient Mesopotamian Kings. Pp. 2353–66 in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East,* edited by J. M. Sasson. Volume 4. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
2007: *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography.* Edited by Z. Bahrani and M. van de Mieroop. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Livesey, N. E.
2010: *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol.* WUNT 2: 295. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Lohfink, N.
1962: Die deuteronomistische Darstellung des Übergangs der Führung Israels von Moses auf Josua: Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Theologie des Amtes. *Scholastik* 37: 32–44 = The Deuteronomistic Picture of the Transfer of Authority from Moses to Joshua. Pp. 23–47 in *Theology of the Pentateuch,* translated by L. M. Maloney. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994.

1988: *Studien zum Pentateuch.* SBABAT 4. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.
1997: Landeroberung und Heimkehr: Hermeneutisches zum heutigen Umgang mit dem Josuabuch. *JBT* 12: 3–24.

Long, B. O.
1968: *The Problem of Etiological Narrative in the Old Testament.* BZAW 108. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Longman, T., III
2003: The Case for Spiritual Continuity. Pp. 161–87 in *Show Them No Mercy: 4 Views on God and Canaanite Genocide,* edited by C. S. Cowles et al. Counterpoints. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan.

Longman, T. III, and D. G. Reid (eds.)
1995: *God Is a Warrior.* Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology. Carlisle: Paternoster.

Lowenthal, D., and M. Bowden (eds.)
1976: *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Honor of Historical Geosophy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Luckenbill, D. D.
1926–1927: *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lust, J.
2003: Septuagint and Canon. Pp. 39–55 in *The Biblical Canons,* edited by J. M. Auwers and J. H. de Jonge. BETL 163. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

MacDonald, N.
2003: *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of "Monotheism."* FAT 2.1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Machinist, P.
1994: Outsiders or Insiders: The Biblical View of Emergent Israel and Its Contexts. Pp. 35–60 in *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity,* edited by L. J. Silverstein and R. I. Cohn. New York: New York University Press.

Magen, Y.
2007: The Dating of the First Phase of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim in Light of the Archaeological Evidence. Pp. 157–211 in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.,* edited by O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Maier, A.
1965: *Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum.* BZAW 93. Berlin: A. Töpelmann.

Malamat, A.
1960: Hazor, "The Head of All Those Kingdoms." *JBL* 79: 12–19.
1966: The Ban in Mari and the Bible. Pp. 40–49 in *The Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of the Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika: 26th–29th July 1966, and Proceedings of the Second Meeting of Die Nuwe-Testamentiese*

Werkgemeenskap van Suid-Afrika Held at the University of Stellenbosch 22nd–25th July 1966. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

1983: Die Eroberung Kanaans: Die israelitische Kriegsführung nach der biblischen Tradition. Pp. 7–32 in *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit: Jerusalem-Symposium 1981 der Hebräischen Universität und der George-August-Universität,* edited by G. Strecker. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1989: *Mari and Early Israelite Experience.* The Schweich Lectures 1984. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manuel, F. E., and F. P. Manuel

1979: *Utopian Thought in the Western World.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap.

Marconcini, B.

1972: Giosuè 1–12: Etiologia storica in prospecttiva religiosa. *BO* 14: 3–12.

Marcus, D.

2007: Prolepsis in the Story of Rahab and the Spies (Joshua 2). Pp. 149–62 in *Bringing the Hidden to Light: The Process of Interpretation. Studies in Honor of Stephen A. Geller,* edited by K. F. Kravitz and D. M. Sharon. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Margalit, B.

1992: The Day the Sun Did Not Stand Still: A New Look at Joshua X 8–15. *VT* 42: 466–91.

Margolis, M. A.

1931–1938: *The Book of Joshua in Greek.* Paris: Geuthner.

Margot, J.-C.

1996: La structure du cortège d'Israël autour de Jéricho d'après Josué 6. Pp. 199–210 in *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategies in the Hebrew Bible,* edited by L. J. de Regt, J. de Waard, J. P. Fokkelman, and J. Petrus. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Marty, M., and R. Scott Appleby

1991: Conclusion: An Interim Report on a Hypothetical Family. Pp. 814–42 in *Fundamentalisms Observed,* edited by M. Marty and R. S. Appleby. The Fundamentalist Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1993: Introduction: A Sacred Cosmos, Scandalous Code, Defiant Society. Pp. 1–22 in *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education,* edited by M. E. Marty and R. S. Appleby. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marty, M., and R. Scott Appleby (eds.)

1991: *Fundamentalisms Observed.* The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1993a: *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education.* The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1993b: *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Polities, Economies, and Militance.* The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1994: *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: The Dynamic Character of Movements.* The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1995: *Fundamentalisms Comprehended.* The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marx, A.
1980: Rahab, prostituée et prophétesse: Josue 2 et 6. *ETR* 55: 72–76.

Mayes, A. D. H.
1979: *Deuteronomy.* NCB. Repr. ed. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981.
1983: *The Story of Israel Between Settlement and Exile: A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History.* London: SCM.
1985: Deuteronomy 29, Joshua 9, and the Place of the Gibeonites in Israel. Pp. 321–25 in *Das Deuteronomium,* edited by N. Lohfink. BETL 68. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
1986: The Gibeonites as a Historical and Theological Problem in the Old Testament. *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 10: 13–25.

Mazani, P.
2008: The Appearance of Israel in Canaan in Recent Scholarship. Pp. 95–109 in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History,* edited by R. S. Hess, G. A. Klingbeil, and P. J. Ray. BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Mazar, A.
1990: *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible (10,000–586 B.C.E.).* Volume 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Mazor, L.
1988: The Origin and Evolution of the Curse upon the Rebuilder of Jericho: A Contribution of Textual Criticism to Biblical Historiography. *Textus* 14: 1–26.
1994a: The Septuagint Translation of the Book of Joshua: Abstract of Thesis Submitted for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy to the Senate of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. *BIOSCS* 27: 29–38.
1994b: A Textual and Literary Study of the Fall of Ai in Joshua 8 [Hebrew]. Pp. 73–108 in *The Bible in Light of Its Interpreters: Sarah Kamin Memorial Volume,* edited by S. Japhet. Jerusalem: Magnes.
1995: A Nomistic Reworking of the Jericho Conquest Narrative Reflected in LXX to Joshua 6:1–20. *Textus* 18: 47–62.
2004: Myth, History, and Utopia in the Prophecy of the Shoot (Isaiah 10:33–11:9). Pp. 73–90 in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume. Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism,* edited by Ch. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S. Paul. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Mbuwayesango, D.
2004: Joshua. Pp. 64–73 in *Global Bible Commentary,* edited by D. Patte. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.

McCarthy, D. J.
1963: *Treaty and Covenant.* Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
1971a: The Theology of Leadership in Joshua 1–9. *Biblica* 52: 165–75.
1971b: Some Holy War Vocabulary in Joshua 2. *CBQ* 33: 228–30.
1971c: An Installation Genre? *JBL* 9: 31–41.

McConville, J. G.
2001: Joshua. Pp. 158–76 in *Oxford Bible Commentary,* edited by J. Barton and J. Muddiman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McConville, J. G., and S. Williams
2010: *Joshua.* The Two Horizons Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

McKinley, J. E.
1999: Rahab: A Hero/ine? *BibInt* 7: 44–57.

McNeill, W. H.
1993: Epilogue: Fundamentalism and the World of the 1990s. Pp. 558–74 in *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education,* edited by M. Marty and A. S. Appleby. The Fundamentalism Project. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mendels, D.
1987: *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in 2nd Century BC Claims to the Holy Land.* Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
1992: *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism.* AYBRL. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Mendenhall, G. E.
1962: The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine. *BA* 25: 66–87.
1973: *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Merling, D., Sr.
1997a: *The Book of Joshua: Its Theme and Role in Archaeological Discussions.* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 23. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press.
1997b: The Book of Joshua: Its Structure and Meaning. Pp. 7–27 in *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea,* edited by D. Merling. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Institute of Archaeology/Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University.

Merrill, E. H.
2003: The Case for Moderate Discontinuity. Pp. 63–94 in *Show Them No Mercy: 4 Views on God and Canaanite Genocide,* edited by C. S. Cowles, E. H. Merrill, D. L. Gard, and T. Longman III. Counterpoints. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan.

Mettinger, T. N. D.
1982: *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies.* ConBOT 18. Lund: Gleerup, 1982.
1995: *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context.* ConBOT 42. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
1997: Israelite Aniconism: Developments and Origins. Pp. 173–204 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East,* edited by K. van der Toorn. CBET 21. Leuven: Peeters.

Meyer, E.
1881: Kritik der Berichte über die Eroberung Palästinas. *ZAW* 1: 117–46.

Millard, A. R.
1995: Back to the Iron Bed: Og's or Procrustes? Pp. 193–203 in *Congress Volume: Paris 1992,* edited by J. A. Emerton. VTSup 61. Leiden: Brill.

Miller, J. M.
1977a: Archaeology and the Israelite Conquest of Canaan: Some Methodological Observations. *PEQ* 109: 87–93.
1977b: The Israelite Occupation of Canaan. Pp. 213–84 in *Israelite and Judaean History,* edited by J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Miller, J. M., and G. M. Tucker
1974: *The Book of Joshua.* CBC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, P. D., Jr.
1973: *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel.* HSM 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
2003: The Story of the First Commandment: The Book of Joshua. Pp. 311–24 in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson,* edited by A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miller, P. D., Jr., and J. J. M. Roberts
1977: *The Hand of the Lord: A Reassessment of the "Ark Narrative" of 1 Samuel.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Miller-Naudé, C. L., and Z. Zevit (eds.)
2012: *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Mitchell, D. C.
2005: The Fourth Deliverer: A Josephite Messiah in 4QTestimonia. *Bib* 86: 545–53.

Mitchell, G.
1993: *Together in the Land: A Reading of the Book of Joshua.* JSOTSup 134. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

Mitchell, S.
2004: *Gilgamesh: A New English Translation.* New York: Free Press.

Mittmann, S.
1991: *Ugebul*—"Gebiet" order "Grenze"? *JNSL* 17: 37–44.

Moatti-Fine, J.
1996: *Jésus (Josué): Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes.* La Bible d'Alexandrie 6. Paris: Cerf.

Möhlenbrink, K.
1938: Die Landnahmensagen des Buches Josua. *ZAW* 56: 238–68.
1943: Josua im Pentateuch. *ZAW* 59: 49–56.

Moore, G. F.
1958: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges.* ICC. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Moran, W. L.
1963: The End of the Unholy War and the Anti-Exodus. *Bib* 44: 333–42.
1967: The Repose of Rahab's Israelite Guests. Pp. 273–84 in *Studi sull'Oriente e la Bibba offerti al P. Giovanni Rinaldi.* Genoa: Editrice Studio e Vita.

Morris, E.
2001: *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt.* Modern Library Paperbacks. New York: Random House.

Mowinckel, S.
1946: *Zur Frage nach dokumentarischen Quellen in Joshua 13–19.* ANVAO 2. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad.
1964: *Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch: Die Berichte über die Landnahme in den drei Altisraelitschen Geschichtswerken.* BZAW 90. Berlin: A. Töpelmann.

Muilenburg, J.
1955: The Site of Ancient Gilgal. *BASOR* 140: 11–27.

Mumford, L.
1922: *The Story of Utopias.* New York: Boni and Liveright.
1961: *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace.
1966: Utopia, the City and the Machine. Pp. 3–24 in *Utopias and Utopian Thought,* edited by F. E. Manuel. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.

Na'aman, N.
1986: *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography: Seven Studies in Biblical Geographical Lists.* Jerusalem: Simor.
1994: The Conquest of Canaan in the Book of Joshua and in History. Pp. 218–81 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel,* edited by I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
2000: The Law of the Altar in Deuteronomy and the Cultic Site near Shechem. Pp. 141–61 in *Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible,* edited by S. L. McKenzie and T. C. Römer. BZAW 294. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Nelson, R. D.
1981a: *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History.* JSOTSup 18. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
1981b: Josiah in the Book of Joshua. *JBL* 100: 531–40.
1997a: *Joshua: A Commentary.* OTL. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.
1997b: *Herem* and the Deuteronomic Social Conscience. Pp. 39–54 in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans,* edited by J. Lust and M. Vervenne. BETL 133. Leuven: Peeters.
2002: *Deuteronomy: A Commentary.* OTL. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.

Nentel, J.
2000: *Trägerschaft und Intentionen des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks: Untersuchungen zu den Reflexionreden Jos 1; 23; 24; 1 Sam 12 und 1 Kön 8.* BZAW 297. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Newman, M.
1985: Rahab and the Conquest. Pp. 167–81 in *Understanding the Word: Essays in Honor of Bernhard W. Anderson,* edited by J. Butler. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Newsom, C.
1988: The "Psalms of Joshua" from Qumran Cave 4. *JSS* 39: 56–77.
1996: Apocryphon of Joshua. Pp. 237–88 in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII (Parabiblical Texts, Part 3,* edited by G. Brooke et al. DJD 22. Oxford: Clarendon.

Nicholas, D. A.
2009: *The Trickster Revisited: Deception as a Motif in the Pentateuch.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Niditch, S. N.
1987: *Underdogs and Tricksters: A Prelude to Biblical Folklore.* New Voices in Biblical Studies. Edited by J. J. Collins. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
1993: *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Niehaus, J.
1988: Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare. *JETS* 31: 37–50.

Niehr, H.
1997: In Search of YHWH's Cult Statue in the First Temple. Pp. 73–95 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East,* edited by K. van der Toorn. CEBT 21. Leuven: Peeters.
1999: נשׂא. Pp. 44–53 in *TDOT,* edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry. Translated by D. W. Stott. Volume 10. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Nihan, C.
2007: The Torah Between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua. Pp. 187–223 in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance,* edited by G. N. Knoppers and B. M. Levinson. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Nissinen, M.
2001: City as Lofty as Heaven: Arbela and Other Cities in Neo-Assyrian Prophecy. Pp. 172–209 in *"Every City Shall be Forsaken": Urbanism and Prophecy in Ancient Israel and the Near East,* editied by L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak. JSOTSup 330. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Noegel, S.
1998: The Aegean Ogygos of Boeotia and the Biblical Og King of Bashan. *ZAW* 110: 411–26.

Noort, E.
1987: Transjordan in Joshua 13: Some Aspects. Pp. 125–30 in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan,* edited by A. Hadidi. Volume 3. Ammon: Department of Antiquities.

1988: Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität: Das Kriegshandeln Yhwhs in Josua 10,1–11. Pp. 149–61 in *Mythos und Rationalität,* edited by H. H. Schmid. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn.

1993: Jos 24,28–31, Richter 2,6–9 und das Josuagrab: Gedanken zu einem Strassenschild. Pp. 109–30 in *Biblische Welten: Festschrift für M. Metzger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag,* edited by W. Zwickel. OBO 123. Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1994: Josua und seine Aufgabe: Bemerkungen zu Jos 1:1–4. Pp. 69–87 in *Nachdenken über Israel, Bibel und Theologie: Festschrift für Klaus-Dieter Schunck,* edited by H. M. Niemann, M. Augustin, and W. H. Schmidt. BEATAJ 37. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

1996: De val van de grote stad Jericho: Kanttekeningen bi synchronische en diachronische benaderingen. *NedTT* 50: 265–79.

1997: The Traditions of Ebal and Gerizim: Theological Positions in the Book of Joshua. Pp. 161–80 in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans,* edited by M. Vervenne and J. Lust. BETL 133. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

1998a: *Das Buch Josua: Forschungsgeschichte und Problemfelder.* Erträge der Forschung 292. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

1998b: 4QJosh[a] and the History of Tradition in the Book of Joshua. *JNSL* 24: 127–144.

2000: Joshua, the History of Reception and Hermeneutics. Pp. 199–215 in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomic History and the Prophets,* edited by J. C. de Moor and H. F. van Rooy. OTS 44. Leiden: Brill.

2001: Vengeance Is Mine: Some Remarks on the Concepts of Divine Vengeance and Wrath in the Hebrew Bible. Pp. 155–69 in *God, Biblical Stories and Psychoanalytic Understanding,* edited by R. Kessler and P. Vandermeersch. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

2005: The Disgrace of Egypt: Joshua 5.9a and Its Context. Pp. 3–19 in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuizen,* edited by A. Hilhorst and G. H. van Kooten. AGJU 59. Leiden: Brill.

2006a: Der reissende Wolf-Josua in Überlieferung und Geschichte. Pp. 153–73 in *Congress Volume: Leiden 2004,* edited by A. Lemaire. VTSup 109. Leiden: Brill.

2006b: Josua und Amalek: Exodus 17:8–16. Pp. 155–70 in *The Interpretation of Exodus: Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman,* edited by R. Roukema et al. CBET 44. Leuven: Peeters.

2007a: Child Sacrifice in Ancient Israel: The Status Quaestionis. Pp. 103–25 in *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice,* edited by J. N. Bremmer. Studies in the History and Anthropology of Religion 1. Leuven: Peeters.

2007b: Joshua and Copernicus: Josh 10:12–15 and the History of Reception. Pp. 387–401 in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez,* edited by A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar. JSJSup 122. Leiden: Brill.

Noort, E. (ed.)
2012: *The Book of Joshua.* BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

North, R. G.
1967: *Archeo-Biblical Egypt.* Rome: Rome-Piba.

Noth, M.
1928: *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitische Nahmengebung.* BWANT 3, 10. Stuttgart: Georg Olms.
1930: *Die System der zwölf Stämme Israels.* BWANT 4.1. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
1937: Die fünf Könige in der Höhle von Makkeda. *PJ* 33: 22–36.
1938: *Das Buch Josua.* HAT 7. 1st ed. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
1960: *The History of Israel.* 2nd ed. New York: Harper.
1971a: *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde.* Volume 2. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
1971b: *Das Buch Josua.* HAT 7. Unchanged Printing of 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).
1981a: *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions.* Translated by B. W. Anderson. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press.
1981b: *The Deuteronomistic History.* Translated by J. Doull et al. JSOTSup 15. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

O'Connel, K. G.
1984: The List of Seven Peoples in Canaan: A Fresh Analysis. Pp. 221–41 in *The Answers Lie Below: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Edmund Toombs,* edited by H. O. Thompson. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Oded, B.
1992: *War, Peace, and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.
2003: Where Is the "Myth of the Empty Land" to Be Found? History versus Myth. Pp. 55–74 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period,* edited by J. Blenkinsopp and O. Lipschits. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

O'Doherty, E.
1956: The Literary Problem of Judges 1,1–3,6. *CBQ* 18: 1–7.

Oeming, M.
1990: *Das wahre Israel: Die "genealogische Vorhalle" 1 Chronik 1–9.* BWANT 128. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Oeming, M., and O. Lipschits (eds.)
2006: *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Oettli, S.
1893: *Das Deuteronomium und die Bücher Josua and Richter.* Munich: Beck.

Ollenburger, B.
1987: *Zion, the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol for the Jerusalem Cult.* JSOTSup 41. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

Olyan, S. M.
1996: Why an Altar of Unfinished Stones? Some Thoughts on Ex 20,25 and Dtn 27, 5–6. *ZAW* 108: 161–71.

Origen
2002: *Homilies on Joshua,* edited by Cynthia White. Translated by Barbara J. Bruce. Fathers of the Church. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America.

Orlinsky, H. M.
1969: The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua. Pp. 187–95 in *Congress Volume: Rome 1968,* edited by G. W. Anderson. VTSup 17. Leiden: Brill.
1986: The Biblical Concept of the Land of Israel: Cornerstone of the Covenant Between God and Israel. Pp. 27–64 in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives,* edited by L. A. Hoffman. South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.

O'Sullivan, J. L.
1845: Annexation. *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17, no. 1 (July–August): 5–10.

Oswald, L.
1994: Das Paradigma des Mythos von den *rpum*-Rephaim. Pp. 175–224 in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992,* edited by G. J. Brooke. UBL 11. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Otto, E.
1975: *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal.* BWANT 107. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Ottosson, M.
1984: Tradition History, with Emphasis on the Composition of the Book of Joshua. Pp. 81–106 in *The Productions of Time: Tradition History in Old Testament Scholarship,* edited by K. Jeppesen and B. Otzen. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
1991: *Josuaboken: En programskfift for davidisk resauration.* Studia Biblica Upsaliensia 1. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Patterson, R. D.
1999: The Old Testament Use of an Archetype: The Trickster. *JETS* 42: 385–94.

Peckham, B.
1984: The Composition of Joshua 3–4. *CBQ* 46: 413–31.
1994: The Significance of the Book of Joshua in Noth's Theory of the Deuteronomistic History. Pp. 213–34 in *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth,* edited by S. McKenzie and M. Graham. JSOTSup 182. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Peels, H. G. L.
1995: *The Vengeance of God: The Meaning of the Root NQM and the Function of NQM-Texts in the Context of Divine Revelation in the Old Testament.* OtSt 31. Leiden: Brill.

Perlitt, L.
1969: *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament.* WMANT 36. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

Pienaar, D. N.
2004: Some Observations on Conquest Reports in the Book of Joshua. *JNSL* 30: 151–64.

Piesl, H.
1969: *Vom Präanthropomorphismus zum Anthropomorphismus: Entwicklungsstadien im altmesopotamischen Pantheon dargestellt am Präanthropomorphem kur und an der Hauptgettheit* d*en.lil*2. Innsbrucker Beitrage zur Kulturwissenschaft 28. Innsbruck: Institute für vergl. Sprachwissenschaft.

Pitkänen, P. M. A.
2010: *Joshua.* Apollos Old Testament Commentary 6. Nottingham: Apollos/Downers Grove: InterVarsity.

Polak, F. L.
1966: Utopia and Cultural Renewal. Pp. 281–309 in *Utopias and Utopian Thought,* edited by F. E. Manuel. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.

Polaski, D. C.
2008: What Mean These Stones? Inscriptions, Textuality and Power in Persia and Yehud. Pp. 37–48 in *Approaching Yehud: New Approaches to the Study of the Persian Period,* edited by J. L. Berquist. SBLSemeiaSt 50. Leiden: Brill.

Polzin, R.
1980: *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History, 1: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Pongratz-Leisten, B.
2011: A New Agenda for the Study of the Rise of Monotheism. Pp. 1–40 in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* edited by B. Pongratz-Leisten. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Pope, M.
1981: The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit. Pp. 159–82 in *Ugarit in Retrospect: 50 Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic,* edited by G. D. Young. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Porten, B., and A. Yardeni
1986: *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt.* Volume 1. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.
2007: Makkedah and the Storehouse in the Idumean Ostraca. Pp. 125–70 in *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods,* edited by Y. Levin. Library of Second Temple Studies 65. London: T. & T. Clark.

Porter, J. R.
1971: The Background of Joshua 3–5. *SEÅ* 36: 5–23.
1983: The Succession of Joshua. Pp. 102–32 in *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies,* edited by J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.

Porter, P. W., and F. E. Lukermann
1976: The Geography of Utopia. Pp. 197–223 in *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy in Honor of John Kirtland Wright,* edited by D. Lowenthal and M. J. Bowden. New York: Oxford University Press.

Porzig, P.
2009: *Die Lade Jahwes im Alten Testament und in den Texten vom Toten Meer.* BZAW. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Prenter, J. A. de
2012: The Contrastive Polysemous Meaning of חרם in the Book of Joshua: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach. Pp. 473–88 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Pressler, C.
2002: *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*. Westminster Bible Companion. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox.

Pretzl, O.
1928: Die griechischen Handschriftengruppen im Buche Josua untersucht nach ihrer Eigenart und ihrem Verhältnis zueinander. *Bib* 9: 377–427.

Preuss, H. D.
1975: בוא. Pp. 20–49 in *TDOT,* edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Volume 2. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.
1990: יצא. Pp. 225–49 in *TDOT,* edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Volume 6. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Pritchard, J. B. (ed.)
1955: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* 3rd ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
1962: *Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still: The Discovery of the Biblical City.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Puech, E.
1992: La Pierre de Sion et l'autel des holocaustes d'après un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte 4 (4Q522). *RB* 99: 676–96.
1998: 4QProphétie de Josué (4QapocrJosue^{c}?). Pp. 39–74 in *Qumrângrotte 4. XVIII: Texte hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579),* edited by E. Puech. DJD 25. Oxford: Clarendon.

Pummer, R.
1987: *The Samaritans.* Iconography of Religions 23/5. Leiden: Brill.
2007: The Samaritans and Their Pentateuch. Pp. 237–69 in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance,* edited by G. N. Knoppers and B. M. Levinson. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Purvis, J. D.
1968: *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect.* HSM 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Rabinowitz, I.
1984: *'az* followed by Imperfect Verb-Form in Preterite Contexts: A Redactional Device in Biblical Hebrew. *VT* 34: 53–62.

Rad, G. von
1966: *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays.* Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
1991: *Holy War in Ancient Israel.* Translated by M. J. Dawn. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Rahlfs, A. (ed.)
1962: *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes.* Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.

Rake, M.
2006: *Jude wird aufsteigen? Untersuchungen zum ersten Kapitel des Richterbuches.* BZAW 367. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Rashi
1980: *Book of Joshua: A New English Translation of the Text and Rashi, with a Commentary Digest* [*Sefer Yehoshua],* edited by S. B. Hoenig, A. J. Rosenberg, P. Oratz, and S. Shulman. Judaica Books of the Prophets. 2nd rev ed. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Judaica Press.

Rendtorff, R.
1977: The "Yahwist" as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism. *JSOT* 3: 2–9.
1990: *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch.* Translated by J. J. Scullion. JSOTSup 89. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press = *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch.* BZAW 147. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1976.

Ricoeur, P.
1986: *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia,* edited by G. H. Taylor. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ritter, C.
1866: *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula.* Volume 1. London: T. & T. Clark.

Roberts, J. J. M.
2003: Solomon's Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition. Pp. 163–70 in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology,* edited by A. G. Vaughn and A. Killebrew. SBLSymS 18. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Robertson, E.
1948: The Altar of Earth (Ex 20,24–26). *JSS* 1: 12–21.

Robinson, E.
1865: *Physical Geography of the Holy Land.* London: John Murray.

Robinson, R. B.
1993: The Coherence of the Jericho Narrative: A Literary Reading of Joshua 6. Pp. 311–35 in *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte,* edited by R. Bartelmus. OBO 126. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Rofé, A.
1985a: Joshua 20: Historico-Literary Criticism Illustrated. Pp. 131–47 in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism,* edited by J. H. Tigay. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1985b: The Laws of Warfare in the Book of Deuteronomy: Their Origin, Intent and Positivity. *JSOT* 32: 23–44.

1989: The Nomistic Correction in Biblical Manuscripts and Its Occurrence in 4QSam[a]. *RevQ* 14: 247–54.

1993: The Piety of the Torah-Disciples at the Winding-Up of the Hebrew Bible: Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2; Isa 59:21. Pp. 78–85 in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johannn Maier zum 60. Geburtstag,* edited by H. Merklein, K. Müller, and G. Stemberger. BBB 88. Bonn: A. Hahn.

1994: The Editing of the Book of Joshua in the Light of 4QJosh[a]. Pp. 73–80 in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies. Paris 1992,* edited by J. G. Brooke. STDJ 15. Leiden: Brill.

Rohde, M.

2012: Die kontextuelle Theologie Mitri Rahebs: Ein Beispiel für die exegetische und hermeneutische Bedeutung des Buches Josua für die Frage nach dem "Heiligen Land." Pp. 589–608 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Römer, T.

1990: *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition.* OBO 99. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1998: Josué, lecteur de la Torah (Jos 1,8). Pp. 117–24 in *Lasset uns Brücken bauen . . .*": *Collected Communications to the XVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament,* edited by K.-D. Schunk and M. Augustin. BEATAJ 42. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

2005: *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction.* London: T. & T. Clark.

2006: Das doppelte ende des Josuabuches: Einige Anmerkungen zur aktuellen Diskussion um "deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk" und "Hexateuch." ZAW 118: 523–48.

Römer, T., and M. Brettler

2000: Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch. *JBL* 119: 401–19.

Römer, T., and A. de Pury

2000: Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues. Pp. 24–110 in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research,* edited by A. de Pury, T. Römer, and J.-D. Macchi. JSOTSup 306. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Romm, J. S.

1992: *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Rose, M.

1981: *Deuteronomist und Jahwist: Untersuchung zu den Berührungspunkten beider Literaturwerke.* ATANT 67. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag.

Rösel, H. N.
1975: Studien zur topographie der Kreige in den Büchern Josua und Richter. *ZDPV* 91: 159–90.
1976: Wer kämpfte auf kanaanäisher Seite in der Schlacht bei Gibeon, Jos. X? *VT* 26: 505–8.
1985: Anmerkungen zur Erzählung vom Bundesschluss mit den Gibeoniten. *BN* 28: 41–46.
1986: The Military Conquest of Palestine According to the Book of Joshua. Pp. 133–37 in *Proceedings of the 9th World Congress of Jewish Studies: Period of the Bible,* edited by R. Giveon. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.
1992: *Israel in Kanaan.* BEATAJ 11. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
1999: *Von Josua bis Jojachin: Untersuchungen zu den deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments.* VTSup 75. Leiden: Brill.
2008: The So-Called "Deuteronomistic History": A Discussion with Thomas Römer. Pp. 91–96 in *Thinking Towards New Horizons: Collected Communications to the XIXth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Ljubljana 2007,* edited by M. Augustin and H. M. Niemann. BEATAJ 55. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
2009: The Book of Joshua and the Existence of a Hexateuch. Pp. 559–70 in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded,* edited by G. Galil, M. Geller, and A. Millard. VTSup 130. Leiden: Brill.
2011: *Joshua.* Historical Commentary on the Old Testament. Leuven: Peeters.

Rösel, H. N., and H. Hamiel
2012: Are the Conquest Narratives of Joshua 6–11 Shaped According to Traditions in the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings? Pp. 211–18 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Rösel, M.
1980: Die Überlieferungen vom Josua ins Richterbuch. *VT* 30: 342–50.
2002: The Septuagint-Version of the Book of Joshua. *SJOT* 16: 5–23.

Roth, W.
1963: Hinterhalt und Scheinflucht: Der stammespolemische Hintergrund von Jos 8. *ZAW* 75: 296–304.

Roussel, L. M. A.
1955: *Le livre de Josué, première partie; L'invasion (chapitre 1–12): Texte, traduction, commentaire.* Publications de la Faculté des letters de l'Université de Montpellier 8. Nimes: Barnier.

Rowlett, L. L.
1992: Inclusion, Exclusion and Marginality in the Book of Joshua. JSOT 55: 15–23.
1996: *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence: A New Historicist Analysis.* JSOTSup 226. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
2000: Disney's Pocahontas and Joshua's Rahab in Post-colonial Perspective. Pp. 66–75 in *Culture, Entertainment and the Bible,* edited by G. Aichele. JSOTSup 309. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Rudolph, W.
1938: *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua.* BZAW 68. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Ruwe, A.
2008: Beschneidung als interkultureller Brauch und Friedenszeichen Israels: Religionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu Genesis 17, Genesis 34, Exodus 4 und Josua 5. *TZ* 64: 309–42.

Sacchi, P.
1991: Giosuè 1,1–9: Dalla critica storica a quella letteraria. Pp. 237–53 in *Storia e tradizione di Israele: Scritti in onore di J. Alberto Soggin,* edited by D. Garrone and F. Israel. Brescia: Paideia.

Sack, R. D.
1986: *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History.* Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Saebo, M.
1974: Grenzbeschreibung und Landideal im Alten Testament: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der *min-'ad*-Formel. *ZDPV* 90: 14–37.

Said, E. W.
1988: Michael Walzer's Exodus and Revolution: A Canaanite Reading. Pp. 161–78 in *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question,* edited by E. W. Said and C. Hitchens. London: Verso.
1998: *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage.

Sakenfeld, K. D.
1978: *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry.* Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature.

Sanders, P.
1996: *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32.* OTS 37. Leiden: Brill.

Sanders, S. L.
2004: Parallel Literary Editions of Joshua and the Israelite Mythologization of Ritual. Pp. 120–39 in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach,* edited by L. J. Lawrence and M. I. Aguilar. Leiden: Deo.

Sasson, J. M.
1966: Circumcision in the Ancient Near East. *JBL* 85: 473–76.

Savran, G.
2005: *Encountering the Divine: Theophany in Biblical Narrative.* JSOTSup 420. London: T. & T. Clark.

Sawyer, J. F. A.
1972: Joshua 10:12–14 and the Solar Eclipse of 30 September 1131 B.C. *PEQ* 104: 139–46.

Saydon, P.
1950: The Crossing of the Jordan, Joshua 3 and 4. *CBQ* 12: 194–207.

Schäfer-Lichtenberger, C.
1986: Das gibeonitische Bündnis im Lichte deuteronomistischer Kriegsgebote: Zum Verhältnis von Tradition und Interpretation in Jos 9. *BN* 34: 58–81.

1994: Bedeutung und Funktion von *Herem* in biblische-hebräischen Texten. *BZ* 38: 270–75.
1995: *Josua und Salomo: Eine Studie zu Autorität & Legitimität des Nachfolgers im Alten Testament.* VTSup 58. Leiden: Brill.

Schaper, J.
1995: The Jerusalem Temple as an Instrument of the Achaemenid Fiscal Administration. *VT* 45: 528–39.
2007: The Living Word Engraved in Stone: The Interrelationship of the Oral and the Written and the Culture of Memory in the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua. Pp. 9–23 in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity. The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004),* edited by S. C. Barton, L. T. Stuckenbruck, and B. G. Benjamin. WUNT 212. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Schiffman, L. H., and J. Wolowelsky (eds.)
2007: *War and Peace in Jewish Tradition.* Orthodox Forum Series. Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson.

Schmid, H. H.
1972: *Altorientalische Welt in der Alttestamentlichen Theologie.* Zürich: Theologische Verlag.
1976: *Der sogenannte Jahwist: Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung.* Zürich: Theologischer Verlag.

Schmid, K.
1999: *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppleten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments.* WMANT 81. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener = *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
2008: Buchtechnische und sachliche Prolegomena zur Enneateuchfrage. Pp. 1–14 in *Auf dem Weg zur Endgestalt von Genesis bis II Regum. Festschrift Hans-Christoph Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag,* edited by M. Beck and U. Schorn. BZAW 370. Berlin: de Gruyter.
2011: The Quest for "God": Monotheistic Arguments in the Priestly Texts of the Hebrew Bible. Pp. 271–89 in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* edited by B. Pongratz-Leisten. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Schmidt, B. B.
1995: The Aniconic Tradition: On Reading Images and Viewing Texts. Pp. 75–105 in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms,* edited by D. Edelman. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Schmitt, R.
1972: *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlischer Wissenschaft.* Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn.
2011: *Der "Heilige Krieg" im Pentateuch und im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk: Studien zur Forschungs-, Rezeptions- und Religionsgeschichte von Krieg und Bann im Alten Testament.* AOAT 381. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Schneidau, H. N.
1976: *Sacred Discontent: The Bible and Western Tradition.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Schneider, W.
1993: Und es begab sich . . . Anfänge von Erzählungen im Biblischen Hebräische. *BN* 70: 62–85.

Schoors, A.
1985: The Israelite Conquest: Textual Evidence in the Archaeological Argument. Pp. 77–92 in *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations.* Leuven: Peeters.

Schunck, K.-D.
1963: *Benjamin: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Geschichte eines israelitischen Stammes.* BZAW 86. Berlin: A. Töpelmann.

Schwarzenbach, A. W.
1954: *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des Alten Testaments.* Leiden: Brill.

Schweitzer, S.
2007: *Reading Utopia in Chronicles.* LHB/OTS. London: T. & T. Clark.

Schwienhorst, L.
1986: *Die Eroberung Jerichos: Exegetische Untersuchung zu Josua 6.* SBS 122. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk.

Seebass, H.
1985: Josua Einige Josuatraditionen in ihrer Bedeutung für das Verhältnis des Pentateuchs zum Buch Jos. *BN* 28: 53–65.

Seely, D.
1992: Arabah. Pp. 321–24 in AYBD, edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Seidel, H.
1977: Der Untergang Jerichos (Jos 6): Exegese ohne Kerygma? *Theologische Versuche* 8: 11–20.

Seitz, O. J. F.
1960: What Do These Stones Mean? *JBL* 79: 247–54.

Seow, C. L.
1992: Ark of the Covenant. Pp. 386–93 in *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 3. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Shepherd, G.
1990: *The Future of the Bible: Beyond Liberalism and Literalism.* Toronto: United Church Publishing.

Sherwood, A.
2006: A Leader's Misleading and a Prostitute's Profession: A Re-examination of Joshua 2. *JSOT* 3: 43–61.

Simian-Yofre, H.
1999: עבד. Pp. 396–402 in *TDOT,* edited by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry. Translated by D. W. Stott. Volume 10. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Simons, J. J.
1959: *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament.* Leiden: Brill.

Singer, I.
1994: Egyptians, Canaanites and Philistines in the Period of the Emergence of Israel. Pp. 282–338 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel,* edited by I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Sipilä, S.
1991: The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3–4. Pp. 63–74 in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leuven 1989,* edited by C. E. Cox. SBLSCS 31. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
1999: *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by w and ky.* Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Sivan, E.
1995: The Enclave Culture. Pp. 11–68 in *Fundamentalism Comprehended,* edited by M. E. Marty and R. S. Appleby. The Fundamentalism Project Volume 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ska, J.-L.
2010: Josh 8:30–35: Israel Officially Takes Possession of the Land. Pp. 308–16 in *"Gerechtigkeit und Recht zu üben" (Gen 18,19): Studien zur altorientalischen und biblischen Rectsgeschichte, zur Religionsgeschichte Israels und zur Religionssoziologie. Festschrift für Echart Otto zum 65. Geburtstag.* BZABR 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Smend, R.
1970: *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation: Reflections upon Israel's Earliest History,* translated by G. Rogers. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon.
1971: Das Gesetz und die Völker. Pp. 494–509 in *Probleme Biblischer Theologie: Festschrift für Gerhard von Rad,* edited by H. W. Wolff. Munich: Kaiser.

Smith, J. Z.
1987: *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1993: *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, M. S.
2001: *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts.* New York: Oxford University Press.

2008: *God in Translation: Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World.* FAT 57. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
2011: God in Translation: Cross-Cultural Recognition of Divinity in Ancient Israel. Pp. 241–70 in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* edited by B. Pongratz-Leisten. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Snaith, N.
1965: ים־סוף. The Sea of Reeds: The Red Sea. *VT* 15: 395–98.

Snijder, L. A.
1958: Genesis XV: The Covenant with Abram. OtSt 12: 261–79.

Soggin, J. A.
1960: Kultatiologische Sagen und Katechese im Hexateuch. *VT* 10: 341–47.
1965: Gilgal, Passah and Landnahme: Eine neue Untersuchung des Kultischen Zusammenhangs der Kap. III–IV des Josuabuches. Pp. 263–77 in *Volume du Congrès: Genève 1965,* edited by G. W. Anderson et al. VTSup 15. Leiden: Brill.
1972: *Joshua: A Commentary.* OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
1975: On Joshua 11,7. *BO* 29: 227–28.

Sonnet, J.-P.
1997: *The Book Within the Book: Writing in Deuteronomy.* BibIntSeries 14. Leiden: Brill.

Sperling, D. S.
2003: *The Original Torah: The Political Intent of the Bible's Writers.* New York: New York University Press.

Spina, F. A.
2001: Reversal of Fortune: Rahab the Israelite and Achan the Canaanite. *BR* 17: 24–30, 53–54.
2005: *The Faith of the Outsider: Exclusion and Inclusion in the Biblical Story.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Spinoza, B. de
1951: *The Theological-Political Treatise.* Translated by R. H. M. Elwes. New York: Dover. From the 1670 Latin edition.

Spronk, K.
1986: *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East.* AOAT 219. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
2009: Het boek Jozua. Het onderziek naar het boek Josua: een beredeneerde bibliografie. *ACEBT* 24: 1–10.

Staal, G.
1994: Rahab the Harlot. Pp. 104–13 in *Great Women of the Bible in Art and Literature,* edited by D. Sölle. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Stager, L.
1995: Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel. Pp. 90–131 in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World,* edited by M. D. Coogan. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stähli, H.-P.
1985: *Solare Elemente in Jahweglauben des Alten Testaments.* OBO 66. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag.

Stec, D. M.
1991: The Mantle Hidden by Achan. *VT* 41: 356–59.

Stek, J.
2002: Rahab of Canaan and Israel: The Meaning of Joshua 2. *CTJ* 37: 28–48.

Stenhouse, P.
1989: Samaritan Chronicles. Pp. 222–23 in *The Samaritans,* edited by A. D. Crown. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Stephanson, A.
1995: *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right.* Critical Issues. New York: Hill and Wang.

Stern, E.
1981: The Province of Yehud: The Vision and the Reality. Pp. 9–21 in *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel,* edited by J. I. Levine. Volume 1. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute and Wayne State University Press.
2001: *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods (732–332 B.C.E).* Volume 2. New York: Doubleday.
2006: The Religious Revolution in Persian-Period Judah. Pp. 199–205 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and M. Oeming. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Stern, E. (ed.)
1993: *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.* 4 vols. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Stern, P. D.
1991: *The Biblical Herem: A Window in Israel's Religious Experience.* BJS 211. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Sternberger, J.-P.
1992: Jéricho: Jugement ou Carnaval? *Foi et vie* 91: 27–33.

Steuernagel, C.
1900: *Deuteronomium und Josua und Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch.* HAT 1.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1923: *Das Buch Josua.* HAT 1.3.2. 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Stolz, F.
1972: *Jahwes und Israels Krieg.* ATANT 60. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag.

Stone, L.
1991: Ethical and Apologetical Tendencies in the Redaction of the Book of Joshua. *CBQ* 53: 25–36.

Strabo
1929: *Geography.* Volume 6. Books 13–14, translated by H. L. Jones. Loeb 223. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Strange, J.
1993: The Book of Joshua: A Hasmonean Manifesto. Pp. 136–41 in *History and Tradition of Early Israel: Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen,* edited by A. Lemaire and B. Otzen. VTSup 50. Leiden: Brill.
2002: The Book of Joshua: Origin and Dating. *SJOT* 16: 44–51.

Štrba, B.
2008: *"Take off your sandals from your feet!" An Exegetical Study of Josh 5,13–15.* Östreichische Biblische Studien 32. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Sugirtharajah, R. G. (ed.)
1995: *Voices from the Margins.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.
1998: *Postcolonial Bible.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Sullivan, L. E.
1986: Tricksters. Pp. 45–53 in *ER,* edited by M. Eliade. Volume 15. New York: Macmillan.

Sumner, W. A.
1968: Israel's Encounters with Edom, Moab, Ammon, Sihon and Og According to the Deuteronomist. *VT* 18: 216–28.

Suriano, M. J.
2010: *The Politics of Dead Kings.* FAT 2, 48. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sutherland, R. K.
1992: Israelite Political Theories in Joshua 9. *SJOT* 53: 65–74.

Swindell, A. C.
2010: Joshua in Jericho and Rahab in Rehab. Pp. 99–112 in *Reworking the Bible: The Literary Reception-History of Fourteen Biblical Stories.* Bible in the Modern World 30. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Talmon, S.
1993: The Desert Motif in the Bible and in Qumran Literature. Pp. 216–54 in *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Form and Content.* Jerusalem: Magnes.

Taylor, J. G.
1993: *Yahweh and the Sun: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel.* JSOTSup 111. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Thelle, R. I.
2007: The Biblical Conquest Account and Its Modern Hermeneutical Challenges. *ST* 61: 61–81.

Thigpen, J. M.
2006: Lord of All the Earth: Yahweh and Baal in Joshua 3. *TJ* 27: 245–54.

Thompson, L. L.
1981: The Jordan Crossing: *Sidqot* Yahweh and World Building. *JBL* 100: 343–58.

Thompson, T. L.
1995: How Yahweh Became God: Exodus 3 and 6 and the Heart of the Pentateuch. *JSOT* 68: 57–74.

1996: The Intellectual Matrix of Early Biblical Narrative: Inclusive Monotheism in Persian Period Palestine. Pp. 75–105 in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms,* edited by D. Edelman. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Tigay, J. H.

1996: *Deuteronomy.* JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Tov, E.

1978: Midrash-Type Exegesis in the LXX of Joshua. *RB* 85: 50–61.

1989: The Proto-Samaritan Texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Pp. 397–407 in *The Samaritans,* edited by A. D. Crown. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

1992: *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible.* 2nd rev. ed. Minneapolis: Fortress.

1995: 4QJosh[b]. Pp. 153–60 in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings,* edited by E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross, S. W. Crawford, J. A. Duncan, P. W. Skehan, E. Tov, and J. Trebolle Barrera. DJD 14. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1998: The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada. Pp. 233–56 in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996,* edited by M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon. STDJ 18. Leiden: Brill.

1999: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint.* VTSup 72. Leiden: Brill.

2012: Literary Development of the Book of Joshua as Reflected in the MT, the LXX, and 4QJosh[a]. Pp. 65–86 in *The Book of Joshua,* edited by E. Noort. BETL 250. Leuven: Peeters.

Trebolle Barrera, J.

2008: A Combined Textual and Literary Criticism Analysis: Editorial Traces in Joshua and Judges. Pp. 437–63 in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez,* edited by H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne. BETL 224. Leuven: Peeters.

Tricot, A.

1922: La prise d'Aï (Jos. 7,1–8,29): Notes de critique textuelle et d'histoire biblique. *Bib* 3: 273–300.

Troyer, K. De

2003: Did Joshua Have a Crystal Ball? The Old Greek and the MT of Joshua 10:15, 17, 23. Pp. 571–89 in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov,* edited by S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields. VTSup 94. Leiden: Brill.

2005a: LXX, Joshua IX 33–XI 3 (MS 2648). Pp. 81–145 in *Papyri graecae Schøyen (PSchøyen 1),* edited by R. Pintaudi. Greek Papyri. Volume 1 (Papyrologica Florentina 35, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 5). Florence: Edizioni Gonnelli.

2005b: Building the Altar and Reading the Law: The Journeys of Joshua 8:30–35. Pp. 141–62 in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the*

Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretation, edited by K. De Troyer and A. Lange. SBLSymS 30. Atlanta: SBL Press.

2006: Reconstructing the OG of Joshua. Pp. 105–18 in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures,* edited by W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta: SBL Press.

2009: Is This Not Written in the Book of Jashar? (Josh 10:13c): References to Extra-Biblical Books in the Bible. Pp. 45–50 in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort,* edited by J. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos. VTSup 124. Leiden: Brill.

Tucker, G. M.

1972: The Rahab Saga (Joshua 2): Some Form-Critical and Traditio-Historical Observations. Pp. 66–86 in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays,* edited by J. M. Efird. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Tunyogi, A.

1965: The Book of the Conquest. *JBL* 84: 374–80.

Turner, V.

1969: *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Turner, V., and E. Turner

1978: *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Uehlinger, C.

1997: Anthropomorphic Cult Statuary in Iron Age Palestine and the Search for Yahweh's Cult Images. Pp. 97–155 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East,* edited by K. van der Toorn. CEBT 21. Leuven: Peeters.

Ulrich, E.

1994: 4QJosh[a] and Joshua's First Altar in the Promised Land. Pp. 89–104 in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies. Paris 1992,* edited by J. G. Brooke. STDJ 15. Leiden: Brill.

1995a: 4QJosh[a]. Pp. 143–52 in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings,* edited by E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross, S. W. Crawford, J. A. Duncan, P. W. Skehan, E. Tov, and J. Trebotte Barrera. DJD 14. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1995b: 4QJosh[b]. Pp. 153–60 in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings,* edited by E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross, S. W. Crawford, J. A. Duncan, P. W. Skehan, E. Tov, and J. Trebotte Barrera. DJD 14. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1999: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible.* Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Ulrich, K.

1999: Das Buch Josua: Tradition und Gerechtigkeit—Vom Erbteil der Frauen. Pp. 80–89 in *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung,* edited by L. Schot-

troff, M.-T. Wacker, C. Janssen, and B. When. Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

Van Anrooij, W.
1998: *Helden van weleer: De Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300–1700).* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Van Bekkum, K.
2011: *From Conquest to Coexistence: Ideology and Antiquarian Intent in the Historiography of Israel's Settlement in Canaan.* Culture and History in the Ancient Near East. Leiden: Brill.

Van der Kooij, A.
1998: Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint: Who Are the Translators? Pp. 214–29 in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of Adams S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday,* edited by F. G. Martinez and E. Noort. VTSup 73. Leiden: Brill.

Van der Lingen, A.
1990: *Les Guerres de Yahvé: L'implication de YHWH dans les guerres d'Israël selon les livres historique de l'Ancien testament.* LD 139. Paris: Cerf.

Van der Louw, T. A. W.
2009: Translator's Competence and Intention in LXX-Joshua 2. Pp. 3–18 in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort,* edited by J. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos. VTSup 124. Leiden: Brill.

Van der Meer, M.
2001: Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism in Joshua 1:7 (MT and LXX). Pp. 355–71 in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998,* edited by B. A. Taylor. SBLSCS 51. Atlanta: SBL Press.
2004: *Formation and Reformulations: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses.* VTSup 102. Leiden: Brill.
2006: Provenance, Profile, and Purpose of the Greek Joshua. Pp. 55–80 in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden 2004,* edited by M. K. H. Peters. SBLSCS 54. Atlanta: SBL Press.
2009: "Sound the Trumpet!" Redaction and Reception of Joshua 6:2–25. Pp. 19–43 in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort,* edited by J. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos. VTSup 124. Leiden: Brill.

Van der Toorn, K. (ed.)
1997: The Iconic Book: Analogies Between the Babylonian Cult of Images and the Veneration of the Torah. Pp. 229–48 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East,* edited by K. van der Toorn. CBET 21. Leuven: Peeters.

Van Dyk, P. J.
1990: The Function of So-Called Etiological Elements in Narratives. *ZAW* 102: 19–33.

Van Gennep, A.
1909: *The Rites of Passage.* Translated by M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Van Seters, J.
1972a: Confessional Reformulation in the Exilic Period. *VT* 22: 448–59.
1972b: The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Examination. *JBL* 91: 182–97.
1972c: The Terms "Amorite" and "Hittite" in the Old Testament. *VT* 22: 64–81.
1980: Once Again—The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom. *JBL* 99: 117–19.
1983: *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
1990: Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography. *SJOT* 4: 1–12.

Veijola, T.
1985: Das Klagegebet in Literatur und Leben der Exilsgeneration am Beispiel einiger Prosatexte. Pp. 286–307 in *Congress Volume: Salamanca 1983,* edited by J. A. Emerton. VTSup 36. Leiden: Brill.

Vermes, G.
1958: Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources. *NTS* 4: 308–19.

Vink, J. G.
1969: The Date and Origin of the Priestly Code in the Old Testament. *OTS* 15: 1–144.

Vogt, E.
1965: Die Erzählung vom Jordanübergang, Josua 3–4. *Biblica* 46: 125–48.

Vorländer, H.
1981: Der Monotheismus Israels als Antwort auf die Krise des Exils. Pp. 84–113 in *Der Einzige Gott: Die Geburt des biblischen Monotheismus,* edited by B. Lang. Munich: Kösel.

Vos, J. C. de
2003: *Das Los Judas: Über Entstehung und Ziele der Landbeschreibung in Josua 15.* VTSup 95. Leiden: Brill.

Vries, S. J. de
1975: *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Time and History in the Old Testament*. Grand Rapdis, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Vulcanescu, R.
1986: Masks: Ritual Masks in European Cultures. Pp. 270–76 in *ER,* edited by M. Eliade. Volume 9. New York: Macmillan.

Wagenaar, J.
1996: Crossing the Sea of Reeds and the Jordan: A Priestly Framework for the Wilderness Wandering. Pp. 461–70 in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction-Reception-Interpretation,* edited by M. Vervenne. BETL 126. Leuven: Peeters.

2000: The Cessation of Manna: Editorial Frames for the Wilderness Wandering in Exodus 16,35 and Joshua 5,10–12. *ZAW* 112: 192–209.

Wagner, S.
1964: Die Kundschaftergeschichten im Alten Testament. *ZAW* 76: 255–69.

Wall, R. W.
2001: The Intertextuality of Scripture: The Example of Rahab (James 2:25). Pp. 217–36 in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation,* edited by P. W. Flint. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Waltke, B. K., and M. O'Connor
1990: *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Walton, J. H.
1994: Joshua 10:12–15 and the Mesopotamian Celestial Omen Texts. Pp. 181–90 in *Faith, Tradition and History,* edited by A. R. Millard, J. K. Hoffmeier, and D. W. Baker. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Warrior, R. A.
2006: A Native American Perspective: Canaanites, Cowboys, and Indians. Pp. 277–85 in *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World,* edited by R. S. Sugirtharajah. 3rd ed. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis = Canaanites, Cowboys, and Indians. *Christianity and Crisis* 49 (1989); and *USQR* 59 (2005): 1–8.

Watts, J. D. W.
2001: Jerusalem: An Example of War in a Walled City (Isaiah 3–4). Pp. 210–15 in *"Every City Shall Be Forsaken": Urbanism and Prophecy in Ancient Israel and the Near East,* edited by L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak. JSOTSup 330. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Wazana, N.
2013: *All the Boundaries of the Land: The Promised Land in Biblical Thought in Light of the Ancient Near East,* translated by Liat Qeren. Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns.

Weimar, P.
1976: Die Jahwekriegserzählung in Exodus 14, Josua 10, Richter 4, und I Samuel 7. *Biblica* 57: 38–73.

Weinfeld, M.
1972: *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School.* Oxford: Clarendon.
1983a: Zion and Jerusalem as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia. Pp. 75–115 in *The Poet and the Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism,* edited by R. E. Friedman. HSS 26. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press.
1983b: The Extent of the Promised Land: The Status of Transjordan. Pp. 59–75 in *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit,* edited by D. Strecker. GTA 25. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1983c: Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Pp. 121–47 in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical*

and Cuneiform Literatures, edited by M. Weinfeld and H. Tadmor. Jerusalem: Magnes.

1993: *The Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weinstein, J. M.

1981: The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment. *BASOR* 241: 1–24.

Weippert, H.

1976: Jericho in der Eisenzeit. *ZDPV* 92: 105–48.

1985: Das deuteronomistiche Geschichtswerk: Sein Ziel und Ende in der neueren Forschung. *TRu* 50: 213–49.

Weippert, M.

1971: *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine: A Critical Survey of Recent Scholarly Debate.* Translated by J. D. Martin. SBT 21 (second series). London: SCM.

1972: "Heiliger Krieg" in Israel and Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des "Heiligen Krieges im Alten Israel." *ZAW* 84: 460–93.

Weiser, A.

1963: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Wellhausen, J.

1899: *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.* 2nd ed. Berlin: G. Reimer.

1911: Pentateuch and Joshua. *EncBrit* 9 18: 505–14.

1994: *Prolegomena to the History of Israel.* Scholars Press Reprints and Translation Series. Edited by D. Knight. Atlanta: Scholars Press. Reprint of the 1885 edition.

Wenham, G. J.

1971: The Deuteronomic Theology of the Book of Joshua. *JBL* 90: 140–48.

Whitelam, K. W.

1996: *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History.* New York: Routledge.

Wijngaards, J. N. M.

1965: העלה and הוציא: A Twofold Approach to the Exodus. *VT* 15: 91–102.

1969: *The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools.* OTS 16. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wilcoxen, J. A.

1968a: Narrative Structure and Cult Legend: A Study of Joshua 1–6. Pp. 43–70 in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship,* edited by J. C. Rylaarsdam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1968b: Some Anthropocentric Aspects of Israel's Sacred History. *JR* 48: 333–50.

Williams, R. J.

1976: *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline.* 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wills, L. M.
2008: *Not God's People: Insiders and Outsiders in the Biblical World.* Religion in the Modern World. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Wilson, I.
2005: Merely a Container? The Ark in Deuteronomy. Pp. 212–49 in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel. Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar,* edited by J. Day. LHB/OTS 422. London: T. & T. Clark.

Wilson, R. R.
1975: The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research. *JBL* 94: 169–89.

Windische, D. H.
1917: Zur Rahabgeschichte. *ZAW* 37: 188–98.

Winter, U.
1983: *Frau und Göttin.* OBO 53. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Winter-Nielsen, H.
1994: The Miraculous Grammar of Joshua 3–4: Computer-Aided Analysis of the Rhetorical and Syntactic Structure. Pp. 300–319 in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics,* edited by R. D. Bergen. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
1995: *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua.* ConBOT 40. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Winter-Nielsen, H., and E. Talstra
1995: *A Computational Display of Joshua: A Computer-Assisted Analysis and Textual Interpretation.* Application 13. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

Wiseman, D. J.
1982: "Is It Peace?": Covenant and Diplomacy. *VT* 32: 311–26.

Wood, B. G.
2008: The Search for Joshua's Ai. Pp. 205–40 in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History,* edited by R. S. Hess, G. A. Klingbeil, and P. J. Ray. BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Woudstra, M. H.
1981: *The Book of Joshua.* NICOT. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Wright, D. P.
1992: Holiness (OT). Pp. 237–49 *AYBD,* edited by D. N. Freedman. Volume 3. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Wright, G. E.
1940: Epic of Conquest. *BA* 3: 25–40.
1962: *Biblical Archaeology.* Philadelphia: Westminster.
1964: The Literary and Historical Problem of Joshua 10 and Judges 1. *JNES* 5: 105–14.
1965: The Archaeology of Palestine. Pp. 85–139 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright,* edited by G. E. Wright. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor.

1982: Introduction. Pp. 3–88 in *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary,* edited by D. N. Freedman. AYB 6. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Wright, J. L.
2004: *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah Memoir and Its Earliest Readers.* BZAW 348. Berlin: de Gruyter.
2008: Military Valor and Kingship: A Book-Oriented Approach to the Study of a Major War Theme. Pp. 33–56 in *Writing and Reading War: Rhetoric, Gender, and Ethics in Biblical and Modern Contexts,* edited by B. E. Kelle and F. R. Ames. SBLSymS 42. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Wüst, M.
1975: *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten des Alten Testaments, 1: Ostjordanland.* Wiesbaden: Richert Verlag.

Yadin, Y.
1956: *Excavations at Hazor. BA* 19: 2–11.
1958: *James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor.* 5 vols. Jerusalem: Magnes.
1963: *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands.* New York: McGraw-Hill.
1972a: *Hazor: The Head of All Those Kingdoms, Joshua 11:10.* London: Oxford University Press.
1972b: *Hazor: With a Chapter on Israelite Megiddo.* London: Oxford University Press.
1975: *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible.* New York: Random House.
1982: Is the Biblical Conquest of Canaan Historically Reliable? *BAR* 8: 16–23.

Yee, G.
2010: *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism.* Pp. 193–233 in *Method for Exodus,* edited by T. B. Dozeman. Method in Biblical Interpretation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Young, I. (ed.)
2003: *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology.* London: T. & T. Clark.

Younger, K. L., Jr.
1990: *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing.* JSOTSup 98. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
1995a: The "Conquest" of the South (Jos 10,28–39). *BZ* 39: 255–64.
1995b: The Configuring of Judicial Preliminaries: Judges 1:1–2:5 and Its Dependence on the Book of Joshua. *JSOT* 68: 75–92.
2008: The Rhetorical Structuring of the Joshua Conquest Narratives. Pp. 3–32 in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History,* edited by R. S. Hess, G. A. Klingbeil, and P. J. Ray. BBRSup 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Zakovitch, Y.
1990: Humor and Theology or the Successful Failure of Israelite Intelligence: A Literary-Folkloric Approach to Joshua 2. Pp. 75–104 in *Text and Traditions: The Hebrew Bible and Folklore,* edited by S. Niditch. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Zertal, A.
1985: Has Joshua's Altar Been Found on Mt. Ebal? *BAR* 11: 26–43.
1986–1987: Mount Ebal: Excavation Seasons 1982–1987, Preliminary Report. *Tel Aviv* 13–14: 105–65.
2003: The Province of Samaria (Assyrian Samerina) in the Late Iron Age (Iron Age III). Pp. 377–412 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period,* edited by O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Zevit, Z.
1975: The Priestly Redaction and Interpretation of the Plague Narrative in Exodus. *JQR* 66: 193–211.
1983: Archaeological and Literary Stratigraphy in Joshua 7–8. *BASOR* 251: 28–33.

Zimmerli, W.
1982: *I Am Yahweh.* Translated by D. W. Stott. Atlanta: John Knox.
1985: The "Land" in the Pre-Exilic and Early Post-Exilic Prophets. Pp. 47–65 in *Understanding the Word,* edited by J. Butler. JSOTSup 37. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

This page intentionally left blank

TRANSLATION

This page intentionally left blank

Commission of Joshua

DIVINE COMMISSION

1 [1]After the death of Moses, the servant of Yahweh, Yahweh said to Joshua son of Nun, the assistant of Moses, stating, [2]"Moses my servant is dead. And now arise and cross this Jordan, you and all this people, to the land which I am giving to them, to the Israelites. [3]Every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread, I will give it to you, as I spoke to Moses:

[4]from the wilderness and this Lebanon
to the great river, the River Euphrates;
all the land of the Hittites
to the Great Sea, the place where the sun goes down;
will be your border.

[5]"No one will be able to stand before you all the days of your life. As I was with Moses, I will be with you. I will not fail you and I will not leave you. [6]Be courageous and strong, for you will cause this people to possess the land, which I swore to their fathers to give to them.

[7]"Only be courageous and very strong by observing and doing all the Torah, which Moses, my servant, commanded you. Do not turn from it right or left, so that you will have insight wherever you go. [8]The book of this Torah shall not depart from your mouth and you shall meditate on it day and night so that you observe to do all that is written in it. For then you will make your way prosperous and then you will be prudent.

[9]"Have I not commanded you to be courageous and strong. Do not be terrified or dismayed for Yahweh your God is with you wherever you go."

ADDRESS OF JOSHUA TO THE ISRAELITES

[10]Joshua commanded the scribes of the people saying, [11]"Cross through the camp and command the people saying, 'Prepare your provisions, because in three days you are crossing this Jordan to enter to possess the land which Yahweh your God is giving to you to possess it.'"

[12]But to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh Joshua said, saying, [13]"Remember the word that Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded you saying, 'Yahweh your God is giving you rest and he will give you this land.' [14]Your wives, your children, and your cattle will dwell in the land, which Moses gave to you beyond the Jordan. But you shall cross as a fifth column before your brothers, all the warriors, and you will assist them [15]until Yahweh gives your brothers rest like you. And they too will inherit the land which Yahweh your God is giving to them. Then you will return to the land of your possession and you will possess it as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave to you beyond the Jordan toward the sun."

[16]And they answered Joshua saying, "All that you commanded us, we will do, and wherever you send us, we will go. [17]Just as we obeyed Moses in all things, thus we will obey you. Yahweh your God, however, must be with you as he was with Moses. [18]Whoever rebels against your utterance and does not obey your words, whatever you command him, shall be put to death. Just be courageous and strong."

Rahab, the Trickster

IDENTIFICATION OF RAHAB

2 [1]And Joshua son of Nun secretly sent from Shittim two men to spy saying, "Go and see the land and Jericho." And they went and they entered a house of a woman prostitute, whose name was Rahab. And they lay down there.

DECEPTION OF THE KING OF JERICHO

[2]And it was told to the king of Jericho saying, "Look, men have entered here tonight from the Israelites to search out the land." [3]And the king of Jericho sent to Rahab, saying, "Bring out the men who came in to you, who entered your house, for they came to spy out all the land."

[4]And the woman took the two men and she hid him. And she said, "Yes, the two men came in to me, but I do not know from where they came. [5]And when the gate closed at dark, the men went out. I do not know where the men went. Pursue quickly after them, for you will overtake them."

[6]But she brought them up to the roof and she hid them among the stalks of flax, which were arranged by her on the roof.

CONFESSION ABOUT YAHWEH

[7]Meanwhile the men pursued after them on the Jordan road down to the ford, but the gate they closed behind as the pursuers went out after them.

[8]Even before they lay down to sleep, she went up to them on the roof. [9]And she said to the men, "I know that Yahweh has given you the land and that your dread has fallen on us and that all the inhabitants of the land pale in despair before you. [10]For we heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you when you went out from Egypt and what you did to the two kings of the Amorites, who were across the Jordan, to Sihon and to Og, how you put them under the ban. [11]We heard and our heart

melted and the spirit in each person could not rise up any longer before you, because Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below.

VOW TO RESCUE AND ITS CONDITIONS

12"Now, swear to me by Yahweh, since I performed kindness to you, 13that you also perform kindness to the house of my father and you give me a sign of trust that you will let live my father, my mother, my brothers, my sister, and all who belong to them and that you will deliver our lives from death."

14The men said to her, "Our life instead of yours to die, if you do not tell this matter of ours. And when Yahweh gives us the land, we will perform kindness and faithfulness with you."

15Then she lowered them with a rope through the window, because her house was in a room of the wall, for she lived in the wall. 16And she said to them, "Toward the mountain you must go, lest those pursuing fall upon you. Hide yourselves there for three days until the pursuers return. Afterward you can go on your way."

17The men said to her, "We are blameless from this oath of yours, which you have made us swear. 18When we enter the land, you must tie this red thread in the window through which you let us down; and your father, your mother, your brother, and all who belong to the house of your father you must gather to you in the house. 19Any one who goes outside from the doors of your house, his blood is on his head and we are blameless. But anyone who will be with you in the house, his blood is on our head, if a hand is on him. 20If you tell this matter of ours, we will be blameless from your oath which you have made us swear."

21And she said, "According to your words, thus it is." And she sent them away. And they went. And she tied the red thread in the window.

REPORT OF THE SPIES

22And they went and they came to the mountain and they dwelt there three days until the pursuers returned. The pursuers searched the entire road, but found nothing. 23The two men returned and descended from the mountain. They crossed and came to Joshua son of Nun and told him everything that happened to them. 24They said to Joshua, "Yahweh has given the entire land into our hand. All the inhabitants of the land even pale in despair before us."

Crossing the Jordan

PREPARATION AT SHITTIM

3 1And Joshua rose early in the morning. They set out from Shittim and they entered as far as the Jordan, he and all the Israelites. And they spent the night there before they would cross.

2At the end of three days, the scribes crossed through the midst of the camp 3and they commanded the people saying, "When you see the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, your God, and the Levitical priests carrying it, you will set out from your place and

walk after it. [4]But let there be a distance between you and it, about two thousand cubits in measure—do not approach it—so that you may know the way in which you must go for you have not crossed this way before."

[5]And Joshua said to the people, "Consecrate yourselves for tomorrow Yahweh will do wonders in your midst."

[6]And Joshua spoke to the priests saying, "Lift the ark of the covenant and cross before the people." And they lifted the ark of the covenant and they went before the people.

ENTRY OF THE ARK INTO THE JORDAN AND THE STOPPING OF THE WATER

[7]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "This day I will begin to make you great in the eyes of all the Israelites so that they will know that as I was with Moses, I am with you. [8]Now you will command the priests lifting the ark of the covenant saying, 'When you enter the edge of the water of the Jordan, in the Jordan you will stand.'"

[9]Joshua said to the Israelites, "Step forward here and listen to the words of Yahweh, your God." [10]And Joshua said, "By this you will know that El, the living, is in your midst. And he is dispossessing before you the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites. [11]Indeed, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth is crossing before you into the Jordan. [12]Now, take for yourselves twelve men from the tribes of Israel, one man for each tribe. [13]When the soles of the feet of the priests carrying the ark of Yahweh, the Lord of all the earth, rest in the water of the Jordan, the waters of the Jordon will be cut off, the waters flowing down from above, they will stand in one heap."

[14]When the people set out from their tents to cross the Jordan, and the priests were carrying the ark of the covenant before the people, [15]and when those carrying the ark entered the Jordan, and the feet of the priests carrying the ark dipped into the edge of the water—the Jordan bursting all of its banks throughout the days of harvest—[16] then the waters of the Jordan flowing from above stood still. They arose in one heap a very great distance in Adam, the city, which is by Zarethan, while those flowing down to the Sea of Arabah, the Salt Sea, ceased and were cut off. Then the people crossed over opposite Jericho.

[17]The priests carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh stood on dry ground firmly in the midst of the Jordan. And all the Israelites were crossing on dry ground, until the entire nation completed the crossing of the Jordan.

HALTING OF THE ARK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE JORDAN AND THE TWELVE STONES

4 [1]And when the entire nation had completed the crossing of the Jordan, Yahweh spoke to Joshua saying, [2]"'Take for yourselves from the people twelve men, one from each tribe, [3]and command them saying, 'Take for yourselves from here, from the middle of the Jordan, from where the feet of the priests stood firmly, twelve stones and bring them across with you, and rest them in the place in which you lodge tonight.'"

[4]And Joshua called to the twelve men, whom he had appointed from the Israelites, one man from each tribe. [5]And Joshua said to them, "Cross before the ark of Yahweh, your God, to the middle of the Jordan and raise up for yourselves, each man one stone on his shoulder, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, [6]so that this may be a sign in your midst, when your children ask tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones to you?' [7]And you will say to them, 'The waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh. When it crossed through the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off.' And these stones will be a memorial to the Israelites forever."

[8]And the Israelites did as Joshua commanded. They took up twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan as Yahweh spoke to Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. And they carried them over with them to the campsite and laid them down there. [9]But twelve stones Joshua set up in the middle of the Jordan underneath the feet of the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant. And they are there yet to this day.

[10]But the priests carrying the ark were standing in the middle of the Jordan until everything was completed that Yahweh commanded Joshua to say to the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua. And the people moved in haste and they crossed. [11]And when all the people had finished crossing, the ark of Yahweh and the priests crossed before the people.

[12]And the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh crossed as a fifth column before the Israelites as Moses told them. [13]About forty thousand equipped for military service crossed before Yahweh for battle on the plains of Jericho.

[14]On that day Yahweh made Joshua great in the eyes of all the Israelites. And they saw him as they saw Moses all the days of his life.

EXIT OF THE ARK FROM THE JORDAN AND THE RETURN OF THE WATER

[15]And Yahweh said to Joshua saying, [16]"Command the priests carrying the ark of the testimony that they should come up from the Jordan."

[17]And Joshua commanded the priests saying, "Come up from the Jordan." [18]And when the priests carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh came up from the middle of the Jordan—the soles of the feet of the priests were drawn to the dry land—then the waters of the Jordan returned to their place and they went as yesterday and the day before on all its banks.

[19]The people came up from the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month and they camped at Gilgal on the eastern edge of Jericho. [20]And these twelve stones, which they took from the Jordan, Joshua raised up at Gilgal. [21]And he spoke to the Israelites saying, "When your children ask their fathers tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones?' [22]you will make known to your children saying, 'On dry ground Israel crossed this Jordan.' [23]For Yahweh your God dried up the water of the Jordan from before you until you crossed, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us until we crossed, [24]so that all the people of the land may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong and that you may fear Yahweh your God all the days."

5 [1]And when all the kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan toward the west and all the kings of the Canaanites who were by the sea heard that Yahweh dried up the water of the Jordan before the Israelites until they crossed over, their hearts melted and the spirit in them could not rise up any longer before the Israelites.

RITUALS AT GILGAL

[2]At that time Yahweh said to Joshua, "Make for yourself swords of stone and again circumcise the Israelites a second time."

[3]And Joshua made for himself swords of stone and he circumcised the Israelites at the Hill of the Foreskins.

[4]This is the reason why Joshua circumcised: All the people going out of Egypt, the males, all the men of battle died in the wilderness on the way, in their going out of Egypt. [5]For all the people who went out were circumcised. But all the people who were born in the wilderness on the way in their going out from Egypt were not circumcised. [6]For forty years the Israelites went in the wilderness until all the nation perished, the men of war, who went out of Egypt, those who did not listen to the voice of Yahweh and to whom Yahweh swore that they would not see the land, which Yahweh had sworn to their fathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey. [7]But their children he raised up in their place. Joshua circumcised them, because they were uncircumcised, since they did not circumcise them on the way.

[8]And when all the nation had been circumcised, they dwelt in their places in the camp until their recovery.

[9]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Today I have rolled away the reproach of Egypt from upon you." And he called the name of that place Gilgal, until this day.

[10]And the Israelites camped at Gilgal and they kept the Passover in the fourteenth day of the month at evening in the plain of Jericho.

[11]And they ate from the produce of the land on the day after Passover, unleavened bread and roasted grain on this very day.

[12]And the manna ceased on the next day when they ate the produce of the land. And there was no longer manna for the Israelites. And they ate from the produce of the land of Canaan in that year.

Destruction of Jericho

THEOPHANY AND INSTRUCTION ON HOLY WAR

[13]And when Joshua was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes and he saw. And right before him a man was standing and his sword was drawn in his hand. And Joshua approached him and said to him, "Are you for us or for our adversaries?"

[14]And he said, "No, for I am the prince of the army of Yahweh, I have now come."

And Joshua fell on his face toward the earth and he worshiped him. And he said to him, "What does my lord say to his servant?"

[15]Then the prince of the army of Yahweh said to Joshua, "Remove your sandal from your foot, because the place upon which you are standing, it is holy."

And Joshua did so.

6 [1]But Jericho was closed up tight before the Israelites. No one was going out or entering.

[2]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "See, I have given Jericho and its king, the mighty warriors, into your hand. [3]And you will go around the city, all the men of war circling the city one time. Thus you will do six days. [4]And seven priests will lift up seven rams' horns before the ark. And on the seventh day you will go around the city seven times and the priests will blow the horns. [5]And when there is a blast of the ram's horn, when you hear the sound of the horn, all the people will shout a great shout, and the wall of the city beneath it will fall. Then the people will go up each straight ahead."

JOSHUA INSTRUCTS THE PRIESTS AND THE PEOPLE

[6]And Joshua son of Nun called to the priests saying to them, "Lift up the ark of the covenant and seven priests shall lift up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh."

[7]And they said to the people, "Cross over and surround the city. But those ready for fighting will cross over before the ark of Yahweh."

[8]And as Joshua commanded the people, seven priests lifting up seven rams' horns before Yahweh crossed over and they blew the horns, while the ark of the covenant of Yahweh was going behind them. [9]And those ready for fighting were going before the priests, who blew the horns, and the rearguard was going after the ark. There was marching and the blowing of horns.

[10]But Joshua commanded the people saying, "Do not shout! Do not let your voice be heard! Let not a word go forth from your mouth until the day I say to you, 'Shout!' Then you must shout."

PROCESSION OF THE ARK AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF JERICHO

[11]And the ark of Yahweh went around the city in a circle one time. And they entered the camp and they spent the night in the camp.

[12]And Joshua rose early in the morning and the priests lifted up the ark of Yahweh. [13]But seven priests were lifting up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh. And they were going, marching and blowing the horns. And those ready for fighting were going before them. And the rearguard was going after the ark of Yahweh, going and blowing the horns. [14]And they went around the city on the second day one time. And they returned to the camp. Thus they did six days. [15]And on the seventh day, they rose early to go up at dawn and they went around the city as was their custom seven times. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times. [16]And on the seventh time the priests blew the horns.

And Joshua said to the people, "Shout, for Yahweh has given you the city. [17]The city is devoted to destruction to Yahweh, it and all that is in it. Only Rahab the prostitute shall live, she and all who are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers whom we sent. [18]You, however, must keep away from the things devoted to destruction, lest you become devoted to destruction and you take from the devoted thing, and you designate the Israelite camp to be devoted to destruction, and you make it taboo. [19]But

all silver and gold and vessels of bronze and silver are holy to Yahweh. It goes into the treasury of Yahweh."

[20]So the people shouted and they sounded the trumpets. And when the people heard the sound of the horn, the people raised a great cry. And the wall collapsed. Then the people went up toward the city, each straight ahead. And they took the city.

[21]And they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all that was in the city, man and woman, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkey.

[22]But to the two men who spied out the city, Joshua said, "Enter the house of the woman prostitute and bring out from there the woman and all who are with her as you swore to her."

[23]The young men, who were spies, entered and brought out Rahab, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all who were with her. All her family they brought out and gave them rest outside of the camp of Israel. [24]But the city they burned in fire and all that was in it. Only the silver, the gold, and the vessels of bronze and iron they gave to the treasury of the house of Yahweh. [25]But Rahab the prostitute, the house of her father, and all who belonged to her Joshua let live in the midst of Israel until this day, for she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

[26]Joshua swore at that time saying,

"Cursed is the man before Yahweh who raises up and builds this city, Jericho.
At the cost of his firstborn he will lay its foundation.
At the cost of his youngest he will set its gates."

IDEALIZATION OF JOSHUA

[27]And Yahweh was with Joshua. And his fame was in all the land.

Sacrilege of Achan

SACRILEGE OF ACHAN AND THE ISRAELITE DEFEAT AT AI

7 [1]And the Israelites committed sacrilege with regard to the ban. And Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah took from the devoted objects. And the anger of Yahweh ignited against the Israelites.

[2]And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai near Beth-aven, east of Bethel. And he said to them, "Go up and spy out the land."

And the men went up and they spied out Ai. [3]And they returned to Joshua and they said to him, "All the people should not go up. About two or three thousand men should go up and strike Ai. You should not wear down all the people there, because they are few."

[4]And they went up there from the people about three thousand men. And they fled before the men of Ai. [5]And the men of Ai killed from among them thirty-six men. And they pursued them before the gate until Sebarim. And they killed them in the descent. And the heart of the people melted and became like water.

INTERCESSION OF JOSHUA BEFORE THE ARK

6And Joshua tore his garment and he fell on his face toward the land before the ark of Yahweh until evening, he and the elders of Israel. And they brought up dust on their head. 7And Joshua said, "Ah, my Lord, Yahweh, why have you caused this people to cross over the Jordan to give us into the hand of the Amorite to destroy us? If only we were willing to dwell across the Jordan. 8Please, O Lord, what can I say after the Israelites have turned their back before their enemy. 9The Canaanites and all those dwelling in the land will hear and they will surround us and they will cut off our name from the land. Then what will you do for your great name?"

DIVINE REVELATION AND RITUAL UNCOVERING OF SACRILEGE

10And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Get yourself up! What is this that you are falling on your face? 11Israel has sinned; they have violated my covenant, which I commanded them; they have taken from the devoted objects; they have stolen; they have acted deceitfully; and they have placed them in their vessels. 12The Israelites will not be able to rise up against their enemies. Turning their back they will fall before their enemies, because they have become devoted to destruction. I will not continue to be with you, unless you exterminate the banned object from your midst. 13Arise, sanctify the people and say to them, 'Sanctify yourselves for tomorrow, for thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel, "A thing devoted to destruction is in your midst, O Israel, you will not be able to rise up before your enemies until you remove the thing devoted to destruction from your midst." 14You will draw near in the morning according to your tribes. And it will be the tribe that Yahweh takes shall draw near by clans. And the clan that Yahweh takes shall draw near by household. And the household that Yahweh takes will draw near by warriors.

15'And the one who is taken in the thing devoted to destruction will be burned in fire, he and all which is to him, because he violated the covenant of Yahweh and because he committed sacrilege in Israel.'"

16And Joshua arose early in the morning. And he brought near Israel according to its tribes and the tribe of Judah was taken. 17And he brought near the clans of Judah and he took the clan of Zerah. And he brought near the clan of Zerah according to the warriors, and Zabdi was taken. 18And he brought near his household, according to the warriors, and Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah was taken.

19And Joshua said to Achan, "My son, give glory to Yahweh the God of Israel and give him praise and tell me what you did. So do not hide from me."

20And Achan answered Joshua. And he said, "In truth I have sinned against Yahweh the God of Israel. This is what I did. 21I saw in the spoil one beautiful mantel of Shinar and two hundred shekels of silver, one bar of gold, whose weight was fifty shekels. I desired them and I took them.

"They are hidden in the ground within my tent and the silver is beneath it."

PUNISHMENT FOR SACRILEGE AND THE PURGING OF THE CAMP

[22]And Joshua sent messengers. And they ran to the tent. And it was there hidden in his tent and the silver was beneath it. [23]And they took them from the tent and they brought them to Joshua and to all the Israelites. And they poured them out before Yahweh. [24]And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah, the silver, the mantel, the tongue of gold, his sons, his daughters, his oxen, his donkey, his sheep, his tent, and all which was his, and all the Israelites with him, and they brought them up to the Valley of Achor.

[25]And Joshua said, "Why did you make us taboo? Yahweh will make you taboo on this very day."

And all the Israelites stoned him. And they burnt them with fire, and they stoned them with stones. [26]And they raised on him a great heap of stones, which remain until this day. And Yahweh turned from his anger. Therefore he called the name of that place Valley of Achor until this day.

Ambush of Ai and Ritual at Ebal and Gerizim

DIVINE COMMAND TO AMBUSH AI

8 [1]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Take with you all the people of war. Arise, go up to Ai. See, I have given into your hand the king of Ai, his people, his city, and his land. [2]You must do to Ai and to its king as you did to Jericho and its king. Only its spoil and its cattle you may plunder for yourselves. Set an ambush against the city from behind it."

JOSHUA'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT THE AMBUSH

[3]And Joshua and all the people of war arose to go up to Ai. And Joshua chose thirty thousand men, mighty warriors. [4]And he commanded them saying, "See, you are ambushing the city from behind the city. Do not go very far from the city. And all of you be ready. [5]And I, and all the people with me, will draw near to the city. And it will be that they will come out to meet us as before and we will flee before them. [6]And they will go out after us until we have lured them from the city, for they will say, 'They are fleeing before us as before.' [7]But you will rise up from the ambush and you will dispossess the city. And Yahweh your God will give it into your hand. [8]And when you seize the city, you will burn the city in fire, according to the word of Yahweh you will act. See, I command you."

EXECUTION OF THE AMBUSH

[9]And Joshua sent them and they went to the ambush. And they settled between Bethel and Ai from the west of Ai. And Joshua spent that night with the people.

[10]And Joshua arose early in the morning. He inspected the people, and he went up to Ai, with the elders of Israel before the people. [11]All the people of war, who were with him, went up. And they drew near and they entered before Ai. And they camped north of Ai. But the valley was between him and Ai. [12]And he took five thousand men

and placed them in ambush between Bethel and Ai to the west of the city. [13]And they placed the people, the entire camp north of the city and its rearguard west of the city. And Joshua spent that night in the valley.

[14]And when the king of Ai saw, the men of the city hurried, arose early, and went out to meet Israel for war, both he and all his people at the appointed time before the Arabah. But he did not know that there was an ambush against him from behind the city.

[15]And Joshua and all the Israelites pretended to be beaten before them and they fled on the wilderness road. [16]And all the people, who were in the city of Ai, shouted to pursue after them. And they chased Joshua. And they were lured from the city. [17]And not a man was left in Ai or Bethel who did not go out after the Israelites. They left the city open and they pursued after the Israelites.

[18]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Stretch out toward Ai the sword that is in your hand, for into your hand I will give it."

And Joshua stretched out the sword toward Ai that was in his hand. [19]And the ambush arose quickly from its place and they rushed when he stretched his hand. And they entered the city; they took it. They hurried and they burned the city in fire.

[20]And the men of Ai turned around and they saw. The smoke of the city rose toward heaven. There was in them no strength to flee here or there. But the people, who fled toward the wilderness, turned against the pursuers. [21]Then Joshua and all the Israelites saw that the ambush had taken the city for the smoke of the city rose up; then they turned and killed the men of Ai.

[22]And the others came out from the city to meet them. And they were in the midst of the Israelites, one group on one side and the other group on the other. And they slaughtered them until there was not any survivor or fugitive.

[23]But the king of Ai was captured alive. And they brought him near to Joshua.

[24]And when the Israelites had finished killing all the inhabitants of Ai in the field within the wilderness in which they pursued them, and when all of them had fallen by the edge of the sword until their completion, then all the Israelites returned to Ai and slaughtered it by the edge of the sword. [25]All those who fell that day from the men and women were twelve thousand, all the men of Ai. [26]And Joshua did not hold back his hand, with which he stretched out the sword, until he devoted all the inhabitants of Ai to destruction. [27]Only the cattle and the spoil of that city the Israelites took as booty for themselves according to the word of Yahweh, which he had commanded Joshua. [28]And Joshua burned Ai, and he set it up as a mount of ruin forever until this day.

[29]But the king of Ai he hung on the tree until evening.

And at sunset Joshua gave the command; and they took down his corpse from the tree and they threw it at the entrance of the gate of the city. And they raised on it a heap of great stones until this very day.

CEREMONY AT EBAL AND GERIZIM

[30]Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh the God of Israel on Mount Ebal, [31]as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, had commanded the Israelites, as it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses: "An altar of whole stones upon which iron has not struck."

And they offered upon it burnt offerings to Yahweh and they sacrificed well-being offerings.

32And he wrote there on the stones a copy of the Torah of Moses, which he wrote before the Israelites.

33All the Israelites, their elders, scribes, their judges were standing on either side of the ark, before the Levitical priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh—both resident alien and citizen alike with half in front of Mount Gerizim and half in front of Mount Ebal, as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded to bless the people of Israel the first time.

34Afterward he read all the words of the Torah, the blessing and the curse, according to all that was written in the book of the Torah. 35There was not a word from which Moses had commanded that Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, including the women, the children, and the resident alien who walked in their midst.

Gibeonite Deception

MASQUERADE OF THE GIBEONITES

9 1And when the kings, who were across the Jordan in the mountain, in the highland, and in all the coast of the Great Sea toward Lebanon, heard—the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites—2they gathered at the same time to fight Joshua and Israel as one.

3But the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua did to Jericho and to Ai. 4And they, for their part, acted in cunning. They went, they disguised themselves as diplomats, they took worn-out sacks for their donkeys, worn-out, torn, and mended leather bottles of wine, 5worn-out sandals patched on their feet, and worn-out cloths on themselves, and all the bread of their provisions was dry and crumbling.

COVENANT AND OATH

6And they went to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal. And they said to him and to the men of Israel, "From a faraway land we have come. Now make a covenant with us."

7And the men of Israel said to the Hivites, "Perhaps in our midst you are dwelling, then how can I make a covenant with you?"

8And they said to Joshua, "We are your servants."

And Joshua said to them, "Who are you and from where do you come?"

9And they said to him, "From a land very far away your servants have come for the name of Yahweh your God, because we heard his reputation and all that he did in Egypt, 10and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan, to Sihon, the king of Heshbon, and to Og, the king of Bashan who was in Ashteroth. 11Our elders and all the inhabitants of our land said to us saying, 'Take in your hand provisions for the trip and go to meet them, and say to them, We are your servants. Now make a covenant with us.' 12This is our bread. It was warm when we made provision with it from our houses on the day we set out to go to you. And now indeed it is dry and crumbling. 13And these wineskins, which we filled, were new and indeed they are torn. And these clothes of ours and our sandals are worn-out from the very long journey."

[14]And the men partook from their provisions. But they did not consult Yahweh. [15]And Joshua made peace with them. And he made a covenant with them to let them live. And the leaders of the congregation swore an oath with them.

TEMPLE SERVICE AS A CURSE

[16]And at the end of three days after they had made a covenant with them, they heard that they were nearby to them and that they were dwelling in the midst of them. [17]And the Israelites journeyed and they came to their city on the third day. Their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. [18]The Israelites did not slaughter them because the leaders of the congregation had sworn an oath to them by Yahweh the God of Israel. And the entire congregation complained against the leaders. [19]And all the leaders said to the entire congregation, "We have sworn to them by Yahweh, the God of Israel. So now we are not able to strike them. [20]This is what we will do to them: Let them live, so that wrath will not be on us on account of the oath which we swore to them."

[21]And the leaders said to them, "Let them live."

And they were woodcutters and drawers of water for the entire congregation, as the leaders stated to them.

[22]And Joshua called to them and he spoke to them saying, "Why did you deceive us saying, 'We are very far away from you,' but you were dwelling in our midst? [23]Now you are cursed. Slavery will not be cut away from you. You will be woodcutters and drawers of water for the house of my God."

[24]And they answered Joshua and they said, "Because it was clearly reported to your servants that Yahweh your God commanded Moses his servant to give you all the land and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, we feared greatly for our lives from before you and we did this thing. [25]And now here we are in your hand. Whatever is good and right in your eyes to do to us, do."

[26]And he did to them accordingly. And he delivered them from the hand of the Israelites and he did not kill them. [27]And Joshua gave them on that day as woodcutters and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh until this day to the place which he would choose.

War Against the Southern Kings

FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

10 [1]And when Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, heard that Joshua had taken Ai and that he had devoted it to destruction, doing to Ai and its king as he had done to Jericho, and that the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel and were in their midst, [2]they became very afraid, for Gibeon was a great city, like one of the royal cities, and it was greater than Ai and all of its men were warriors. [3]Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, sent to Hoham, king of Hebron, Piram, king of Jarmuth, Japhia, king of Lachish, and Debir, king of Eglon saying, [4]"Come up to me and help me, so that we can strike Gibeon, because it made peace with Joshua and the Israelites."

[5]And the five kings of the Amorites—the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon—gathered together

and went up, they and all of their armies, and they camped against Gibeon and they waged war against it. [6]And the men of Gibeon sent to Joshua in the camp of Gilgal saying, "Do not slacken your hand from your servants. Come up to us quickly, save us and help us, for all the kings of the Amorites who dwell in the mountain, are gathered against us."

[7]And Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty warriors. [8]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Do not fear them for into your hand I have given them. Not a man of them will stand before you."

[9]And Joshua came upon them suddenly, going up all night from Gilgal. [10]Then Yahweh created panic in them before the Israelites. And he slaughtered them in a great massacre at Gibeon. And he pursued them on the road that ascends to Beth-horon. And he slaughtered them to Azekah and Makkedah. [11]And as they fled from before Israel descending from Beth-horon, Yahweh threw great stones from heaven on them as far as Azekah. And more died from the great stones than the Israelites killed with the sword.

[12]Then Joshua spoke to Yahweh on the day when Yahweh gave over the Amorites before the Israelites. And he said before the eyes of Israel,

"Sun at Gibeon stand still;
moon at the Valley of Aijalon."
[13]The sun stood still and moon stood
until he took vengeance on the nation of his enemy.

Is it not written in the Book of Jashar? And the sun stood in the middle of the heavens and it did not hasten to set for a whole day. [14]There has not been a day like that before or after, when Yahweh obeyed the voice of a human, for Yahweh fought for Israel.

[15]And Joshua and all the Israelites with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KINGS

[16]These five kings fled and they hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. [17]And it was reported to Joshua, saying, "The five kings have been found hiding in the cave at Makkedah."

[18]And Joshua said, "Roll great stones before the mouth of the cave and set men by it to guard them. [19]But you should not stand. Rather pursue after your enemies and attack their rear. Do not let them enter their city, for Yahweh, your God, has given them into your hand."

[20]And when Joshua and the Israelites had completed slaughtering a very great slaughter until they wiped them out, the survivors escaped from them and they entered the fortified cities. [21]Then all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace. No one threatened the Israelites.

[22]And Joshua said, "Open the mouth of the cave and bring out to me these five kings from the cave."

[23]And they did so. And they brought out to him these five kings from the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon. [24]And when they brought out these five kings to Joshua, Joshua

called to each man of Israel and he said to the chiefs of the men of war, who went with him, "Come near and place your feet on the necks of these kings."

They came near and they placed their feet on their necks.

[25]And Joshua said to them, "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Be courageous and strong because thus Yahweh will do to all of your enemies against whom you fight."

[26]And Joshua slaughtered them after this. He put them to death and he hung them on five trees. And they hung on the trees until evening. [27]And at sunset Joshua commanded and they took them down from the trees and they threw them in the cave, in which they were hidden. And they placed great stones at the mouth of the cave until this very day.

GENERAL WAR

[28]And Joshua captured Makkedah on that day. He smote it with the edge of the sword and its king. He devoted them to destruction, every life that was in it. He did not allow a survivor to remain. And he did to the king of Makkedah as he did to the king of Jericho.

[29]And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Makkedah to Libnah and he fought against Libnah. [30]And Yahweh gave even it into the hand of Israel and its king. And he smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it. He did not allow a survivor to remain. And he did to its king as he did to the king of Jericho.

[31]And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Libnah to Lachish. And he camped against it and he fought against it. [32]And Yahweh gave Lachish into the hand of the Israelites. And he took it on the second day. And he smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it, according to all that he did to Libnah.

[33]Then King Horam of Gezer went up to help Lachish. And Joshua slaughtered him and his people until no survivor remained to him.

[34]And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Lachish to Eglon. And they camped against it and they fought against it. [35]And they took it on that day. And they smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it on that day, he devoted to destruction according to all that he did to Lachish.

[36]And Joshua and all Israel with him went up from Eglon to Hebron and they fought against it. [37]And they took it and slaughtered it with the edge of the sword and its king, and all of its cities, and all life in it. He did not leave a survivor according to all which he did to Eglon. He devoted it to destruction.

[38]And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to Debir and he fought against it.

[39]And he took it, its king, and all its cities. And they slaughtered them with the edge of the sword. And they devoted all life that was in it to destruction. And he did not leave a survivor. As he did to Hebron, thus he did to Debir and to its king and as he did to Libnah and to its king.

SUMMARY

[40]And Joshua smote the entire land, the highland, the Negeb, the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings. He did not leave a survivor, but he devoted to destruction all breath, as Yahweh the God of Israel commanded. [41]Joshua slaughtered them from

Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, and all the land of Goshen until Gibeon. 42And all these kings and their land Joshua took at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel. 43And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

War Against the Northern Kings

FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

11 1And when Jabin, the king of Hazor, heard, he sent to Jobab, the king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, 2and to the kings who were from the north, in the highland and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, in the lowland, and in Naphoth-dor from the west, 3the Canaanites from the east and from the west, the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites in the highland, and the Hivites below Hermon in the land of Mizpah.

4They and all their camp with them went out, many people like the sand that is on the seashore in number, horse and chariot in very great number. 5All these kings were joined together, and they went, and they camped as one by the waters of Merom to fight with Israel.

6And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Fear not before them! For tomorrow at this time I am causing all of them to be slain before Israel. Their horses you will hamstring and their chariots you will burn in fire."

7And Joshua and all the people of battle with him came on them suddenly by the waters of Merom. And they fell upon them. 8And Yahweh gave them into the hand of Israel. And they slaughtered them and they pursued them until great Sidon and Misephoth-maim and eastward to the Valley of Mizpeh. And they slaughtered them until there was not a survivor remaining to them. 9And Joshua did to them as Yahweh said to him. Their horses he hamstrung and their chariots he burned in fire.

EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KING

10And Joshua returned at that time and he captured Hazor, and he slaughtered its king with the sword, because Hazor in former times was head of all those kingdoms. 11And they slaughtered every life that was in it by the edge of the sword, devoting it to destruction. There was not any breath remaining. And Hazor he burned in fire. 12And all the cities of those kings and all their kings Joshua took and he slaughtered them by the edge of the sword, devoting them to destruction as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded. 13But Israel did not burn all the cities that stood on their mound, except Hazor. Joshua burned it alone. 14And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the Israelites plundered for themselves. All the humans, however, they slaughtered by the edge of the sword until they had destroyed them and no breath remained.

15As Yahweh commanded Moses, his servant, thus Moses commanded Joshua. And thus Joshua did. He did not deviate at all from all which Yahweh commanded Moses.

GENERAL WAR

[16]So Joshua took all that land: the highland, all the Negeb, all the land of Goshen, the lowland, the Arabah, the highland of Israel and its lowland, [17]from Mount Halak, which rises above Seir, to Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon. And all its kings he took and he slaughtered them and he killed them. [18]Many days Joshua made war with all of these kings. [19]There was not a city that made peace with the Israelites except the Hittites, who dwelt in Gibeon. They took them, all in battle. [20]For it was Yahweh's doing to harden their hearts to encounter Israel in battle so that he might devote them to destruction, without mercy, in order to destroy them as Yahweh commanded Moses.

[21]And at that time Joshua entered and exterminated the Anakim from the highland, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, from all the highland of Judah, and from all the highland of Israel. Joshua devoted them to destruction with their cities. [22]No Anakim remained in the land of Israel. They remained only in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod.

SUMMARY

[23]So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Yahweh spoke to Moses. And Joshua gave it as an inheritance to Israel according to their tribal divisions. And the land had rest from war.

Defeated Kings of Royal Cities

TERRITORY AND KINGS EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER CONQUERED BY MOSES

12 [1]These are the kings of the land, whom the Israelites slaughtered, whose land they possessed across the Jordan toward the east, from the Wadi Arnon to Mount Hermon, and all the eastern Arabah.

[2]Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, ruled from Aroer, which was on the edge of the Wadi Arnon, the middle of the Wadi, and half of Gilead, as far as the Jabbok River, the border of the Ammonites, [3]the Arabah as far as the Sea of Chinneroth eastward, as far as the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea eastward, the way of Beth-jeshimoth, and from the south under the slopes of Pisgah.

[4]The border of Og, king of Bashan, from the remaining Rephaim, who dwelt in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, [5]who ruled over Mount Hermon, Salecah, and all Bashan to the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half of Gilead to the border of Sihon, king of Heshbon.

[6]Moses, the servant of Yahweh, and the Israelites slaughtered them. And Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave it as an inheritance to Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

TERRITORY AND KINGS WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER CONQUERED BY JOSHUA

[7]These are the kings of the land, whom Joshua and the Israelites slaughtered across the Jordan, west from Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon as far as Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir. And Joshua gave it to the tribes of Israel as a possession according to their divisions [8]in the highland, in the lowland, in the Arabah, in the slopes, in the wilderness, in the Negeb—the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites:

[9]the king of Jericho, one
the king of Ai, which is next to Bethel, one
[10]the king of Jerusalem, one
the king of Hebron, one
[11]the king of Jarmuth, one
the king of Lachish, one
[12]the king of Eglon, one
the king of Gezer, one
[13]the king of Debir, one
the king of Geder, one
[14]the king of Hormah, one
the king of Arad, one
[15]the king of Libnah, one
the king of Adullam, one
[16]the king of Makkedah, one
the king of Bethel, one
[17]the king of Tappuah, one
the king of Hepher, one
[18]the king of Aphek, one
the king of Lasharon, one
[19]the king of Madon, one
the king of Hazor, one
[20]the king of Shimron-meron, one
the king of Achshaph, one
[21]the king of Taanach, one
the king of Megiddo, one
[22]the king of Kedesh, one
the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one
[23]the king of Dor in Naphath-dor, one
the king of Goiim in Gilgal, one
[24]the king of Tirzah, one.
All the kings were thirty-one.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

This page intentionally left blank

Commission of Joshua (1:1–18)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 1 provides the prologue to the book of Joshua. It establishes two related themes that are central to the story: the divine promise of land as a place of rest for Israel, and the commissioning of Joshua to achieve the goal. Joshua 1 clarifies that although the promised land is presently occupied (vv. 3, 4, 5), it is a divine gift to Israel (vv. 3, 6, 15), with clearly defined borders (v. 4) that are broad enough to provide rest for all Israelites (vv. 13, 15). In addition, it introduces Joshua as the one commissioned by God (vv. 1–9) to lead the Israelites in taking possession of the land (vv. 10–18). Joshua 1 also introduces a tension between the two central themes, which influences the interpretation of the entire book of Joshua. Israel's realization of rest in the land and the success of Joshua's leadership are presented as both an unconditional divine promise, based on a past oath to the ancestors (vv. 2–6), and a conditional pledge, requiring Joshua's obedience to the Torah for success (vv. 7–9). The contrasting presentation of the central themes provides a key for interpreting the literary structure of the chapter as well as the book of Joshua as a whole.

Joshua 1 begins with a divine speech to Joshua (vv. 1–9) and continues with Joshua's instruction to the Israelites (vv. 10–18). The divine commission to Joshua in vv. 1–9 is structured in two parts. After the main characters are introduced in v. 1, the Deity twice commissions Joshua, first in vv. 2–6 to lead the people into the promised land, and a second time in vv. 7–9 to study Torah. The first address is grounded in an unconditional promise of land to the ancestors (v. 6) that provides the basis for a divine promise of presence to Joshua (v. 5). The call for Joshua to be courageous in conquest (v. 6) requires that he recognize the unconditional commitment of the Deity to past promises, which will guarantee success in war regardless of the strength of the opposition. The second address shifts to a conditional promise of success based on the observance of the Torah (vv. 7–8), where leadership is no longer narrowly focused on the conquest but is now conceived more broadly as wisdom. In the second speech, moreover, it is

the observance of Torah that becomes the condition for realizing the promise of divine presence (v. 9), which, in turn, influences the meaning of courage. The call to courage in v. 9 is no longer Joshua's recognition of the unconditional promises of God to the ancestors (v. 6); rather, it is his strength to observe Torah and thus realize the conditional promise of divine presence (v. 9).

The divine speeches are balanced by two addresses of Joshua, both of which develop the theme of conquest in the initial divine commission (vv. 2–6), rather than the call to observe Torah (vv. 7–9). The first speech is to the Israelite camp in general (vv. 10–11). This address is directed to the Israelites through scribes, who muster the people for the war that will begin with the crossing of the Jordan. The second address is directed to the tribes who dwell east of the Jordan—Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (vv. 12–18). Joshua reminds them of their obligation made to Moses that they would join in conquering the land west of the Jordan (vv. 12–15). These tribes affirm their commitment to Joshua as the successor of Moses and echo the divine encouragement from vv. 1–9 that Joshua must be courageous in his leadership (vv. 16–18). The thematic development of Josh 1 can be illustrated in the following outline:

I. Divine Commission (vv. 1–9)
  A. Introduction of Characters (v. 1)
  B. First Divine Commission (vv. 2–6)
    1. Unconditional Promise of Land (vv. 2–4)
    2. Unconditional Promise of Divine Presence (v. 5)
    3. "Courage" as Recognition of the Unconditional Oath to the Ancestors (v. 6)
  C. Second Divine Commission (vv. 7–9)
    1. Command to Observe Torah (vv. 7–8)
    2. Conditional Promise of Divine Presence (v. 9)
    3. "Courage" as Torah Observance (v. 9)
II. Address of Joshua to the Israelites (vv. 10–18)
  A. To the Scribes and the Camp in General (vv. 10–11)
  B. To the Tribes East of the Jordan River (vv. 12–18)
    1. Command of Joshua (vv. 12–15)
    2. Affirmation of the Eastern Tribes (vv. 16–18)

Translation

1:1–9. DIVINE COMMISSION

1 [1]After the death of Moses, the servant of Yahweh, Yahweh said to Joshua son of Nun, the assistant of Moses, stating, [2]"Moses my servant is dead. And now arise and cross this Jordan, you and all this people, to the land which I am giving to them, to the Israelites. [3]Every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread, I will give it to you, as I spoke to Moses:

[4]from the wilderness and this Lebanon
to the great river, the River Euphrates;
all the land of the Hittites

to the Great Sea, the place where the sun goes down;
will be your border.

5"No one will be able to stand before you all the days of your life. As I was with Moses, I will be with you. I will not fail you and I will not leave you. 6Be courageous and strong, for you will cause this people to possess the land, which I swore to their fathers to give to them.

7"Only be courageous and very strong by observing and doing all the Torah, which Moses, my servant, commanded you. Do not turn from it right or left, so that you will have insight wherever you go. 8The book of this Torah shall not depart from your mouth and you shall meditate on it day and night so that you observe to do all that is written in it. For then you will make your way prosperous and then you will be prudent.

9"Have I not commanded you to be courageous and strong. Do not be terrified or dismayed for Yahweh your God is with you wherever you go."

1:10–18. ADDRESS OF JOSHUA TO THE ISRAELITES

1 10Joshua commanded the scribes of the people saying, 11"Cross through the camp and command the people saying, 'Prepare your provisions, because in three days you are crossing this Jordan to enter to possess the land which Yahweh your God is giving to you to possess it.'"

12But to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh Joshua said, saying, 13"Remember the word that Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded you saying, 'Yahweh your God is giving you rest and he will give you this land.' 14Your wives, your children, and your cattle will dwell in the land, which Moses gave to you beyond the Jordan. But you shall cross as a fifth column before your brothers, all the warriors, and you will assist them 15until Yahweh gives your brothers rest like you. And they too will inherit the land which Yahweh your God is giving to them. Then you will return to the land of your possession and you will possess it as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave to you beyond the Jordan toward the sun."

16And they answered Joshua saying, "All that you commanded us, we will do, and wherever you send us, we will go. 17Just as we obeyed Moses in all things, thus we will obey you. Yahweh your God, however, must be with you as he was with Moses. 18Whoever rebels against your utterance and does not obey your words, whatever you command him, shall be put to death. Just be courageous and strong."

Notes

Joshua 1 presents a range of text-critical problems that influence interpretation. The MT and the LXX diverge in significant ways, with the MT presenting an expanded text of nearly 10 percent. M. van der Meer states the problem of interpretation: "Since no convincing explanation of scribal error can be adduced for these quantitative variants, it is clear that they must be the result of deliberate literary initiatives" (2004: 161).

The difference between the longer MT and the more compact LXX has fueled debate over the textual history of Josh 1. A. G. Auld notes five significant pluses in

the MT of Josh 1:1–4 ("servant of Yahweh," v. 1; "this" Jordan, v. 2; "to the Israelites," v. 2; "this" Lebanon, v. 4; and "all the land of the Hittites," v. 4) as compared with the absence of any pluses in the LXX. On the basis of the many pluses in the MT, Auld argued for the priority of the Hebrew *Vorlage* to the LXX (1998a: 8–9). H. M. Orlinsky reached the same conclusion, arguing that many of the MT pluses cannot be explained as scribal errors, even though they often disrupt the syntax of the MT, as in the addition in v. 2, "to the Israelites" (1969: 188). A. Rofé added that the MT pluses, such as "all the Torah" in v. 7, indicate a nomistic or legal motive to the present form of the longer text (1989: 248). L. Mazor has built on the insight of Rofé by detecting further ideological motivation in the expansionistic geographical reference in the MT of v. 4: "all the land of the Hittites" (1994).

E. Tov summarizes this growing body of research by concluding that the MT and the LXX indicate two literary strata of the book of Joshua, with the LXX representing the more ancient version (1992: 327). But the creativity of the Greek translator remains an important qualification for those who detect literary innovation only in the MT. Thus, van der Meer argues that many of the differences in the LXX can be attributed to the Greek translator, who has sought to shorten and streamline the redundant features of the MT. This argument requires that the interpreter of Josh 1 also pay attention to the literary initiative of the Greek translator (2004: 246–47). See "Appendix I" for a comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

1:1 *after the death.* The MT *môt* is translated *teleutēn* in the LXX, meaning "end," but also it is used euphemistically for death. The same phrase in the notice of Joshua's death (Judg 1:1) ties the book of Joshua to the subsequent book of Judges. See "Composition."

Moses, the servant of Yahweh. The designation of Moses as servant of Yahweh also appears in Deut 34:5. The LXX translates the phrase *oiketēs kyriou* as "slave of the Lord" in Deut 34:5 but lacks the designation of Moses as "servant of Yahweh" in Josh 1:1, as well as in 1:15, 12:6, and 22:4. The pluses in the MT are difficult to evaluate, especially since the epithet occurs frequently in both the MT and the LXX (1:7, 13; 8:31, 33 (= LXX 9:2b, d), 11:12; 12:6; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2, 5). Commentators vary in their evaluation of the textual problem and its meaning. R. G. Boling and G. E. Wright suggest haplography in the LXX (1982: 114). Tov attributes the epithet to a secondary expansion in the MT under the influence of Deuteronomy (1999: 394). In this case, the presence of the epithet may be part of the redaction that occurred when Joshua was placed in its present narrative context (see "Composition"). K. Bieberstein suggests that the MT pluses reflect the growing status of Moses in postexilic literature (1995: 85). Van der Meer reverses the argument, advocating instead for "stylistic shortening" in the LXX to avoid the redundancy of the epithet in the MT (2004: 183). For further discussion of the motif *'ābad* in Joshua, see the "Notes" to Josh 9:8.

Joshua son of Nun. The Rahlfs edition of the LXX translates the Hebrew *nûn* as *nauē.* But there is debate over the original form of the Greek. M. A. Margolis reconstructs *naun,* suggesting a corruption in the transmission of the Greek (1931–1938: 1).

assistant of Moses. The Hebrew *měšārēt,* from the root *šārat,* indicates an assistant in a variety of settings, including civil service to kings (1 Chr 27:1) and more commonly religious service. The ordination of the Aaronide priests indicates that they are to serve the sacred by caring for the sanctuary (Exod 28:35, 43; 29:30; 35:19; 39:41; see

also Ezekiel). The same service to the sacred characterizes the ordination of the Levites (Num 1:50; see also Deut 10:8; 18:5; 21:5; and esp. 1:38, where the phrase *hā'ōmēd lĕpānêkā,* "to stand before," is also used). The service of the Levites can also be one of assisting the Aaronide priests as helpers (Num 3:6, 31; 8:26; 18:2). This latter meaning, of a personal assistant to another in a more senior or authoritative position, has influenced the translation of *mĕšārēt* in Josh 1:1 as "Moses' assistant" (see the NRSV). The alternative translation "apprentice" would accentuate both the religious nature of Joshua's service and his status as a novice to Moses, where the latter term defines a person who has entered a religious order but has not yet taken final vows. E. Noort adds that the term also indicates succession, as in the case of Elijah and Elisha (2000: 212). The Greek *hypourgos,* which means "assistant, somebody working under (the supervision of a master)," reinforces the religious nature of the term, since it underscores the novice status of Joshua to Moses, rather than their relationship as "partners" (cf. van der Meer, 2004: 190–91). Joshua is described as the assistant of Moses four times (Exod 24:13; 33:11; Num 11:28; Josh 1:1). Exodus 33:11 associates Joshua with the Tent of Meeting and underscores his apprentice status by describing him as a youth (*na'ar*); Num 11:28 describes the office as one of personal election by identifying Joshua both as "the assistant of Moses" and as "one of his [Moses'] chosen ones." The novice status of Elisha to Elijah provides an analogy (cf. 1 Kgs 19:21; and possibly 2 Kgs 4:43; 6:15). The LXX uses a variety of terms to translate the Hebrew *mĕšārēt,* including *parestēkōs,* "one who stands by another" (Exod 24:13; Num 11:28); *therapōn,* "healer" or "helper" (Exod 33:11); and *hypourgos,* "helper" (Josh 1:1). The LXX even translates the apprentice role of Elisha to Elijah with the more cultic or liturgical phrase *eleitourgei auto,* "he [Elisha] served him" (1 Kgs 19:21; LXX 3 Kgdms 19:21).

1:2 *my servant.* The MT repeats the designation of Moses as Yahweh's "servant" (*'abdî*), which also appears in the LXX as *ho therapōn mou,* "my servant." See also Josh 9:24; 11:15.

this Jordan. The demonstrative pronoun *hazzeh* likely reflects the nearness of the Jordan to the speaker. Compare Gen 32:10; Deut 3:27; 31:2 where the near proximity of the Jordan is also underscored. The absence of the demonstrative in the LXX (and in Josh 4:22) has prompted E. Tov to identify the MT version as a clarifying expansion (1999: 391). A. R. Hulst suggests that the Hebrew designates the general area of the Jordan River, rather than the exact location of the speaker or narrator (1965: 166).

Jordan. The Hebrew *yardēn* may mean "descent," from the Hebrew *yārad.* But interpreters have suggested additional etymologies, including "the water of judgment" from the Hebrew *dan,* "judge." The Jordan River originates in the melting snows of Mount Hermon and flows southward through Lake Huleh and the Sea of Chinneroth, and empties into the Dead Sea. The Jordan River is mentioned infrequently in the Prophetic literature in topographical contexts (e.g., Ezek 47:18; Zech 11:3; Jer 12:5; 49:19; 50:44). Most of the references occur in the story of the exodus and the wilderness journey (165 of the 181 occurrences). The Jordan occurs fifty-four times in the book of Joshua, where it functions in two contexts, both of which, as noted by D. Jobling, carry ideological meaning as illustrations of religious geography (1986): (1) In the opening chapters of the book, the Jordan River has symbolic meaning as a rite of passage into the promised land (esp. Josh 3–4). (2) In the second half of the book, the Jordan also functions as an important conceptual and geographical boundary in the descriptions of

tribal territories (e.g., 13:23, 27, 32; 14:3; 15:5; 16:1, 7; 18:7, 12; 19:22) and even of the promised land (22:10), as compared with the first half of the book, where the boundaries of the promised land include the land east of the Jordan (1:4).

to the Israelites. The MT (but not the LXX) is specific in identifying "all this people" (*wĕkŏl-hā'ām hazzeh*) as "the Israelites" (*libnê yiśrā'ēl*).

1:3 *every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread, I will give it to you.* The MT repeats the divine promise to Moses in Deut 11:24, "every place upon which the sole of your foot [*kap-raglĕkem*] will tread will be yours," but changes the third person, "it will be yours," to a divine promise in the first person, "I will give it to you." The LXX changes "wherever the sole of your foot may trample" to "every place, upon which you tread with the sole of your feet."

1:4 *from . . . to . . . to.* The construction "from . . . to" is a literary merism, in which the reference to a pair of terms is used to express totality or completeness. N. Wazana (2013: 58–60) clarified the frequent use of merisms in "extremities formula," where the prepositions "from" and "to" mark the perimeters of varies phenomena, including location, as, for example, in the geographical description of the land extending "from Dan to Beer-sheba" (e.g., Judg 20:1). She added that spatial merisms may contain more than two members to designate completeness, as is the case in Josh 1:4. Yet problems of interpretation remain. The repetition of the preposition *'ad* in the MT suggests two geographical statements of two lines each, in which the wilderness, Lebanon, and the Euphrates River are linked in a progression from the south to the northwest, while the relationship of this territory to the land of the Hittites remains ambiguous.

1. From the wilderness [*mĕhammidbār*] and this Lebanon, to [*wĕ'ad*] the great river; the River Euphrates;
2. all the land of the Hittites
3. to [*wĕ'ad*] the Great Sea, the place where the sun goes down.

The LXX departs from the MT in the description of the promised land:

1. The wilderness and the Anti-lebanon
2. as far as [*heōs*] the great river, the River Euphrates
3. and as far as [*heōs*] the Sea at the End, where the sun sets.

The LXX translation of "the wilderness and the Anti-lebanon" lacks the preposition *min,* "from," in the MT, which was tied to the wilderness (*mĕhammidbār*); the demonstrative pronoun *hazzeh,* in reference to Lebanon; and the conjunction *wĕ,* linking the phrase "to the great river, the River Euphrates" with the preceding reference to the wilderness and Lebanon. The result is a single geographical description in which the two regions of the "desert" (*tēn erēmon*) and the "Anti-lebanon" (*ton antilibanon*) in the first line are meant to clarify further the promise of land in v. 3 (*hymin dōsō auton*). The two Greek prepositions *heōs* in the second and third lines introduce the eastern and western borders of the two regions as "the great river, the River Euphrates" on the east and "the Sea at the End" (*tēs thalassēs tēs eschatēs*) on the west. The geographical comparison of the eastern and western borders suggests that the phrase "where the sun sets" (*aph hēliou dysmōn*) describes the western location of the Sea at the End, rather than a concluding summary of the boundaries, "from the setting of the sun shall be your boundaries" (NETS).

The book of Deuteronomy contains similar geographical descriptions of the promised land in 1:7 and 11:24. In Deut 11:24 it ranges "from the wilderness and the Lebanon [*min-hammidbār wĕhallĕbānôn*]; from the Euphrates River to the Western Sea/Sea at the End [*min-hannāhār nĕhar-pĕrāt, wĕʿad hayyām hāʾaḥărôn*]." The text probably separates the wilderness and Lebanon, as southern and northern boundaries, from the eastern and western boundaries of the Euphrates River and the Western Sea/Sea at the End. This interpretation of Deut 11:24 suggests a description of the promised land that is similar to that in the LXX version of Josh 1:4. J. A. Soggin argues, however, that the MT of Josh 1:4 is a corruption of Deut 11:24 (1972: 26). In Deut 1:7 the Deity commands the Israelites to leave Mount Horeb and journey "to the land of the Canaanites and the Lebanon until the great river, the Euphrates River" (*hakkĕnaʿănî wĕhallĕbānôn ʿad-hannāhār haggādōl nĕhar-pĕrāt*). The geographical description in Deut 1:7 appears to be closer to the MT of Josh 1:4, since the syntax of Deut 1:7 suggests that the Euphrates is functioning more as a northeastern border, which also appears to be the case in the MT of Josh 1:4. The comparison of Deut 1:7, 11:24, and Josh 1:4 indicates the lack of clarity in each of the geographical texts. What is clear, however, is the large area of the promised land. In each case it includes the whole desert region east of the Jordan River to the Euphrates River. Similar broad visions of the promised land occur in a series of passages in the Pentateuch (Gen 15:18; Exod 23:31; Deut 1:7; 3:24) and in the idealized description of the kingdom of Solomon (1 Kgs 5:1), suggesting a correspondence with the province "Across the River" in the Persian Empire. See the "Comments" for further interpretation.

wilderness. The Hebrew word *midbār* is the name for pastureland, the steppe, or the more remote desert. The term is common in the Hebrew Bible, often signifying locations devoid of human technology or the benefits of urban cultural development (e.g., Hos 2:5, 16–17; 9:10; 13:4–5, 15). The word occurs in three distinct contexts in the Hebrew Bible, which range from geographical topography to religious geography. The geographical use of *midbār* indicates (1) a general description of the southern desert region, (2) a more specific desert region on the outskirts of a city or urban area, and (3) the transitional setting where the wilderness journey bridges the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into the promised land. The fifteen references to the *midbār* in the book of Joshua include the three different meanings. Joshua 1:4 represents the more general reference to the desert region that tends to indicate the southern area of the land east of the Jordan and even the Sinai region farther south (see also 12:8). The book of Joshua also refers to a series of smaller wilderness regions, including the steppe outside of the city of Ai on the west side of the Jordan (8:15, 20, 24), the wilderness of Zin (15:1, 61), the wilderness surrounding Jericho (16:1), the wilderness of Beth-aven (18:12), and the wilderness of the tableland east of the Jordan River (20:8). Finally, the more symbolic use of the wilderness as a threatening location in the wilderness journey from Egypt is also prominent in the book, as is illustrated in the account of circumcision in Josh 5:4, 5, 6 (see also 14:10; 24:7).

Lebanon. The Hebrew *lĕbānôn* means "white," which may refer to the snowcapped mountains on the eastern side of the country, of which the most famous is Mount Hermon. The territory is not well-defined in the Hebrew Bible, yet it is clear that the ancient reference to Lebanon did not include the Mediterranean coastal cities of Tyre

and Sidon, as is the case in the modern state of Lebanon. In the Hebrew Bible Lebanon is often praised for its forests and rich resources (e.g., Pss 72:16; 92:12), and it is not considered to be part of the land of Israel (e.g., 1 Kgs 4:33; 5:6, 14). Thus, the claim in Josh 1:4 that Lebanon is within the boundaries of the promised land is unusual (see also Deut 11:24). The inclusion of Lebanon as part of the promised land, however, is a consistent motif throughout the additional five references to the region in the book of Joshua: the kings of Lebanon battle against Joshua (9:1); Joshua conquerors portions of Lebanon (11:17; 12:7); and Yahweh demands that all of Lebanon be conquered (13:5, 6). These references indicate the author's interest in the more northern geography of the promised land. The LXX designation "Anti-lebanon" may indicate a larger geographical area that includes the eastern mountain range from Mount Hermon northward. See "Comments."

this Lebanon. The demonstrative pronoun *hazzeh* in the identification of Lebanon creates confusion concerning its relationship to "the wilderness," "the River Euphrates," and the characters within the narrative. The pronoun suggests the nearness of the location of the territory of Lebanon within the visual sight of the characters (cf. "this Jordan" in Josh 1:2). But as T. C. Butler states, the setting of Shittim, east of the Jordan, does not suggest the traditional territory of Lebanon west of the Jordan, since this location would not be within the visual horizon of the speaker (1983: 4). The LXX uses the term "Anti-lebanon" (*ton antilibanon*), rather than the designation Lebanon, which encourages an interpretation of a territory east of the Jordan. The Greek *libanos* occurs frequently throughout the LXX, but *antilibanos* is confined to Deuteronomy (1:7; 3:25; 11:24), Joshua (1:4; 9:1), and Jude (1:7), where both terms occur as distinct territories: "Then Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, sent messengers to all who lived in Persia and to all who lived in the west, those who lived in Cilicia and Damascus, Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and all who lived along the seacoast" (Jude 1:7). The separate regions in Jude 1:7 suggest that the use of Anti-lebanon in Deuteronomy and Joshua is not simply a matter of style, but that it is intended to signify a specific territory that is separate from Lebanon and east of the Jordan. Auld writes, "Geographers now distinguish between mount Lebanon, the range immediately above the sea-coast of the country of Lebanon, and Anti-lebanon, comprising the eastern mountains of that country from mount Hermon northwards" (2005: 88). The separate territory of Lebanon as distinct from Anti-lebanon corresponds to classical and Hellenistic Greek usage, where Anti-lebanon also designates the eastern range of Lebanon. The LXX may be following the Hellenistic usage and thus also designating land east of the Jordan, reaffirming its location within the visual horizon of the speaker. P. Sacchi suggests that Anti-lebanon in the LXX is an interpretation of the MT's "this Lebanon" (1991: 238; cf. Auld, 1998a: 8–9). Van der Meer is likely correct in interpreting the demonstrative pronoun in the MT reference to Lebanon as a means of emphasizing the broad scope of the territory, in which Lebanon becomes a central location between the wilderness and the Euphrates River, rather than a northern territory outside of the promised land (2004: 199). This interpretation once again underscores the importance of the northern geographical areas to the author of Joshua.

great river. The Hebrew phrase *hannāhār haggādôl* to describe the Euphrates River occurs only once in the book of Joshua. It is repeated two other times in the Hebrew Bible, in Deut 1:7 and Gen 15:18. In Dan 10:4 the phrase describes the Tigris River.

your border. The Hebrew *gĕbûl* can mean either border or territory. The translation "border" is based on the interpretation of the prepositions "from" (*min*) and "to" (*'ad*) to describe the perimeter of the land. But the use of merism in the extremities formula provides an equally strong basis for emphasizing the total territory, rather than specific boundaries (Wazana, 2013: 77–82).

Euphrates. The Hebrew name for the river, *pĕrāt,* means "stream" or "breaking forth." The English "Euphrates" derives from the Greek *eu,* "good," and *rous,* "flow," as represented in the LXX *potamou euphratou,* "Euphrates River." The Euphrates River, along with the Tigris, forms the central river system of Mesopotamia. The Euphrates originates in the Armenian highlands of western Turkey and flows southeast for nearly eighteen hundred miles before it empties into the Persian Gulf. It thus spans the area known as the Fertile Crescent in the ancient Near East. The Euphrates occurs infrequently in the Hebrew Bible (fewer than twenty times), where it is first introduced as one of the four rivers of paradise (Gen 2:14). The authors of the Hebrew Bible tend to refer to the Euphrates as a northern location, rather than as an eastern location associated with the Persian Gulf. The prophet Jeremiah writes, "The swift cannot flee away, nor can the warrior escape; in the north by the river Euphrates they have stumbled and fallen" (46:6). The battle between Pharaoh Neco of Egypt and the Assyrians, in which Josiah is killed, takes place at the northern location of the Euphrates River, near Carchemish (2 Kgs 23:29; 2 Chr 35:20). The Euphrates River occurs frequently in the Hebrew Bible as the northern and/or eastern border of a series of highly idealized descriptions of the promised land (Gen 15:18; Deut 1:7; 11:24; Josh 1:4), which may correspond to past borders of the Egyptian Empire (2 Kgs 24:7) or the Across the River province that first emerges under Neo-Assyrian rule to designate the nations "beyond (or across) the river" as those on the west side of the Euphrates. Esarhaddon lists twenty-two regions and kings from Tyre, in the north, to Gaza, in the south, as well as Cyprus (*ANET* 291 v 54–vi 1). The administrative structure of the Neo-Assyrian Empire continues through the rule of the Neo-Babylonians and into the Persian Empire. The Euphrates occurs only once in the book of Joshua within the broad description of the promised land in Josh 1:4.

all the land of the Hittites. This phrase is absent from the LXX. It is unusual in the MT, occurring only in Josh 1:4, Judg 1:26, and possibly 2 Sam 24:6, if the unintelligible Hebrew *wĕ'el-'ereṣ taḥtîm ḥŏdšî* is corrected to "the land of the Hittites of Kadesh" on the basis of some versions of the LXX *chettieim kadēs* (see van der Meer, 2004: 201). Historical geographers have identified the Hittites as a people who entered Anatolia sometime before 2000 BCE and established an empire throughout the second millennium that extended into northern Syria until its collapse around 1200 BCE. Yet it continued into the Iron Age as the smaller Neo-Hittite kingdoms of northern Syria until Sargon II conquered it in the late eighth century BCE. In Neo-Assyrian literature, *māt Ḫatti* designates the region of Syria. Van Seters suggests that the phrase reflects the usage in Neo-Assyrian texts from the time of Sennacherib, where the region of Syria-Palestine is also described as "the land of the Hittites" (1972c). The scattered references to the Hittites in the Hebrew Bible make it difficult to determine whether the geographical terminology of Neo-Assyria in the eighth century BCE was influencing the biblical author in the postexilic period. Hittites are associated with a range of geographical locations in the Hebrew Bible, including the northern territory of Lebanon (Josh 1:4), the Negeb (the cave of Machpelah, Gen 23; 25; 49; 50), the highland (Num 13:29;

Josh 11:3), and the city of Luz (Judg 1:26). Positive portraits of the Hittites include peaceful negotiation for land (the Priestly account of the ancestral burial cave at Machpelah; Gen 23:10, 23; 25:9; 49:29, 30; 50:13), mercenary stories about the hero Uriah (1 Sam 11:3, 6, 17, 21, 24; 12:9, 10; 2 Sam 23:39; 1 Kgs 15:5; 1 Chr 11:41), and larger allegiances (1 Kgs 10:29 = 2 Chr 1:17; 2 Kgs 7:6 = 2 Chr 8:7). Negative stories focus on the need for Israelite ethnic purity, which is threatened through intermarriage with Hittites (Esau: Gen 26:34; 27:46; 36:2; Solomon: 1 Kgs 11:1; and Jerusalem: Ezek 16:3, 45) and the residency of the Hittites in the promised land (the list of indigenous nations to be exterminated in Josh 1:4 and twenty-three additional occurrences). The portrait of the Hittites in the book of Joshua is limited to this final point: They are an indigenous nation, whose presence in the promised land threatens the purity of the Israelite people and thus requires their extermination.

Great Sea. The Hebrew *hayyām haggādôl* designates the Mediterranean Sea in the accounts of land distribution within the Priestly literature (Num 34:6, 7), Ezekiel (47:10, 15, 19, 20; 48:28), and Joshua (1:4; 9:1; 15:47; 23:4). Other names for the Mediterranean Sea in the Hebrew Bible include *yām pĕlištîm,* "the Sea of the Philistines" (Exod 23:31); *yām yāpô',* "the Sea of Joppa" (Ezra 3:7); and *hayyām hā'aḥărôn,* "the Sea at the End/Western Sea" (Deut 11:24; 34:2). The LXX translates as *tēs thalassēs tēs eschatēs,* "the Sea at the End," which provides the basis for van der Meer to conclude that the Greek translator of Josh 1:4 rendered the Hebrew *hayyām hā'aḥărôn* on the basis of the description of the promised land in Deut 11:24 (2004: 209). This reading is weakened, however, when it is noted that the LXX of Deut 11:24 renders the Hebrew *hayyām hā'aḥ ărôn* as *tēs thalassēs tēs epi dysmōn,* "the sea of the setting of sunset." The Hebrew *hayyām hā'aḥărôn* also occurs in Deut 34:2, where it likely refers to the west and, like Josh 1:4, is translated as *tēs thalassēs tēs eschatēs.* Two additional occurrences in the MT, Joel 2:20 and Zech 14:8, also suggest that the Hebrew *hayyām hā'aḥărôn* means "west," since the phrase is contrasted with "the eastern sea" (*hayyām haqqadmōnî*). In each case the LXX introduces a contrast between the first (*prōtēn*) and the last (*eschatēn*).

1:5 *No one will be able to stand before you.* The MT translates "you" in the singular, *lĕpānêkā,* focusing the divine speech on Joshua, as compared with the LXX, which broadens the statement to include the entire nation by translating "you" as plural (*hymōn*). See Deut 11:25 where a similar statement by Moses is directed to the entire nation: "no one will be able to stand against you" (*bipnêkem*). The LXX, however, narrows the divine speech as an address to Joshua alone in the remainder of the verse by employing the singular "you" (e.g., "your life," *tēs zoēs sou;* "with you," *meta sou*).

1:6 *be courageous and strong.* The Hebrew *ḥăzaq we'ĕmāṣ* is repeated in Josh 1:6, 7, 9, 18; and 10:25. The phrase also appears in Deut 3:28; 31:6, 7, 23. The Hebrew verb *ḥāzaq* often occurs as an adjective in the phrase *yād ḥăzāqâ,* "strong arm," to indicate the exercise of power in war (e.g., Deut 4:34; 5:15; 6:21; 7:8; 9:26; 11:2). The verb also likely indicates courage in the setting of war in v. 6. The verb *'āmaṣ* signifies determination, as in Ruth's decision to accompany Naomi from Moab (Ruth 1:18). The phrase *ḥăzaq we'ĕmāṣ* often describes courage to undertake war, as in Sihon's decision to war against Israel (Deut 2:30) or Hezekiah's decision to resist Sennacherib (2 Chr 32:7). L. L. Rowlett concludes that the phrase is part of the military terminology within the Deuteronomistic History (1996: 156–58). The LXX translates the phrase as *ischue kai andrizou,* "be strong and manly."

you will cause this people to possess the land. The Hebrew *nāḥal* means "to take possession" from another person. The Hiphil, "to give (or perhaps apportion) as an inheritance," intensifies the imagery of conflict and violence in the transfer of landownership. There is debate over the original wording of the LXX, whether it should be *diaireō* (Margolis, 1931–1938: 5), which is used to translate *nāḥal* in Josh 18:4 and 19:51, or *apodiastrellō* (Rahlfs). Both Greek words mean "to divide," in contrast to the Hebrew "to take possession," thus emphasizing the apportionment of the land in the second half of the book more than the conquest of the land in the first half.

1:7 *be courageous and very strong.* The LXX lacks the adverb *mĕ'ōd,* "very." The emphasis on the study of Torah as the context for strength and courage repeats in David's instruction to Solomon concerning the successful completion of the temple (1 Kgs 2: 1–4; 1 Chr 22:12–13). See also Pss 27:14; 31:25.

by observing and doing. The two Hebrew infinitives *lišmōr* and *laʿăśôt* explain the nature of courage in the preceding command "to be courageous and very strong" (*BHS* 36.2e). Deuteronomy 13:19 provides a parallel use, where the infinitives *lišmōr* and *laʿăśôt* also define the way in which the command to obey the voice of Yahweh can be achieved, which in this case is "by observing all his commandments . . . and by doing what is right."

Moses, my servant. The LXX renders the Hebrew *ʿabdî* as *pais,* meaning literally, "boy." See the translation and discussion of Auld (2005: 87).

all the Torah . . . Do not turn from it . . . The MT *kĕkōl-hattôrâ,* "all the Torah," is the antecedent to the command that Joshua not "turn from it" (*mimennû*). The lack of correspondence between the masculine singular suffix on the preposition "from it" (*mimennû*) and the feminine noun Torah (*tôrâ*) is a problem noted already by the Masoretes (see the marginal note suggesting the feminine form *mmnh*). The textual problem is compounded by the absence of the phrase "all the Torah" in the LXX and the plural ending on the command for obedience: "do not turn aside from *them*" (*ap autōn*). Most modern interpreters judge the MT "all the Torah" to be a later addition to the text, either as a gloss (Margolis, 1931—1938: 6) or as part of a more comprehensive reinterpretation that is later than the LXX. Tov judges the reference "all the Torah" to be a secondary post-LXX addition to Joshua under the influence of the book of Deuteronomy (1999: 390). Rofé agrees, noting that the addition of Torah observance (a nomistic interpretation of revelation) is foreign and disruptive to the book of Joshua, where the central character receives direct divine commands. He concludes that the nomistic reinterpretation includes the phrase "all the Torah" in v. 7 and v. 8 and that it takes place during the late formation of the canon. The result is the larger literary design in which the Prophets (Josh 1:8) and the Writings (Ps 1:2–3) begin with similar injunctions to observe Torah (1989: 248). The literary design creates disjunction between the Pentateuch, conceived as Torah, and the book of Joshua, which now inaugurates the Prophetic section of the canon in the MT. Van der Meer argues that Josh 1:7–8 is a "nomistic re-edition of the Deuteronomistic (DtrH) composition" but that the reinterpretation precedes the LXX. The absence of "all the Torah" in v. 7 and the replacement of the restrictive particles *raq* ("only") and *mĕ'ōd* ("very") with the inferential conjunction *oun* ("thus, therefore") are innovations by the Greek translator that are meant to harmonize vv. 7–8 with Josh 1:2–6. The larger literary effect of the LXX translation is to tie the book of Joshua more closely to the Pentateuch, where the commands of Moses to

Joshua are no longer a separate body of literature, "all the Torah," but specific episodes in Deut 3:21–22; 31:7–8 (2004: 214–22).

so that you will have insight. The Hebrew particle *lĕmaʿan* expresses a positive contingency about the future (GKC 107q; *BHS* 31.6c). The Hebrew *śākal,* "to be prudent" or "to have insight," indicates knowledge or the acquiring of wisdom (e.g., Gen 3:6; Isa 41:20; 44:18; 52:13; Jer 3:15; 9:24; frequently in Proverbs [nineteen occurrences]). The term is limited to Josh 1:7–8 in the book of Joshua. The close relationship between wisdom and successful living has prompted the translation "to prosper" or "to be successful" (see the NRSV), which in English does not convey the background in the Wisdom tradition that is implied in the use of the term. The translation "have insight" is reinforced by the LXX translation *hina synēis en pasin hois ean prassēs,* "so that you may have understanding in all that you do." See the similar description of the artisans of the tabernacle in Exod 35:35 and 36:1, where the emphasis on "understanding" is focused more on "skill."

1:8 *for then you will make your way prosperous.* The LXX reads plural, *tas hodous.*

1:9 *have I not commanded you.* The rhetorical question in the MT, *hălô',* requires assent rather than a reply (*BHS* 40.3.b.5). The LXX *idou* could be interpreted as validation ("indeed") or emphasis ("listen").

for Yahweh your God. Both the MT and the LXX use the third person in reference to the Deity within a divine speech.

1:10 *the scribes of the people.* The translation "scribes" for the MT *śōṭĕrê hāʿām* follows the LXX, which renders the Hebrew as *grammateusin.*

1:11 *cross through the camp.* The LXX has *tēs parembolēs tou laou,* "camp of the people."

Prepare your provisions. The MT *hākînû lākem ṣêdâ* translates literally as "prepare for yourselves provisions." The LXX *hetoimazesthe episitismon,* "prepare provisions," lacks the Hebrew *lākem,* "for yourselves." Tov judges the MT plus as an addition to the book of Joshua, based on the influence of Deuteronomy (1999: 391).

to enter to possess the land. The LXX translation *kataschein* for the Hebrew *yāraš* is unique to this verse.

Yahweh your God. The LXX identifies the Deity further as the God of the ancestors, *kyrios ho theos tōn paterōn hymōn.* Compare Josh 18:3, where the Hebrew *yhwh ʾĕlōhê ʾăbôtêkem* is lacking in the LXX *kyrios ho theos hēmōn.*

to possess it. The Hebrew *lĕrištāh* is lacking in the LXX.

1:12 *But to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.* The translation interprets the Hebrew *waw* as disjunctive to accentuate the contrast between the tribes east of the Jordan River and those west of it.

saying. The MT *lĕʾmōr* is absent in the LXX (see also Josh 1:13; 3:6; 4:3, 22; 9:22; 17:17; 22:24). For discussion of whether the variant is the result of the freedom of the Greek translator or a Hebrew revision, see S. Holmes (1914: 6), Mazor (1994: 34), and van der Meer (2004: 227–32).

1:13 *Remember the word.* The LXX has *to rēma kyriou,* "word of the Lord."

Yahweh your God is giving you rest and he will give you this land. The LXX translates the divine promise of land in the past tense, *katepausen hymas kai edōken hymin tēn gēn tautēn,* "has given you rest and has given you this land."

1:14 *your children.* The Hebrew *ṭappĕkem* is translated in the LXX as *ta paidia.*

Moses gave to you beyond the Jordan. The Hebrew *bĕʿēber hayyardēn,* "beyond the Jordan," does not designate a specific region. Rather, it signifies "the other side of the Jordan, either to the east or the west depending on the standpoint of the narrator" (*HALOT* 17200). The use of the term in Josh 1:14 creates a problem of meaning in the present context. It describes the land east of the Jordan River with the assumption that the speaker is located west of the Jordan. In Josh 1:14, however, the Israelites are still located east of the Jordan, which makes the phrase "beyond the Jordan" a reference to the land west of the Jordan. The LXX lacks "beyond the Jordan," as well as the reference to Moses, *en tēi gēi hēi edōken hymin* ("in the land which he gave you"). The result is that the reference to the Lord in v. 13 remains the subject of the sentence in v. 14, as the one who gave the land, rather than Moses in the MT. The gift of the land is also not specifically defined in reference to the land east of the Jordan River in the LXX. Tov identifies the MT pluses and the reference to Moses and the land west of the Jordan as part of a second edition of the book of Joshua (1999: 392). Mazor detects a larger ideological *Tendenz* in the MT, in which the land east of the Jordan is viewed negatively by indicating that it is a gift of Moses and not Yahweh. She also notes the negative assessment of the land east of the Jordan in the MT of Josh 22:19, where the LXX evaluation of its smallness is stated to be its impurity (1994: 37). Van der Meer suggests that the LXX minuses represent a smoothing out of the Greek text for the purpose of clarity (2004: 238). The parallel text to Josh 1:12–15 is Deut 3:18–20 (see Bieberstein, 1995: 91–92).

as a fifth column. The Hebrew *ḥămūšîm* indicates a military formation either of a unit of fifty soldiers (2 Kgs 1:9) or more likely of a marching formation of five companies with an advance and rearguard, two wings, and the center. Compare the LXX *euzōnoi,* "well-equipped."

1:15 *until Yahweh.* The LXX translates *kyrios ho theos hymōn,* "the Lord your God."

and you will possess it. The MT *wîrištem ʾôt āh* is unclear, since it separates the identification of the land from the notice that it was given by Moses and it also suggests that the land east of the Jordan River is not yet in the possession of the Israelite tribes. The LXX lacks the clause: "And each of you will depart to his inheritance, which Moyses has given you across the Iordan from the rising of the sun."

Moses, the servant of Yahweh. The LXX lacks the epithet "servant of Yahweh." For discussion, see the "Notes" to Josh 1:1.

1:17 *Yahweh your God, however, must be with you as he was with Moses.* The restrictive particle *raq,* with the jussive *yihyeh,* "expresses something which either contradicts or varies from that which precedes it, usually to be translated 'only, still, but, however, nevertheless'" (*HALOT* 22028).

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The history of the composition of Josh 1 and the identification of the author or authors play important roles in the interpretation of the content and the literary context of the book of Joshua. Research centers on three related problems: (1) the determination of whether Josh 1 is a unified narrative or a composite text of several authors; (2) the identification of the author or authors; and (3) the literary context of Josh 1, whether it was composed as the introduction to an independent book or as a literary bridge to

Deuteronomy or to the larger Pentateuch. The history of research is divided between interpreters who read the chapter as a unified narrative by a single author and others who identify a history of composition.

The interpretation of Josh 1 as a unified text composed by a single author within Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic tradition is prominent among interpreters from the nineteenth century to the present time. Already in the mid-nineteenth century, H. Ewald concluded that a Deuteronomic editor during the time of Manasseh composed Josh 1 as an addition (1869: 234). For Ewald, Josh 1 was not added as the introduction to an independent form of the book of Joshua; rather, it was an insertion within a larger historical work that begins in Genesis and continues into Joshua (1869: 229–35). A. Kuenen initially followed Ewald (1865: 84) but subsequently placed the composition of Josh 1 later than Ewald, in the time of Josiah at the earliest (1885: 219–26), if not the exilic period, and he identified the author as the Deuteronomist (1885: 84–85). Kuenen followed in general the conclusion of Ewald that Josh 1 was not added to an independent form of the book of Joshua but was inserted within the larger hexateuchal narrative of JE, which extends from Genesis through Joshua.

Wellhausen agreed with Kuenen on identifying the author of Josh 1 as the Deuteronomist. He noted further that the repetition between Josh 1:3–5 and Deut 11:24 provided evidence for distinct authors between Deuteronomy and Joshua. He wrote that the use of identical words by the same author in two different contexts is unlikely and concluded that the Deuteronomistic author of Josh 1 most likely used the work of the author from Deut 11:24 as an inner-biblical quotation (1899: 119). The literary context of Josh 1, however, is not limited to the book of Deuteronomy, according to Wellhausen, but includes the entire Pentateuch. He wrote, "When the Torah of Moses is mentioned [in Joshua] it is not Deuteronomy, but the five books of Moses" (1899: 118). Thus Wellhausen, like Kuenen, worked within the literary framework of a Hexateuch. Wellhausen appears to qualify the literary setting further, when he stated that the context of Joshua cannot be the sources J or E since the literature of the book is not of the same kind as the Pentateuch, while the idealized portrait of Joshua lacks continuity with his more limited presentation in the Pentateuch (1899: 118–19). He concluded that the book of Joshua in its present form was an addendum or supplement to the entire Pentateuch, rather than the narrative finale to the JE sources (1899: 118). I pursue the insight of Wellhausen by arguing that Joshua is an independent book that is inserted into its present literary context at a late date in the formation of the Hebrew Bible. Wellhausen himself retreated from this position by suggesting that remnants of the E source may linger below the surface of the book of Joshua.

M. Noth's evaluation of the composition and the literary context of Josh 1 was pivotal in the development of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis in the mid-twentieth century (see Noort, 1998a: 92). This hypothesis represents a rejection of the literary corpus of a Hexateuch as the context for interpreting the book of Joshua; it favors instead the literary work of Deuteronomy through 2 Kings. Noth identified the work as a sixth-century BCE composition by a single author, the Deuteronomist (1981a: 79–83). Joshua 1, which Noth judged to be a unified composition by the Deuteronomist, is central to the hypothesis. He conceded the possibility of minor glosses in the text (e.g., the third-person reference to Yahweh in Josh 1:9a), but he insisted that there were no additions, which would call into question the chapter's original unity

(1971b: 27–29; 1981b: 36). The unified composition presupposed the story of Moses in Deuteronomy and functioned as the transition to the narrative of Joshua (1971b: 27; 1981b: 36). Thus, Noth concluded that Josh 1 "was certainly not the beginning" of a literary work (1981b: 12). Instead, it was always intended to be a literary bridge between the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua.

The evidence for the literary unity between Deuteronomy and Joshua, according to Noth, includes the shared theme of law in Deuteronomy and Josh 1, the transfer of leadership from Moses in Deut 34 to Joshua in Josh 1, and a series of literary repetitions that include the promise of success in conquest (Josh 1:3/Deut 11:24), the geographical description of the land (Josh 1:4/Deut 1:7; 11:24), and the call to courage (Josh 1:5/Deut 31:1–8) (1971b: 27–29). Noth's literary analysis provides a point of comparison to Wellhausen, who interpreted many of the same repetitions as evidence that the authors of Deuteronomy and Josh 1 were distinct. For Noth the shared themes and the literary repetitions provide the basis to identify one author, not only of the discourse in Josh 1, but also of the entire Deuteronomistic History, since the literary corpus is linked by a series of similar speeches in Deut 31; Josh 1; 23; 1 Sam 12; and 1 Kgs 8, which repeat the theme of Torah observance as a condition for national success (1981b: 4–11).

The effect of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis is far reaching and continues to influence interpreters into the present time. More recent commentators who follow Noth's reading of Josh 1 include J. Gray (1986: 48–49), G. J. Wenham (1971), J. A. Soggin (1972: 3), R. Polzin (1980: 74–80), R. G. Boling and G. E. Wright (1982: 60, 117), A. D. H. Mayes (1983: 4, 43, 45), T. C. Butler (1983: 5–9), R. D. Nelson (1997a: 6), J. Van Seters (1997: 322–53, esp. 324), R. B. Coote (1998: 584–87), L. D. Hawk (2000: 1–17), and, in a more qualified way, T. Römer (2005: 82, 122–23). With minor variations, each of these interpreters views Josh 1 as a unified narrative composed by the Deuteronomist to provide a bridge between the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua within the larger literary context of the Deuteronomistic History.

The interpretation of Josh 1 as a multiauthored text has also had adherents from the nineteenth century to the present time. In his commentary of 1861, for example, A. Knobel identified two authors in Josh 1: one composed the speech of Joshua to the Israelites in Josh 1:1–2, 10–16 in the eighth century BCE as part of a larger literary work on the theme of war (the *Kriegsbuch*); and a second Deuteronomic author added the divine commission to Joshua in Josh 1:3–9 and the closing response of the eastern tribes in vv. 17–18 during the time of Josiah in the seventh century BCE (1861: 559–60, 590–91). A. Colenso provides another example, when he separated the opening verses of Josh 1:1–2 from the following speeches in Josh 1:3–18, assigning the narrative in vv. 1–2 to the JE source and the subsequent speeches to a Deuteronomic editor (1872: 112–29). Aspects of this solution are further developed in the later research of E. Otto, who identifies a pre-Deuteronomistic source (B source) in Josh 1:2, 5, 10, 11 that is supplemented by a Deuteronomistic redactor in Josh 1:3, 4, 6–9, 12–17a, 18* (1975: 86–88). M. Görg represents a similar line of interpretation with the identification of Josh 1:1–2, 10–11 as the pre-Deuteronomistic version of Josh 1 (1991a: 11–14).

C. Steuernagel (1900: xv–xvi; 1923: 200–201, 210–11) summarized a series of literary problems in Josh 1 that had already been noted by scholars such as H. Holzinger (1901: 2) at the turn of the twentieth century and that continue to influence interpreters into the present time. First, Steuernagel highlighted the change from the second-person

singular in vv. 2 and 5 to the plural in vv. 3–4 in the same divine address. The result of this shift in person is that Yahweh addresses the Israelite people (vv. 3–4) in the middle of the speech to Joshua (vv. 2, 5–9). Steuernagel concluded that the divine address to the Israelites in vv. 3–4 is a later addition by a new author who was both inserting a speech of Moses to the Israelites from Deut 11:24 and changing it into a divine address to the people in Josh 1:3–4. Second, Steuernagel judged Josh 1:7–8 to be composed by a different author than Josh 1:5–6, 9. He noted that in Josh 1:5–6, 9 the demand for courage requires that Joshua trust in the divine promise of the land, whereas in Josh 1:7–8 courage is the ability to observe the law, which now becomes the condition for Joshua's success. Third, Steuernagel continued the methodology of Wellhausen, in which inner-biblical quotations from Deuteronomy signal a later composition in Josh 1, as opposed to Noth, who interpreted the repetitions as the work of the same author. Thus, such phrases as "now rise and cross the Jordan" (Josh 1:2/Deut 2:13, 24), "every place in which the sole of your foot will tread" (Josh 1:3/Deut 11:24), and "be courageous and strong" (Josh 1:6, 9/Deut 31:7) are not indications of a single composition but of later additions to Josh 1 (Steuernagel, 1923: 210). As a result, for Steuernagel the original form of Josh 1 consists of the setting in vv. 1–2 and Joshua's speech to the Israelites in vv. 10–18 (with the exception of the inner-biblical quotations from Deuteronomy). He identified the author with the siglum D^2, which represents the same writer who provided the narrative framework within Deuteronomy to the Josianic Law Book (= D^1; approx. Deut 4:44–30:20) in the sixth century (1900: xx–xxi; 1923: 200–201). Steuernagel leaves open the question of whether the identification of the same author (D^2) means that Joshua is part of a larger narrative that includes Deuteronomy, since the evidence is insufficient (1900: xv). The divine address to Joshua in Josh 1:3–9, with its many inner-biblical quotations from Deuteronomy, is the work of the later Deuteronomistic (= Dtr; Josh 1:5–6, 9) and post-Priestly (= Rd; Josh 1:3–4, 7–8) editors.

The literary arguments for the multiple authorship of Josh 1 fade in subsequent research, in part because of the effect of Noth's Deuteronomistic History hypothesis, which came to dominate research by the mid-twentieth century. The second edition of Noth's commentary on Joshua from 1952 illustrates the near complete abandonment of research on the history of the composition of Josh 1. Noth references Steuernagel only once in his interpretation of Josh 1 to affirm the Deuteronomistic character of the entire chapter and virtually ignores the details of Steuernagel's reading. He writes, "That this piece [Josh 1:1–18] is Deuteronomistic in its complete form, seems to me to be a secure conclusion (see the detailed arguments by Steuernagel)" (1971b: 27). It is not long, however, before the literary tensions in Josh 1 so central to Steuernagel's research resurface even in the research of interpreters working under the influence of Noth's Deuteronomistic History hypothesis.

R. Smend returned to the problem of the unconditional versus the conditional promise of success in the divine speech of Josh 1:3–9 (1971). He noted that the divine commission in vv. 6–9 repeats the motif that Joshua "be courageous and strong" three times in vv. 6, 7, and 9. Smend questioned the coherence of the section, noting that the motif is intensified from v. 6 to v. 7 with the phrase "only [*raq*] be courageous and very [*mĕʾōd*] strong" (1971: 494–96). He concluded that the new syntax is meant to trigger a reinterpretation of the promise of land from unconditional in v. 6, based on the oath to the ancestors, to a conditional promise in vv. 7–9, based on the obedience to the

law identified as the "book of the Torah" (1971: 495). As a result, Smend recognized two authors in the composition of Josh 1. He identified the original author with Noth's sixth-century BCE Deuteronomist, now described as the Deuteronomistic Historian (DtrH), and the second author as the nomistic Deuteronomistic redactor (DtrN), writing in the postexilic period. The DtrH version of the divine commission, according to Smend, contains an unconditional promise of success in the conquest based on the past divine promise to the ancestors (1:1–6). The DtrN qualifies the theme of the unconditional promise of land by reinterpreting Joshua's success as conditional upon obedience to the law (1:7–9). Success, moreover, is not focused narrowly on victory in war, but on the qualities of wisdom and insight. M. Fishbane sharpens the insight of Smend, describing the motif of prudence in vv. 7–9 as an instance of aggadic exegesis, which "transforms the exhortation to physical prowess and courage (in v. 6) into spiritual fortitude" through the study of Torah (1985: 384). Smend's interpretation is reminiscent of Steuernagel, who also separated vv. 7–8 from the preceding divine promise in vv. 5–6, even though the terminology for identifying authors changes to accommodate the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis.

Many of the insights of Smend are carried over into the interpretation of J. Nentel (2000: 262–303). He agreed with Smend that the observance of law as a condition for success in vv. 7–9 is a later addition to the text, although he allows for the possibility of two stages of composition (2000: 24–27). Nentel also refined the redaction-critical study of Smend further by replacing the nomistic Deuteronomistic redactor (DtrN) with the designation of a Deuteronomistic supplement (DtrS) in order to identify broader interests than law in the postexilic redaction of the DtrH. He further identified Josh 1:3–4 as a composition of the DtrS, thus mirroring the earlier research of Steuernagel. He, too, notes the changing pronominal suffixes as evidence. In v. 2, the divine commission is directed to Joshua alone; there is a shift from Joshua to the people in vv. 3–4, signaled with second-person plural pronouns, before the divine speech returns to Joshua in v. 5, when second-person singular pronouns reappear (2000: 22–23). Noth argued that the change from the singular in v. 2 to the plural in vv. 3–4 was triggered by the phrase "you and all this people" and thus did not indicate a history of composition (1971: 27). In this way he was able to maintain the unity of the Deuteronomistic composition. But Nentel is certainly correct in following Steuernagel. The divine address to the people in vv. 3–4 within the commission of Joshua in vv. 1–2, 5–6 is too disruptive to be simply a literary technique, especially when we note that the divine reference to the Israelites returns to the third person in v. 6, when Yahweh states that Joshua would lead "this people" (*hā'ām hazzeh*). Thus, Nentel identifies vv. 1–2, 5–6 as the Deuteronomistic Historian's version of the divine address to Joshua and vv. 3–4 as a later addition by the DtrS author. The composition of the two authors extends throughout the chapter with the DtrH composition in Josh 1:1–2, 5–6, 10–11, 16–18 and the DtrS revision in Josh 1:3–4, 7–9, 12–15 (2000: 21–48).

Other departures from Noth's unified reading of Josh 1 include V. Fritz, who argued that an original form of the divine speech to Moses in Josh 1:1–6 underwent subsequent postexilic redactions, one in Josh 1:7–9, which he identified as RedD, and further additions in Josh 1:10–11 and 12–18 (1994: 27–30). Still others debate whether the speeches of Joshua in Josh 1:10–18 are unified or contain a history of composition. Nentel (2000: 27) judges the imbalance between the two speeches of Joshua (vv. 10–11

and 12–15) and the one response of the people (vv. 16–18) to be a significant literary problem that also suggests a history of composition. Bieberstein notes the use of the infinitive absolute "remember," *zākôr,* in v. 13 as compared with the imperatives in vv. 1–11 to argue that vv. 12–15 are a later addition (1995: 98). He identifies three stages of Deuteronomistic composition, including an original version in Josh 1:1–2, 5b–6, 9b–11, 16–17 (18a1–a2)?, and 18ef (DtrA); an initial redaction in Josh 1:12–15 (DtrR); and a nomistic redaction in Josh 1:(3–5a), 7–9c (DtrN), along with a possible quotation in Josh 1:18a1–a2 (1995: 99).

The review of research illustrates the prominent role of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis in recent scholarship and the problems that it poses in the interpretation of the literary unity, date, authorship, and narrative context of Josh 1. Although the emergence of the hypothesis originally strengthened the long tradition of reading Josh 1 as a unified text, subsequent interpretations show a series of literary problems indicating a composite text of multiple authors. Also, what Noth identified as a sixth-century BCE date for the composition of Josh 1 is increasingly located farther into the postexilic period with the identification of multiple authors. The multiple authors and the later dating of Josh 1 raise still further questions about the literary context of Josh 1, especially its relationship to the book of Deuteronomy and to the Pentateuch, accentuating Wellhausen's question of whether Josh 1 and the entire book of Joshua might be a late supplement to the Pentateuch.

COMPOSITION OF JOSH 1

The review of interpretation highlights a series of literary tensions that indicate a history of composition in Josh 1. I build on this research by identifying two stages of composition: an original introduction to the book of Joshua in Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, 10–18, which is supplemented by Josh 1:1a, 3–4, 7–9. I depart from recent research, however, by arguing that the original introduction is a postpentateuchal composition and that it is written as the prologue to an independent book of Joshua. In the original version the theme of the unconditional promise of land to the ancestors in Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6 culminates in the total conquest of the land, whose completion is described in Josh 11:23 and 21:43–45, when the land achieves rest from war. This theme conflicts with the legally oriented book of Deuteronomy, which precedes Joshua, and with the partial view of the conquest in Judges, which follows it. The demand for obedience to law in Josh 1:3–4, 7–9, coupled with the partial conquest that is described in Josh 13:2–6 and 23:1–16, does conform to Deuteronomy and to Judges, thus allowing the once independent book to function in its present literary context. I begin the interpretation of the changing content and literary context of Joshua with the original form of the prologue in Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, 10–18 and then proceed to the addition of Josh 1:1a, 3–4, 7–9.

The prologue to the independent version of the book of Joshua includes Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, 10–18. This version of the prologue has the following motifs: (1) the crossing of the Jordan River (v. 2a), (2) the gift of the land to Israel (v. 2b), (3) the unconditional promise of success and divine presence (v. 5), (4) the call to be courageous coupled with the unconditional promise of land to the ancestors (v. 6), and (5) Joshua's instruction to the scribal leaders (vv. 10–11) and the address to the eastern tribes (vv. 12–18). Central to the address in Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6 is the unconditional divine promise of success in

conquest (v. 5) and the promise of land to the ancestors (v. 6). Obedience on the part of Joshua as a condition for success plays no role. In view of this, the call for courage in v. 6 cannot be interpreted as a condition for success as though it introduces the possibility of failure. Rather, courage is Joshua's recognition of the unconditional nature of the divine promise of success (v. 5), coupled with the broader unconditional promise to the ancestors (v. 6). This is also the most likely meaning of the call to courage in v. 18. When read together, these themes provide an introduction to the story of the total conquest of the land west of the Jordan summarized by the narrator in Josh 21:43–45: "Yahweh had given them [Joshua and Israel] rest on every side just as he had sworn to their ancestors," because "Yahweh had given all their enemies into their hands."

Many recent interpreters have identified the influence of Deuteronomy in each of the motifs in Josh 1:1–2, 5–6, 10–18 to support the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis. Interpreters who follow this hypothesis have identified a direct literary relationship between Josh 1 and Deuteronomy in such themes as Joshua's succession to the Mosaic office (Deut 1:38; 3:21–28; 31:7–8, 14, 23; 34:9), the land as divine gift (e.g., Deut 1: 20, 25; 3:20; 4:1; 5:31; 9:23; 28:8), the divine promise of land by oath to the ancestors (e.g., Deut 1:35; 6:18, 23; 7:8; 10:11; 11:19; 19:18; 31:20), and the address of Moses to the eastern tribes (e.g., Deut 3:18–20). The themes certainly indicate the influence of Deuteronomy in the composition of Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, 10–18, but the same themes are also present in the non-Priestly and Priestly literature of the Tetrateuch and thus need not be confined to the book of Deuteronomy, or, for that matter, to the Deuteronomistic History, especially if the composition of the book of Joshua is late.

The range of pentateuchal literature that may influence the composition of Josh 1: 1–2, 5–6, 10–18 can be summarized in the following manner. The succession of Joshua is not limited to Deuteronomy but also appears in the Priestly account of Num 27:12–23, while the special role of Joshua is distributed even more widely in the non-P literature of the Tetrateuch (Exod 17:8–16; 24:12–14; 32:17; 33:7–11; Num 11). The promise of land in Josh 1:2 is distributed broadly throughout the Pentateuch in non-Priestly (e.g., Gen 12:7; 15:7, 18; 24:7) and Priestly (e.g., Lev 25:2, 38; Num 32:7) literature and in legislation, where the syntax closely parallels Josh 1:2 (e.g., Exod 12:25; Lev 23:10; 25:2; Num 20:12, 24; 27:12), as well as in the book of Deuteronomy (e.g., 1:25; 2:29; 5:31; 9:23; 28:52). The divine oath of land to the ancestors in Josh 1:6, "the land, which I swore to their fathers," is prominent in Deuteronomy (e.g., 1:35; 8:1; 10:11; 31:7, 20), but it, too, appears in the non-Priestly literature of the Tetrateuch (e.g., Exod 13:5, 11; Num 11:12; 14:23). The scribal leaders in Josh 1:10–11 appear in Deuteronomy (e.g., 1:15) but are more securely established in Exodus (e.g., 5:6–21; 18:24–25) and in Numbers (e.g., 11:16), prompting some interpreters to isolate these verses as an independent unit (Butler, 1983: 15–16), while the address to the eastern tribes in vv. 12–18 repeats themes from both Num 32 and Deut 3:18–20. The broad distribution of the themes cautions against too quick an identification with Deuteronomistic authorship based solely on literary comparisons to the book of Deuteronomy, since the themes can just as well indicate the author's dependence on the entire Pentateuch, rather than simply on the book of Deuteronomy.

The same mixing of non-Priestly and Priestly literature from the Tetrateuch and the book of Deuteronomy is also evident from a survey of more precise motifs in Josh 1:1–2, 5–6, 9–18. The command for Joshua to "arise and cross the Jordan" in

Josh 1:2 repeats language from Deuteronomy (2:13, 24), as does the promise of success in Josh 1:5 and the motif of courage and strength in Josh 1:6 (Deut 31:6, 7, 23). Römer has shown that the latter motif establishes a close literary tie between Deut 31:6–7 and Josh 1:5–6 (1990: 553–55). Yet, as J. H. Tigay notes, the two texts also contrast in theme (1996: 289–98, 502–3). Joshua 1:5–6 underscores the unconditional divine guarantee of success in conquest, while Deut 31 paints a darker portrait of the conditional nature of success and even the inevitability of failure (vv. 16–22). The conditional nature of success based on law in Deut 31 corresponds more closely to the addition in Josh 1:1a, 3–4, 7–9 than to the original form of the divine speech in Josh 1:1–2, 5–6, 10–18.

The description of Joshua as an "assistant" (*měšārēt*) in v. 1b suggests a different literary relationship to the Pentateuch. The term "assistant" occurs in Deuteronomy to describe the cultic work of Levitical priests (e.g., 10:8; 17:12; 18:5, 7), but it is never applied to Joshua. Joshua's relationship to Moses in Deuteronomy is described in Deut 1:38 as "one who stands before you" (*hā'ōmēd lĕpānêkā*), which, as noted by C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, is also the phrase used to characterize the relationship of the Levitical priests to Yahweh in Deut 10:8; 17:12; and 18:5 (1995: 169). The word *měšārēt* describes Joshua's relationship to Moses in the non-P pentateuchal literature (Exod 24: 13; Num 11:28), while the term is most often used in Priestly literature to describe the role of the Levites as assistants to the Aaronide priests (e.g., Exod 28:14; 28:35, 43; 30:20; 39:41). It is difficult either to remove this motif from Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, 10–18 as a remnant of early tradition, as O. Eissfeldt has argued (1922: 202), or to identify it as Deuteronomistic, as in the research of Bieberstein (1995: 81–83). Instead, the term is organic to the chapter and supports the conclusion that the author is influenced by literature from the entire Pentateuch, including Deuteronomy and the non-Priestly and Priestly literature from the Tetrateuch.

The variety of the themes and motifs, as well as their distribution throughout the Pentateuch, does not secure the conclusion that Josh 1:1–2, 5–6, 10–18 is a Deuteronomistic composition, that the author is limited to Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History as sources, or that the literary function of the text is to provide a bridge between Deuteronomy and Joshua. Rather, the distribution suggests that the Pentateuch is functioning as the source for the author and that the composition is postpentateuchal. The literary context is not resolved conclusively. Joshua 1:1–2, 5–6, 10–18 may be functioning as a narrative bridge to the Pentateuch, or it could be an introduction to an independent form of the book of Joshua. The conflict in theme, however, between the unconditional divine promise of success in conquest and the more conditional view in Deuteronomy and Judges favors an interpretation of Joshua as an independent book. The following section further explores this interpretation by suggesting that the theme of obedience to the law as a condition for success in Josh 1:1a, 3–4, 7–9 is intended to secure the book of Joshua in its literary context between Deuteronomy and Judges.

The original introduction of Josh 1 acquires three additions when the book of Joshua is placed in its present narrative context: (1) a new introduction in v. 1a, (2) a conditional promise of land to the people in vv. 3–4, and (3) a conditional promise of land to Joshua in vv. 7–9. The additions create inner-biblical quotations of specific texts in Deuteronomy or Judges that anchor the book of Joshua in its present literary context, while also reinterpreting the unconditional divine promise of land as a conditional promise based on the obedience to the Torah.

Josh 1:1a: The New Introduction

The present form of the book of Joshua begins with a temporal clause in v. 1a, "After the death of Moses, the servant of Yahweh" (*wayhî ʾaḥărê mēt mōšeh ʿebed yhwh*), followed by the introduction of the divine speech in v. 1b, "Yahweh said to Joshua son of Nun, the assistant of Moses, stating" (*wayyōʾmer yhwh ʾel-yĕhošūaʿ bin-nûn mĕšārēt mōšeh lēʾmōr*).

W. Schneider notes that the opening temporal clause in v. 1a is a common way of beginning a Hebrew narrative, including a metanarrative such as Joshua. This suggests that the clause could signal the original beginning of the book (1993: 62–85). But G. F. Moore doubts whether the death-notice of Moses in v. 1a and the divine commission in vv. 1b–9 were an originally unified composition (1958: 10). He draws attention to the close literary relationship between the death-notices of Moses in Josh 1:1a and of Joshua in Judg 1:1a, which points to the same author and thus the need to interpret both texts together. He notes further that the death-notice of Joshua at the outset of the book of Judges is so unintegrated into its narrative context that it contradicts a later account of Joshua's death and burial in Judg 2:6–9, suggesting the late addition of Judg 1:1a and thus also of Josh 1:1a. If the two death-notices were read separately, one might agree with Smend that the death-notice of Moses in Josh 1:1a is part of the original divine commission to Joshua (1971: 498). When the death-notices of Moses and Joshua are read together, as the author surely intended, Moore's conclusion that both texts are better interpreted as late editorial additions is the more convincing reading. He goes so far as to suggest that the death-notices were inserted during the canonical stage of composition to separate the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges. More recent interpreters who follow Moore include R. G. Kratz (2000: 192) and M. Rake (2006: 131).

Moore is certainly correct in identifying the editorial nature of the death-notices of Moses in Josh 1:1a and of Joshua in Judg 1:1a. Yet Spinoza long ago provided the stronger interpretation of their literary function, which is to connect the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, rather than to separate them (1951: 7). Recent interpreters who also understand the death-notices as linking these books include M. Brettler (1989: 434–35) and H. N. Rösel (1999a: 57). The purpose of linking the books, according to Spinoza, is to form a single narrative of distinct episodes, which now continues into Samuel and Kings (1951: 8). The result is an extended story in which epochs are marked by the death of a hero: Moses (Josh 1:1a), Joshua (Judg 1:1a), Saul (2 Sam 1:1a), and Ahab (2 Kgs 1:1a). K. Schmid provides a more recent investigation of how the linking of the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings forms the large literary category of the Enneateuch, which extends from Genesis through Kings (2008).

The editorial nature of Josh 1:1a raises again the question of what might have been the beginning of an independent version of the book of Joshua. Whether the insertion of the death-notice of Moses in v. 1a displaced additional introductory material is impossible to determine, and in view of this, J. Briend provides the best possible solution by seeing the original beginning of Joshua as some form of the divine address in v. 1b: "Yahweh said to Joshua, son of Nun, the assistant of Moses, stating" (1996: 373). The introduction of a new central character through a divine speech can signify the beginning of a narrative, as is common throughout the Prophetic corpus (Schneider, 1993: 66). It is also noteworthy that without the death-notice of Moses the divine address to

Joshua lacks the more formal and structural tie to the book of Deuteronomy. Briend argues that the function of the divine address in v. 1b is not to reach backward to Deuteronomy, but forward to introduce the following events in Joshua as ordained by God (1996: 373). This interpretation fits the unconditional divine promise of success to Joshua in Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6 that culminates in the total conquest of the land in Josh 21:43–45. It also reinforces the conclusion that the theme of the unconditional divine promise of conquest in Joshua was originally composed independently from the conditional promise in Deuteronomy and the theme of the partial conquest of the land in Judges.

The study of Josh 1:1a shows that the original introduction to Joshua began with a divine speech in v. 1b, which is now expanded to include the death-notice of Moses in v. 1a. A similar editorial addition also occurred in Judg 1:1a, where the death-notice of Joshua is recorded. When the death-notices of Moses and Joshua are read together, it becomes clear that one purpose for the additions is to situate the book of Joshua in its present narrative context between Deuteronomy and Judges, as an episode in a larger narrative sequence. This editorial process need not be at the canonical stage of formation, as suggested by Moore, but it does reinforce the conclusion that Joshua was composed as an independent book, which acquired its present literary context only at a late stage in its literary development.

Josh 1:3–4: The Conditional Promise of Land to the People

The research on composition has clarified that the divine speech in Josh 1:1–6 shifts from Joshua in v. 2 to the people in vv. 3–4, when the Deity states, "Every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread, I will give it to you." This imagery is rare in the Hebrew Bible, appearing in only one other text, as a speech of Moses to the Israelites in Deut 11:24. Deuteronomy 11:24 occurs within a larger address of Moses in Deut 10:12–11:32, in which Moses encourages the Israelites to obey the law as a condition for prosperity in the land. A. D. H. Mayes separates the section into five parts (1979: 207–8): (1) a reference to the law and the need for the exclusive worship of Yahweh (Deut 10:12–22), (2) a summary of the story of salvation (11:1–7), (3) a warning against disobedience to the law (11:8–17), (4) the consequences of obedience and disobedience for Israel's future life in the land (11:18–25), and (5) a concluding exhortation to keep the law (11:26–32).

The outline of Deut 10:12–11:32 shows that obedience to the law is the condition for the promise of land in Deut 11:24. Thus, when Moses says that "every place upon which the sole of your foot will tread, will be yours," the promise of success presupposes obedience to the law. A closer examination also indicates that the verse relates obedience to the law with the unusually large geographical description of the promised land, "from the wilderness and Lebanon; from the river, the River Euphrates, to the Sea at the End," to indicate the scope of the law's authority over Diaspora Jews from Egypt to Babylon. Joshua 1:3–4 also combines the demand to observe law with the same large boundaries of the promised land, underscoring further the literary relationship between these texts.

Joshua 1:3–4 is an inner-biblical quotation of Deut 11:24. Noth interprets the repetition as evidence of the same author (1971b: 27), but Nentel argues instead that Josh 1:3–4 is a late quotation of Deut 11:24 by a distinct author (2000: 22–23). The

author quotes verbatim the initial phrase of Deut 11:24 at the outset of Josh 1:3: "Every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread." A comparison of the two texts favors the reading of Nentel, since once the literary relationship between the texts is forged, the author of Josh 1:3–4 departs from Deut 11:24 with the words, "I will give it to you, as I spoke to Moses." R. S. Hess is correct in noting that the promise of land to Moses is unexpected and even surprising, since this theme is associated with the ancestors in the Pentateuch, not Moses (1996a: 69). The reason for the reference, however, is not to reinterpret the promise of land from the ancestors to Moses, but to make the inner-biblical relationship between Josh 1:3–4 and Deut 11:24 overt, since the reference to Moses points the reader back explicitly to its parent text. The inner-biblical quotation is then reinforced further by the repetition of the large geographical boundaries of the promised land to indicate the territory in which the law is authoritative for Diaspora Jews.

The quotation of Deut 11:24 provides the background for interpreting both the meaning and the literary function of Josh 1:3–4. The emphasis on law as a condition for success in the land in Deut 10:12–11:32 suggests that the editor of Josh 1:3–4 is introducing the same theme into the book of Joshua. As a result, the unconditional promise of land in Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, based on the divine oath to the ancestors, is reinterpreted in vv. 3–4 as a conditional promise based on obedience to the law, which is now directed to the Israelite people rather than to the ancestors. The inner-biblical quotation also secures the literary context of the book of Joshua with Deuteronomy in much the same way as the introductory formulas in Josh 1:1a and Judg 1:1a joined these books. The new emphasis on law as the condition for Israel's success in the conquest of the land continues with the further addition of Josh 1:7–9.

Josh 1:7–9: The Conditional Promise of Land to Joshua

Smend has demonstrated that the aim of the author of Josh 1:7–9 is to reinterpret the unconditional promise of land to the ancestors as conditional upon obedience to the law (1971: 495). The insertion of Josh 1:7–9 is also aimed at establishing the new literary context of Joshua with the book of Deuteronomy, since the theme of the obedience to the law serves to harmonize the central themes of the two books. The literary relationship of the motifs in Josh 1:7–9 to Deuteronomy, rather than to the Pentateuch in general, illustrates how the addition aids in anchoring the book of Joshua in its new literary context. Joshua 1:7–9 includes a series of motifs that tie the book specifically to Deuteronomy. Weinfeld (1972: 5, 332–41) identifies "observing and doing all the Torah" in v. 7 as distinctive Deuteronomic phraseology (Deut 17:19; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12; 32:46). The emphases on obeying the Torah in Josh 1:7 (e.g., Deut 28:58, 61; 30:10; 31:24, 26), on its written character in Josh 1:8 (e.g., Deut 24:1, 3; 27:3, 8; 28:61; 29:19–26; 31:9), on its designation as "this book of the Torah" in Josh 1:8 (Deut 28:58, 61; 30:10; 31:24, 26), and on the need for Joshua not to stray from the law in Josh 1:7 (e.g., Deut 2:27; 5:23; 17:11; 28:14) further reinforce the close literary relationship between Josh 1:7–9 and the book of Deuteronomy, not the Pentateuch (Weinfeld, 1972: 304, 336, 339).

Joshua 1:7–9 also repeats the motif of courage from Deut 31 in conjunction with the need for Joshua to obey the law as a condition for success in the conquest of the land. The addition of Josh 1:7–9 brings the opening divine speech into conformity with Deut 31, where the themes of courage and obedience to law are also dominant. Smend (1971) demonstrated that the reinterpretation of the motif of courage as obedience to

the law in vv. 7–9 is not an isolated addition but is also tied to the theme of the partial conquest of the land (13:1b–6 and 23:1–16). This insight aids in interpreting the changing literary context of Joshua. The linking of courage with obedience to the law in Josh 1:7–9 qualifies the theme of total conquest, thus allowing Joshua to share the same literary context with Deuteronomy and Judges, as a larger story of the revelation of the law to Moses and the partial conquest of the land under the leadership of Joshua.

The multiple inner-biblical ties between Josh 1:7–9 and Deuteronomy reinforce the previous conclusion about Josh 1:3–4. The aim of the author of Josh 1:7–9 is not simply to reinterpret the promise of land as conditional upon obedience to the Torah; it is also intended to embed the once independent book of Joshua in its present literary context, as the episode following the promulgation of the law by Moses in Deuteronomy. The result is the lingering tension in the theme of the conquest within the present form of the book, in which the unconditional promise to the ancestors (1:5–6) resulting in the total conquest of the land (21:43–45) in the original version is subordinated to the partial view of the conquest (23:1–16), whose successful completion is conditional on the obedience to the law (1:7–9).

IDEALIZATION OF JOSHUA

Van Seters is certainly correct when he concludes that Josh 1 is not simply an editorial prologue that is attached to an otherwise independent series of stories (1983: 324). Rather, it is an integral beginning to the entire book. Given this importance, it is not surprising that interpreters have undertaken extensive research on the genre of Josh 1 to interpret the characterization of Joshua.

Noth provides a starting point for the interpretation of Joshua, exploring the role of Joshua in the Pentateuch as the successor of Moses. He concluded that Joshua is idealized primarily as an Ephraimite military leader of the occupation of the land west of the Jordan River and that his inclusion in the Pentateuch as the successor of Moses is likely late and confined to the function of a military leader. The reason for the inclusion of Joshua, according to Noth, is because "the tradition did not regard Moses as a military commander in time of war" (1981a: 177). Noth does not explore the implications of his research on Joshua beyond the Pentateuch into the book of Joshua, nor does he investigate how the idealization of Joshua may have influenced the presentation of other characters in the Deuteronomistic History.

N. Lohfink (1962: 37–44) and J. R. Porter (1983: 102–17) change the focus from the role of Joshua in the Pentateuch to his function within the Deuteronomistic History through a study of the genre of Josh 1. Lohfink interprets the divine encouragement in v. 6a that Joshua "be courageous and strong" to reflect the technical language of the installation to an office, which is coupled with the clarification of the task in v. 6b, "for you will cause this people to possess the land," and a promise of divine presence in v. 9, "do not be terrified or dismayed for Yahweh your God is with you wherever you go." The genre indicates the close relationship between Josh 1:1–9 and the book of Deuteronomy, according to Lohfink, since the installation of Joshua appears to provide the conclusion to a sequence of related texts in Deut 1:37–38; 3:18–28; 31:2–8, 14–15, 23. Porter builds on the work of Lohfink by adding a more focused interpretation of the idealization of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History. He argues that the genre

of installation in Josh 1:1–9 is tied to the royal office. He notes a literary connection between Josh 1:7–8 and the succession of the king in 1 Kgs 2:1–4, especially with regard to the demand for courage and the role of law in successful leadership. Porter concludes further that the installation of Joshua in Josh 1:1–9 is based on the law of the king in Deut 17:18–20.

Weinfeld rejects the form-critical conclusion of Lohfink and Porter that Josh 1:1–9 represents a genre of installation (1972: 45–51). He argues instead that the chapter is a literary creation within Deuteronomic tradition whose central motifs develop the speech of military oration, which is aimed at conquest. These orations are meant to idealize the characters who speak them. The function of the speeches, moreover, is similar to that of the orations in Greek historical writing (1972: 52). Weinfeld concludes that Joshua is idealized as a "national-military leader" (1972: 50), in agreement with the earlier conclusion of Noth. Weinfeld concludes further that the intense imagery of war, combined with a sense of national identity, likely derives from the Neo-Assyrian war descriptions. This supports his conclusion that the literature was composed during the Josianic period (1972: 45).

R. D. Nelson agrees with Weinfeld's dating of Josh 1 to the Josianic period, but he returns to the royal imagery in the idealization of Joshua advanced by Lohfink and Porter (1981b: 531–40). He notes the important background of the law (Deut 17:18–19) as a source of wisdom (1 Kgs 2:2–4) in royal installations. The appearance of these motifs in Josh 1:1–9 leads to his conclusion that Joshua is fashioned into a "proto-king" who conforms to the ideal Deuteronomic monarch. The themes of obedience to the law in Josh 1:7, as well as Joshua's role as the covenant mediator in Josh 8:30–35 and the chief actor in the Passover in Josh 5:2–9, lead Nelson to the additional conclusion that Joshua is fashioned on the role of King Josiah in 2 Kgs 22–23. R. B. Coote follows Nelson, describing Josh 1 as the introduction to the "Josianic book of Joshua," in which the central character is cast into the role of a monarch who leads the people, studies Torah, and receives oracles (1998: 584–85). Finkelstein and Silberman agree, writing that "Joshua is used to evoke a metaphorical portrait of Josiah, the would-be savior of all the people of Israel" (2001: 95).

The review of interpretation indicates a continuing debate between military and royal imagery in the interpretation of Joshua. The history of composition suggests that both idealizations of Joshua play a role in the formation of the book of Joshua. I argue that Joshua is a military leader in the original introduction to the book; while the revision of Josh 1 incorporates a qualified form of royal imagery with the introduction of the theme of the Torah, which serves to relate the book of Joshua backward to Deuteronomy and forward to the book of Kings.

The imagery of Josh 1:1b–2, 5–6, 10–18 lacks the specific literary connection to the law of the king in Deut 17:18–20 or to the succession of the king in 1 Kgs 2:1–4 that Porter and Nelson emphasized. Instead, the imagery is limited to that of a military leader, as Weinfeld noted. Schäfer-Lichtenberger reinforces the rejection of royal imagery, observing that there is no office associated with Joshua, nor any successor to his role in the story (1995: 219–22). When Joshua is read as an independent book, the royal interpretation of the character of Joshua becomes even weaker. The "Introduction" emphasized the rural focus of the book of Joshua and its polemical stance against city-states and the monarchs who rule them. Within this anti-city and antimonarchic

book, the character of Joshua emerges as a "territorial hero" (D. Mendels, 1992: 99) who clears the land of cities and kings through a nationalistic conquest that establishes territorial borders. At no time in the book is Joshua idealized as a king or even a proto-king. In fact, he represents a virulent form of anti-urban and antimonarchic life in the promised land. Joshua kills kings; he does not model them. He slaughters the kings of Jericho and Ai, as well as the kings from the northern and the southern regions of the promised land, while living in a camp at Gilgal. Joshua 10:22–27 provides the strongest portrait of Joshua in the book, when he takes the five kings out of the cave at Makkedah, places the feet of his warriors on their necks, and then kills all of them and hangs their corpses on trees before continuing his massacre of kings from Makkedah in the north to the Negeb in the south (10:28–11:23). This crusade culminates in the list of slaughtered monarchs in Josh 12, including the king of Jerusalem (12:10).

The addition of Josh 1:1b, 3–4, 7–9 creates the links to the themes of obedience to the law as a condition for acquiring the land in Deut 11:24; the law of the king in Deut 17:18–20; the obedience to the law and the succession of the king in 1 Kgs 2:1–4; and the central role of the law in the story of Josiah (e.g., 2 Kgs 22:8, 11; 23:34). The common theme throughout these texts is that obedience to the Torah is required of the king (Deut 17:18–20). This law is modeled in the commission of Joshua (Josh 1:7–9), reinforced in the succession of Solomon (1 Kgs 2:1–4), and carried through to the reformation of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:8, 11). The relationship of these texts underscores that the aim of the redactor of Joshua is to locate the once independent book into its present narrative context by means of the theme of the observance of the law as a condition for success. The new theme, however, also qualifies the intense antimonarchic portrait of Joshua that dominates in the independent book, because Joshua's commission to undertake conquest becomes restrained by Torah, which in the larger literary context of Deuteronomy and Kings allows for a qualified form of monarchy. The editorial additions to Josh 1 therefore could be interpreted as the introduction of a modified royal theme in the commission of Joshua. The additions allow the once anti-urban and antimonarchic book of Joshua to function as an episode in the larger story that extends from Deuteronomy through Kings and culminates with the idealization of Josiah.

The interpretation of Joshua through the Second Temple period continues to explore the tension between the military and monarchic idealization of Joshua (see the "Introduction"). Joshua succeeds Moses in the "prophetic office" according to Sirach (46:1). This office is expanded in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which Joshua predicts the rise of the Davidic monarchy and the building of the temple in Jerusalem (4Q422). The linking of Joshua with David may even fuel a messianic interpretation of Joshua in 4QTest (Mitchell, 2005). Origen makes the messianic identification complete by reading the story of Joshua as a typology of Jesus in the *Homilies on Joshua* (1.1; 9.10; 15.1). Josephus, however, underscores Joshua's ability as a military commander in the *Jewish Antiquities* (5.18–31).

Comments

1:1–9. DIVINE COMMISSION

Joshua 1:1–9 is a divine speech, in which the commission of Joshua is accompanied by the promise of land and divine presence. It is the most extended of the eleven divine

speeches to Joshua throughout the book. The eleven speeches are distributed unevenly, with nine occurring in Josh 1–12 and only two in Josh 13–24. The divine instruction in Josh 1–12 focuses on holy war (8:1, 8; 10:8; 11:6), as well as on a series of cultic themes, including the ark (3:7; 4:15), the memorial stones (4:1), circumcision (5:2, 9), trumpets (6:2–5), and sacrilege (7:10–13). Only two topics require direct divine instruction in Josh 13–24: the allotment of the land (13:1–7) and the cities of refuge (20:1–6). The uneven distribution suggests a literary strategy in which direct divine speech to Joshua fades as the book progresses. Y. Levin detects this pattern already in the literary structure of Josh 1—11, where divine involvement diminishes from the early to the late stories of conquest in the execution of the wars of Joshua (2011). The literary design is certainly clear in the larger design of the book, when Joshua becomes the main speaker for God in the closing chapters, as he assembles the tribes (Josh 22), encourages the people to observe the law of Moses (Josh 23), and leads the nation in a covenant ceremony (Josh 24), all of which is very similar to the role of Moses in the book of Deuteronomy.

Introduction of Characters

Joshua 1:1 opens the book with the identification of Moses as "the servant of Yahweh." Moses only rarely acquires this title in late texts within the Pentateuch, including Num 11–12 and Deut 34. The title is prominent in the postexilic period, as noted by H. Simian-Yofre (1999) in his study of the motif in Second Isaiah (e.g., Isa 42:1; 44:26; 52:13). Moses describes himself as the servant of Yahweh in a complaint against the Deity in Num 11:11: "Why have you treated your servant so badly?" The title reappears in the divine speech in Num 12:7–8, when Yahweh clarifies the special status of Moses over against prophets in general by describing him twice as "my servant, Moses." The motif returns one other time at the close of the Pentateuch in the death-notice of "Moses, the servant of Yahweh" (Deut 34:5). In contrast to the Pentateuch, the title is common in the book of Joshua, where it occurs fourteen times as a description of Moses, most frequently with the theme of the gift of the land to the tribes east of the Jordan River (1:13, 15; 13:8; 18:7; 22:4), but also with the gift of Hebron to Caleb (14:7). The description of Moses as the servant of Yahweh is also associated with the themes of the law (1:7; 22:5), the altar of uncut stones (8:31, 33), and the ban (11:12, 15). The idealization of Moses in the book of Joshua contrasts to the monarchic imagery, which identifies David as the servant of Yahweh (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:17, 32, 36, 38; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34; see also Jer 33:21–26; Isa 37:35; 2 Chr 6:19–23), although the obedience of the king to the law may be a shared theme in later literature (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32, 52, 66). The transfer of the title "servant of Yahweh" in the death-notice of Joshua in the MT of Josh 24:29 reinforces the literary strategy of the book of Joshua to demonstrate that Joshua assumes the role of Moses with lesser status, when he encourages the people to observe the law of Moses (Josh 23) and mediates the covenant with Yahweh (Josh 24). In fulfilling these roles he is memorialized as the "servant of Yahweh" upon his death.

Joshua is also identified in v. 1 as the "son of Nun" and as the "assistant of Moses." Both descriptions tie the protagonist of the book of Joshua to the character of Joshua in the Pentateuch, who is portrayed differently in the non-Priestly and Priestly literature. The non-Priestly literature of the Pentateuch accentuates Joshua's role as a warrior and a charismatic leader who has a special relationship with Moses within the setting of the Tent of Meeting. Joshua appears suddenly in the war against the Amalekites

(Exod 17:8–16), where he is identified simply as "Joshua" and idealized as a warrior or general. He next appears just as abruptly in Exod 24:13 and 32:17, where he continues to be named "Joshua" but is now identified as the "assistant" of Moses (Exod 24:13). Joshua's speech to Moses in Exod 32:17, "there is a noise of war in the camp," reinforces his role as a warrior from Exod 17:8–16. Exodus 33:11 expands the name of Joshua to include "son of Nun," while also placing him in the Tent of Meeting, where he is again described as the "assistant" of Moses. Numbers 11:28 identifies Joshua as both the "son of Nun" and the "assistant of Moses" when he opposes the prophesying of Eldad and Medad with the words "My lord Moses, stop them!" The speech suggests that Joshua's leadership is a mixture of prophetic and postprophetic forms of charisma. He is infused with the charismatic spirit of Moses, yet he also opposes an unrestricted form of prophecy in condemning the unexpected clairvoyance of Eldad and Medad.

The Priestly literature of the Pentateuch explores the role of Joshua within the theme of the promised land. Joshua is introduced in the list of spies in Num 13:6–16 as Hoshea son of Nun from the tribe of Ephraim (Num 13:8), who undergoes a name change in Num 13:16: "And Moses changed the name of Hoshea son of Nun to Joshua." Joshua son of Nun appears alongside the character of Caleb as a faithful spy, who did not doubt Yahweh's ability to give Israel the promised land (Num 14:6, 30, 38). As a result, Joshua is granted entry into the promised land (Num 26:65), designated to be the successor of Moses (Num 27:18, 22), and assigned the responsibility of dividing the promised land along with Eleazar the priest (Num 34:17). The identification of Joshua with Caleb in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch continues into the book of Joshua in the speech of Caleb (Josh 15).

The book of Deuteronomy is similar to the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch in exploring the role of Joshua within the theme of the promised land. Deuteronomy 1:38 identifies Joshua as the "son of Nun" and the "assistant of Moses" (with different language from that of the non-P texts in the Pentateuch). Deuteronomy 3:21–28, 31:1–29, and 34:9 reinforce the role of Joshua as the successor of Moses and the conqueror of the promised land. The identification of Joshua as the "son of Nun" is limited to Deut 31:23 and 34:9; the preferred identification is simply "Joshua." The Deity states that Joshua is the one who must cross the Jordan and secure the Israelites' possession of the land (Deut 3:28). Moses repeats the command to Joshua before the Israelite people (31:7). And Yahweh commissions Joshua in the Tent of Meeting to succeed Moses (31:14–15), leading to the transfer of Moses' spirit (34:9). Although Deuteronomy shares the theme of the promised land with the Priestly literature in developing the character of Joshua, the association of Joshua with the Tent of Meeting indicates a literary relationship to the non-Priestly literature of the Pentateuch.

First Divine Commission

Joshua 2:2–6 contains the initial divine commission with the command that Joshua "arise [*qûm*] and cross [*ʿăbōr*] this Jordan." The motif of crossing the Jordan is central to the book of Joshua, appearing twenty-two times in Josh 3–4. The term *ʿābar* is technical in Deuteronomy, signifying an action (usually associated with the possession of the promised land) that achieves the goal of a divine pledge (A. B. Hulst, 1965: 167). The action could be one of holy war, as in Deut 9:3: "Know then today that Yahweh your God is the one who crosses over before you as a devouring fire, he will defeat them and

subdue them before you." It can also take on a future or even eschatological meaning, as in the request of Moses in Deut 3:25: "Let me cross over to see the good land beyond the Jordan." The command in Josh 1:2 likely includes both the imagery of war and the more ideal vision of completing the wilderness journey. Both meanings also carry the religious significance of a rite of passage (Jobling, 1986).

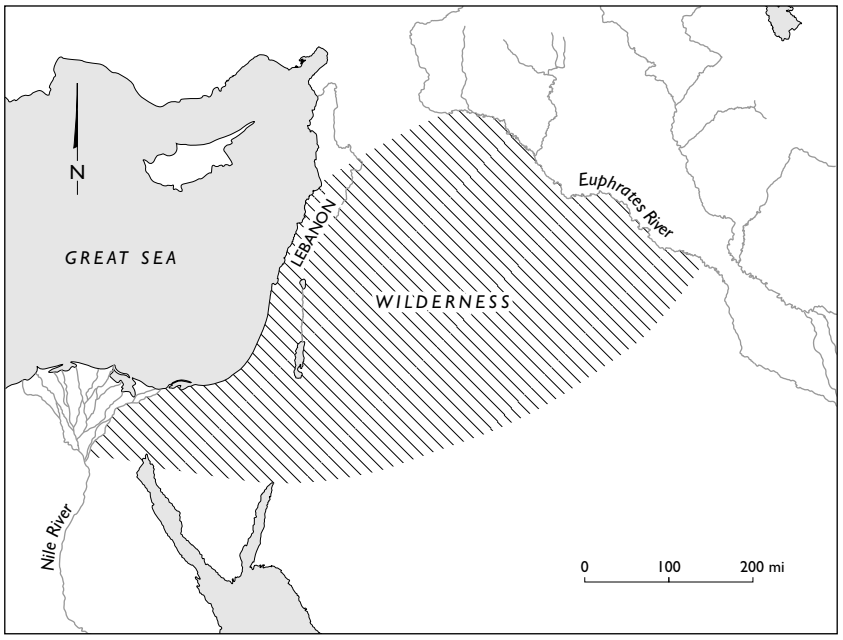
The themes of the promise of the land (1:2) and of divine presence (1:5) are prominent in the opening speech to Joshua. The promise of land is stated in a general form: "the land [*hā'āreṣ*] which I am giving [*nōtēn*] them." This form lacks the divine oath, "the land, which I swore [*nišba'tî*] to their fathers to give to them," which will appear in v. 6. The general statement of the land as divine gift occurs broadly throughout the Pentateuch in non-Priestly (e.g., Gen 12:7; 15:7, 18; 24:7) and Priestly (e.g., Lev 12:25; 25:2, 38; Num 32:7) literature, as well as in the book of Deuteronomy (e.g., 1:25; 2:29; 5:31; 9:23; 28:52). The divine promise of land places the military leadership of Joshua within the realm of the sacred, which is reinforced by the divine promise of presence in v. 5 when Yahweh states, "As I was with Moses, I will be with you [*'ehyeh 'immāk*]." The clause relates the commission of Joshua to the broader prophetic commissioning form, where the promise of divine presence is part of the genre. The clause "I will be with you" is repeated from the commission of Moses in Exod 3:12. The same promise of presence returns in the commission of Gideon (Judg 6:16) and in a slightly different form to the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 1:8). Joshua receives a similar promise of divine presence in Deut 31:23, without the reference to the previous promise to Moses. The mention of Moses in Josh 1:5 is likely intended to confirm the parallel to the call of Moses in Exod 3, which will continue in Josh 5:13–15, when Joshua encounters the commander of Yahweh and, like Moses, finds himself on holy ground.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE PROMISED LAND

The initial commission of Joshua includes a description of the promised land in vv. 3–4 that extends to the Nile River in the south, the Great Sea on the west, Lebanon in the north, and eastward beyond the Jordan to the Euphrates River. The map illustrates the broadest possible geographical representation to underscore the unusually large scope of the description (Map 3).

This description of the promised land is not repeated in the book of Joshua, and it conflicts with the more limited geographical borders of the promised land west of the Jordan River in the rest of the book. The large geographical description in vv. 3–4 is an inner-biblical quotation of Deut 11:24 linking law and geography. It also appears in a slightly different form in Deut 1:7, when Yahweh commands Moses to lead the people "as far as the great river, the River Euphrates." In Gen 15:18 the Deity tells Abram, "To your descendants I will give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river, the River Euphrates." Yahweh restates the promise to Moses at the conclusion to the Book of the Covenant in Exod 23:31: "I will set your borders from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines and from the wilderness to the Euphrates." The fulfillment of the promise of land to Abram, Moses, and Joshua is suggested in 1 Kgs 5:1–5 (Eng. 4:20–24), when Solomon's empire is described as including "all the region west of the Euphrates."

Interpreters have puzzled over the unusually large extent of the promised land, since it does not correspond with the borders of ancient Israel at any time in its history and it conflicts with the geographical texts that limit the boundaries of the promised



Map 3. The promised land, as described in Josh 1:3–4

land to the area west of the Jordan River (e.g., Num 34; Josh 22). Interpreters suggest a range of possible meanings, including symbolic contrast between life and death in the juxtaposition of Lebanon and the wilderness (Noort, 1994); an "unreal utopian conception of the land of Israel" from the origins of ancient Israel (Kaufmann, 1985: 72–73); an idealistic presentation from the period of the Davidic monarchy (Mowinckel, 1946: 16–17); and imperialistic imagery from the period of Josiah (Weinfeld, 1983b: 66–69). N. Wazana relates the symbolic and imperialistic interpretations, noting that in Neo-Assyrian propaganda the geographical terms of sea, river, mountains, and wilderness represent cosmological forces at the periphery that threaten society and are controlled by the empire (2013: 106–21). The large description of the promised land in Joshua is a response to the Neo-Assyrian propaganda with a countervision of Israelite world dominion (2013: 106–25). R. Havrelock also supports the imperialistic interpretation of Weinfeld but narrows the earliest possible date for the texts to the exilic period, since the emphasis on the Euphrates River (the "Euphrates maps" as opposed to the "Jordan maps") "imagine an Israel mirroring Babylonia" and thus presupposes the Neo-Babylonian Empire (2007a: 658–60, 664–65). Thus for Havrelock the large map of the promised land reflects the displacement of Diaspora Jews under the imperialistic rule of the Neo-Babylonians. The intent of the large borders of the promised land is to envision a future empire that is idealized in the borders of Solomon's empire in 1 Kgs 1:1–5. The motif of where the foot treads in Josh 1:3 provides support for the interpretations of both Wazana and Havrelock, since it contains military rhetoric of conquest. Sifre to Deuteronomy reflects the same interpretation: "From the River, the Euphrates: From

the River is your border, but the river is not your border, if you have conquered an area, let that be your border" (*Pisqa* 51:5).

But other geographical texts argue against an imperialistic interpretation of the large borders of the promised land. The one explicit reference to the idealization of Solomon's realm (1 Kgs 5:1–5) in Ezra 4:11–22 is actually critical of empire, stating through the voice of the Persian authority that the past rule of Jerusalem's kings over the Across the River province was an act of rebellion and sedition (T. B. Dozeman, 2003: 461). The idealization of Abram as the original recipient of the expanded promise of land (Gen 15:18) also argues against interpreting the text as advocating an imperialistic ideology. Abram is a territorial hero for Diaspora Jews; his travels from Ur of Babylon to Egypt follow the boundaries of the Across the River province and correspond to the settlements of the Diaspora Jews. But nationalistic conquest is absent from his story. Abram does undertake a war in Gen 14 to rescue Lot, and the geography of the story reflects the same large description. But the war is not for the purpose of forming an empire; in fact, Abram even refuses booty after the military campaign. The eschatological discourse in Isa 27:12–13 suggests that the large geographical boundaries of the promised land may be tied to religion, rather than empire, since the Day of Yahweh is the ingathering of the exiles for worship in Jerusalem "from the channel of the Euphrates to the Wadi of Egypt."

Z. Kallai provides an alternative interpretation of the large descriptions of the promised land from imperialism to covenant (1997). He identifies three territories of the promised land: the large extent of the promised land with Abram in Gen 15 (the "Patriarchal Boundaries"), and two more limited borders west of the Jordan River (the "Land of Canaan Boundaries"; e.g., Num 34:2b–12; Ezek 47:15–20) or the accounts of the actual possession of land (the "Land of Israel Boundaries"; e.g., Josh 13:2–6; Judg 3:3b). The three descriptions of the promised land are related by the theme of covenant, according to Kallai, with the "Patriarchal Boundaries" functioning as the constitutional foundation for the promise of land, rather than as territorial texts, which are represented by the other two categories (1997: 81). Kallai concludes that the Patriarchal Boundaries describe the relationship of the Israelites to the other resident nations within the territory west of the Euphrates River by creating ties to Abram.

I follow the interpretation of Kallai that the description of the promised land is not advocating the formation of an empire but represents a constitutional view of covenant that is founded in Abram. The aim of these texts, however, is not to describe the relationship of postexilic Israel to its neighbor nations, as Kallai argued (1997: 79–80). Rather, it is to idealize the role of Torah in the Persian Empire and to describe the broadest geographical territory in which the Torah of Moses is authoritative for Diaspora Jews. The large maps of the promised land are the geography of Torah. The emergence of the large geographical descriptions of the promised land in the Hebrew Bible therefore may be related to the establishment of a Torah-based method of education (D. Carr, 2008: 168–69) and a more scriptural form of Yahwism (K. van der Toorn, 1997: 239–42) that developed in the postexilic period as a response in part to the colonialist policies of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, which dispersed the exile population throughout the Across the River province. The central role of a Torah-based religion is underscored in the divine demand that Joshua meditate on the Torah to fulfill his role as leader.

The broad geographical reach of the Torah's authority introduces a tension in the book of Joshua between the territorial center of the promised land, which is bounded on the east by the Jordan River, and its periphery, which reaches eastward to the Euphrates River to include the limits of the Across the River province. S. Grosby states that law often regulates the territorial expansion of religion such as the Torah-based Yahwism portrayed in Josh 1:3–4. He adds further that law also maintains the tension between the center and the periphery of such extended religious territories (2002: 78–81). The linking of law and geography in the broad descriptions of the promised land to Abram (Gen 15:18), Moses (Exod 23:31; Deut 1:7; 11:24), and Joshua (Josh 1:3–4) illustrates the conclusion of Grosby. The initial revelation of the promised land to Abram (Gen 15:18) includes the motif of covenant but lacks specific reference to law. Yet the broad promise of land is anchored in Abram, because he is idealized as the ancestor of both the centrally located Palestinian Jews and the more peripheral Diaspora Jews. Thus, each group shares in the primordial promises of lineage (being a chosen people) and land despite their different proximity to the center.

The repetition of the description of the promised land to Moses (Exod 23:31; Deut 1:7; 11:24) and to Joshua (Josh 1:3–4) clarifies the geographical authority of the Torah and its important role in relating the Diaspora Jews on the periphery to the Palestinian Jews at the center. The description of the promised land to Moses in Exod 23:31 indicates that the broad description of the territory is the area in which the Book of the Covenant remains authoritative. The same close relationship between Torah and geography is also evident in Deut 11:24 and Josh 1:3–4. The point of these texts is not the extermination of the indigenous population in this territory, or even their conquest, but the authority of the Torah for Diaspora Jews who live within the region but are situated at the periphery of the Torah's authority, whose center resides on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim in the book of Joshua (8:30–35). The content of the Torah changes, however. The law in Deut 11:24 is likely a reference to the book of Deuteronomy; while Josh 1:3–4 expands the scope of Torah to included the entire Pentateuch and perhaps even the book of Joshua, if "the book of the law of God" in Josh 24:26 is a self-referential identification.

The authority of Torah in Joshua is clarified by contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah, which also explores the territorial limits of the authority of the Torah of Moses for the Jews of the Diaspora (Ezra 7:12–26). The difference between Joshua and Ezra-Nehemiah is the contrast between rural and urban utopian visions of the promised land west of the Jordan River. In Ezra-Nehemiah, the city of Jerusalem represents the center of the Torah's authority. Thus, the vision of the promised land in Ezra-Nehemiah is urban; the Torah goes forth from Jerusalem, which mirrors the Persian model of an empire that is also ruled by law from its capital city. The rural vision of the promised land in Joshua represents a more polemical reaction to empire and colonialism. The center of the Torah's authority is not the city, but a vision of the promised land devoid of cities like Jerusalem. The Torah in Joshua goes forth from the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, not Jerusalem; the cultic center for the rule of Torah is an open-air altar constructed of natural, uncut stone. The result of the rural vision in Joshua is that the rhetoric of the book is against imperialism and urban colonial rule. All cities must be destroyed. This contrasts to Ezra-Nehemiah, where the authors idealize the Persian Empire and

stress the ways in which the Torah of Yahweh, anchored in the city of Jerusalem, is like Persian law. The book of Joshua requires the destruction of cities and the extermination of the urban population west of the Jordan River to purge the promised land so that it can be the center of the Torah's authority for the Diaspora Jews who dwell at the periphery of its reach. The competing visions provide a window into social conflicts about the nature of Yahwism in the postexilic period and competing views of the relationship between colonizers and the colonized.

CALL TO COURAGE AND PROMISE OF LAND

Joshua 1:6 contains a call for Joshua to be courageous that repeats and intensifies the motifs of war and the divine promise of land from v. 2. The divine command that Joshua "be courageous and strong" in v. 6 intensifies the motif of war from the earlier commission in v. 2, when Joshua was initially commanded to cross the Jordan for battle. L. L. Rowlett (1996: 156–58) has demonstrated that the phrase "be courageous and strong" is neither tied to a genre of installation, as Lohfink argued (1962), nor signifies the giving of a new task, as E. W. Conrad suggested (1985: 26–27). Rather, it is military language, which also appears in the commands to Joshua in Deut 3:28 and 31:7. The same military imagery reappears in David's encouragement to Solomon in 2 Chr 28:20 and in Hezekiah's encouragement to the people of Jerusalem during the invasion of Sennacherib in 2 Chr 32:7. The language of war identifies Joshua and the Israelites as separate from the indigenous nations, since courage and strength require the extermination of the kings of the land and their urban populations. The reappearance of the phrase in the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah in Josh 10:25 illustrates the polemical character of the motif. In this text, Joshua summons the Israelites to "be courageous and strong" in executing the five kings at the cave. Rowlett (1996: 128–35) has also demonstrated that the military context is reinforced with the Hiphil use of the verb *nāḥal,* which signifies the acquisition of land in war (e.g., Deut 3:28; 12:10; 31:7), rather than the division of the land to the tribes as Lohfink argued (1962).

The call to courage in v. 6 is accompanied by the promise of land as a divine oath to the ancestors, which refers to the exodus generation, rather than to the patriarchal ancestors Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as is also the case in the book of Deuteronomy (Römer, 1990: 352–54). The promise of land as oath to the patriarchal ancestors is absent in the book of Joshua (S. Boorer, 1992: 112–17). The patriarchal ancestor Abram plays a role in Joshua, both indirectly as the original recipient of the promise of land with its large boundaries (Gen 15:18) and explicitly in the recounting of the history of salvation in Josh 24:2, 3. But the collective reference to the ancestors Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as recipients of the oath of land is absent in the book of Joshua. The oath to the ancestors there is limited to two generations: the exodus generation and their children. It is introduced in the divine commission of Joshua in Josh 1:6, and it occurs two other times in the book. Joshua 5:6 states that Yahweh swore an oath to the exodus or first generation that they would not experience the fulfillment of the promise, while Josh 21:43 marks the fulfillment of the promise to the second generation of Israelites who left Egypt. The "Notes" to Josh 5:4–7 describe the different interpretations of the divine oath of land to the ancestors in the MT and the LXX.

Second Divine Commission

Joshua 1:7–9 is the second divine commission to Joshua; it repeats and supplements the motifs of law and geography (vv. 3–4 and 7–8) and the promise of divine presence (vv. 5 and 9) from the first commission in vv. 2–6. The promise in v. 9 extends the imagery of divine presence from v. 5. The promise of presence in v. 5 was tied to the commission of Moses in Exod 3:12, while also recalling the prophetic commissioning of Gideon (Judg 6:16) and Jeremiah (Jer 1:8). The promise in v. 9 is more expansive: "Yahweh your God is with you wherever you go [*bĕkōl 'ăšer tēlēk*]." It is unclear, however, whether the phrase "wherever you go" is meant to assure Joshua of the divine presence in all of his activities or in all locations. The phrase indicates territory in Ruth's declaration to Naomi, "Wherever [*'el-'ăšer*] you go I will go" (Ruth 1:16). The same meaning is apparent in the statement of Yahweh's continual presence with Israel throughout the wilderness journey (Deut 1:31) and most likely in the scope of Jeremiah's commission (Jer 1:7). The phrase focuses more on the divine presence in the activities of a person in the story of David: "Yahweh gave victory to David wherever he went" (2 Sam 8:6). When v. 9 is read with v. 6 the emphasis is on the divine presence with Joshua in his activity as the leader of the Israelite people; but when v. 9 is read with the large boundaries of the promised land in vv. 3–4, the theme of divine presence over a territory comes more into view.

1:10–18. ADDRESS OF JOSHUA TO THE ISRAELITES

Josh 1:10–18 contains three speeches: (1) one by Joshua to the scribes that is directed to all of the Israelites in vv. 10–11, (2) one by Joshua to the two and one-half tribes who dwell east of the Jordan River in vv. 12–15, and (3) a response by the eastern tribes in vv. 16–18.

The three speeches serve an introductory function in the book of Joshua; Joshua provides divine instruction to all of the Israelites on six topics: (1) the need to cross the Jordan River and undertake holy war (1:10–11), (2) the construction of the memorial of the twelve stones and the liturgy associated with it (3:5, 9–13; 4:4–7, 20–24), (3) the method for waging holy war (6:6, 10, 16–19), (4) the courage to kill the indigenous kings of the land (10:24–25), (5) the need to complete the possession of the promised land (18:3–7), and (6) the introduction of covenant (23:1–6; 24:1–15, 19–28). Joshua twice addresses the eastern tribes: The initial address (1:12–15) reminds them of their obligation to assist in the conquest of the land west of the Jordan River; the second (22:1–6) confirms that they have fulfilled their obligation. The eastern tribes, in turn, also deliver two speeches in the book of Joshua: The first confirms their allegiance to Joshua (1:16–18), and the second affirms their allegiance to the tribes who lived west of the Jordan River (22:21–29).

Scribes

The scribes take a leadership role in vv. 10–11. The Hebrew *šōṭĕrîm,* "scribes," has a range of meanings in the Hebrew Bible, including a foreman over work (e.g., Exod 5:10–19), a military leader who musters the troops (e.g., Deut 20:5; 2 Chr 26:11), and the recorder or writer in judicial proceedings (Deut 16:18). Joshua's command that the scribes prepare the camp to cross the Jordan River emphasizes their role in mustering the

troops for war. The war setting is underscored by the repeated use of the verb *ʿābar,* "to cross," to describe the action of the scribes in the camp and the march of the Israelites over the Jordan River in v. 11. The imagery of war continues with the repetition of the verb *yāraš,* "to possess," in v. 11. L. A. Snijder underscores the violent imagery implied in the word, suggesting the translation "to tread," which recalls the same imagery from v. 3 (1958: 267–71). Butler defines *yāraš* as "an action of Israel taking by force the territory of the nations" that live in the promised land (1983: 17). The command to prepare provisions (*ṣêdâ*) includes imagery of travel and even pilgrimage, as in the stories of Joseph (Gen 42:25; 45:21), the exodus from Egypt (Exod 12:39), and the Gibeonites (Josh 9:11). The three-day time period for preparation ties the opening chapter to the story of the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3–4, when the Israelites cross the river at the end of three days (3:2).

Eastern Tribes

R. D. Nelson notes that the eastern tribes are separated out in the camp from the other tribes with disjunctive syntax: "But to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh Joshua said" (1997a: 35). Their residency on the eastern side of the Jordan River makes them liminal characters in the book of Joshua, which raises the question of whether they are part of the Israelite people, since they do not share the land that Yahweh promised to the ancestors (v. 5). As a result, the connection between the eastern tribes and the Israelite nation west of the Jordan River is restricted to their shared experience of the leadership and words of Moses, now codified in Torah. And it is this shared experience of Moses that Joshua encourages the eastern tribes to remember in v. 13: "Remember the word that Moses . . . commanded you." The imagery indicates that the Torah of Moses, rather than the promise of land, binds the eastern tribes with the Israelites who dwell in Canaan. The specific word from Moses that Joshua brings to the memory of the eastern tribes is that their land east of the Jordan River is also a divine gift: "Yahweh your God is giving you rest and he will give you this land."

In vv. 14–15, Joshua clarifies further the word of Moses to the eastern tribes in four ways. First, he locates the land of the eastern tribes "beyond the Jordan" in v. 14 to indicate that it is outside of the more limited boundaries of the promised land west of the Jordan River. This identification of the land of the eastern tribes "beyond the Jordan" is so important in the book of Joshua that the author uses the phrase even though it disrupts the narrative logic of the passage, since the Israelites are still east of the Jordan River. Second, Joshua states twice that the possession of land east of the Jordan River is a gift of Moses, without reaffirming the divine origin of the gift (vv. 14, 15). The emphasis on Moses is likely intended to anchor the possession of land east of the Jordan in Mosaic law (cf. the relationship between law and geography in Josh 1:3–4). Third, the families of the eastern tribes are not allowed to live in cities across the Jordan River but must instead "dwell in the land" (v. 14), in accordance with the anti-urban focus of the book of Joshua. The rural emphasis in Joshua is evident in comparison with the similar passage in Deut 3:18–20, where Moses commands the families of the eastern tribes "to dwell in your cities [*bĕʿārêkem*] which I gave you." Fourth, the eastern tribes must lead in the war against the indigenous nations west of the Jordan before they can take possession of their land east of the Jordan.

Response of the Eastern Tribes

The response of the eastern tribes to Joshua in vv. 16–18 lacks a subject, but the reference to the past commands of Moses indicates that the tribes are the speakers and not the entire Israelite nation (cf. Nentel, 2000: 30–31; Bieberstein, 1995: 38–39). The response of the eastern tribes is expansive in scope, socially inclusive of the western tribes, and fanatical in tone. Five times the eastern tribes use the word *kōl,* "all," to signify their absolute allegiance to Joshua: They will obey all of Joshua's commands (*kōl ʾăšer-ṣiwwîtānû*); they will go wherever Joshua sends them (*wĕʾel-kōl-ʾăšer tišlāḥēûu*); they will obey Joshua as they obeyed all of Moses' commands (*kĕkōl ʾăšer-šāmaʿnû*); and any human (*kŏl-ʾîš*) who does not obey all of Joshua's commands (*lĕkōl ʾăšer-tĕṣawwēnû*) will be put to death.

The eastern tribes conclude their response in v. 18 by encouraging Joshua with the repetition of the divine command from vv. 6 and 7: "Be courageous and strong." I have already clarified the military imagery of this clause as a demand for courage in the face of threatening opposition in v. 6 and its reinterpretation in v. 7 as the study of Torah. The statement in v. 18 is likely tied to the military background of the clause in its original setting in Josh 1, but it now takes on the full range of military and instructional encouragement with the addition of vv. 7–9. Thus, Joshua is encouraged to lead the people in war and in the study of the Torah. Rowlett clarifies an additional meaning that goes beyond the character of Joshua to focus on the function of the eastern tribes within the book. She concludes that the use of the military wording "be courageous and strong" by the eastern tribes aids in defining them as part of the Israelite community, even though they live on the periphery of the promised land east of the Jordan River (1996: 158–69). The encouragement to Joshua identifies the eastern tribes as being willing to participate in the conquest of the land west of the Jordan and in the study of Torah in their own land east of the Jordan.

Rahab, the Trickster (2:1–24)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 2 is the story of the encounter between two Israelite spies and a Canaanite prostitute, Rahab, in the city of Jericho. The chapter functions as the introduction to the procession of the ark into the promised land in Josh 3–8, with the confession of Rahab that Yahweh has given the land to the Israelites (2:8). The chapter also introduces the theme of the ban (*ḥerem*), which is central to the story of the Israelite invasion throughout Josh 1–12. The ban is the divine demand that the Israelites exterminate the entire indigenous population of the promised land (see the "Introduction"). The theme introduces the most extreme form of social and religious exclusion in the Hebrew Bible, in which the Israelites are required not simply to be separate from other nations but to exterminate them in an act of genocide. The demand is absolute. The introduction of the ban at the outset of the story clarifies that the book of Joshua is not intended to be an account of conquest, in which nations are subdued by the invading Israelites as they take possession of the land. Rather, it is a story of the clearing of the promised land of indigenous kings and city-states, so that the land can be emptied for a new form of rural life that lacks monarchs and their cities. Once the theme of the ban is introduced by Rahab (2:10), it is prominent in the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6–7 (fourteen occurrences); it is regularly used to characterize the destruction of the kings and city-states in Josh 8, 10–11 (ten occurrences); and it culminates in the extermination of the mythical Anakim and their cities (11:21), which finally brings rest to the land (11:23). The theme ceases at this point, with only one additional occurrence in the second half of the book (22:20), when reference is made to the story of Achan in Josh 7.

It is noteworthy that the Canaanite Rahab introduces the theme of the ban in her opening speech to the spies, given its social and religious ideology. She acknowledges that Yahweh is giving the land to the Israelites (2:9), based on what Yahweh did at the Red Sea and the Israelites' successful execution of the ban on the Amorite kings, Sihon

and Og (2:10). Once the theme of the ban is introduced, the chapter explores how Rahab and her family might be an exception to the law, which creates narrative tension, since, as noted, the ban is absolute in its requirement. Thus, the opening story of Rahab and the spies raises the question of whether any Canaanites can continue to live within the new rural environment envisioned only for the Israelite tribes, or whether all indigenous people without exception must be exterminated. The tension between the absolute demand of the ban and the desire of Rahab to survive is explored through the development of her character as a prostitute and a trickster who lives on the margins of urban life in the city of Jericho.

The central events of Josh 2 separate into three parts that explore the relationship of Rahab to the indigenous population of Jericho (vv. 2–6), to Yahweh (vv. 7–11), and to the Israelite nation (vv. 12–21). Speeches by Rahab are central to each scene and create a complex portrait. The initial exchange with the king in vv. 2–6 defines the relationship of Rahab to the indigenous population of Jericho as that of a trickster, who lies about the presence of the spies in her house. The extended confession to the spies in vv. 7–11 about the role of Yahweh in the events of the Israelite salvation defines Rahab's relationship to Yahweh as a non-Israelite who recognizes the power of the Deity in the Israelite invasion of the land. The request for a vow from the spies in vv. 12–21 to rescue her family from the ban explores Rahab's relationship to the Israelite nation.

The opening two scenes provide the central characteristic of Rahab as a trickster (vv. 1–6), while her confession about the power of Yahweh separates her from the citizens of Jericho (vv. 7–11). These scenes set the stage for the final exchange in vv. 12–21, when Rahab and the spies negotiate her survival. The length of the third scene indicates that the aim of the story is to describe the legal conditions of the vow to rescue Rahab's family from extermination, even though they fall under the ban. The intricate dialogue between Rahab and the two spies further reinforces that the scene is intended to function as the center of the story, since it evolves into a reversal in the role of the characters. As in the previous two scenes, the speech by Rahab initially dominates the final exchange when she requests a vow from the spies to ensure the rescue of her family in vv. 12–13. Her request at a moment of danger suggests an extension of her portrayal as a trickster from the opening scene. But the story takes an unexpected turn when Rahab's speech gives way to an extended legal discourse by the two spies in vv. 14, 17–19 about the qualifications of their vow to rescue. Although hapless until this point in the story, the spies reverse roles and become the protagonists.

The literary design of the narrative indicates a mixture of folktale motifs about the trickster, Rahab, and a legal discourse on the rights of non-Israelites who are allowed to live in the promised land despite the absolute demands of the ban. The three episodes are framed by an introduction in v. 1, which identifies the setting of Joshua at Shittim and the central character, Rahab, as a prostitute; and a conclusion in vv. 22–24, in which the spies report the events of the story to Joshua by essentially quoting the earlier speech of Rahab, rather than providing any independent evaluation from their mission. Joshua 2 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Identification of Rahab (v. 1)
2. Rahab and the Indigenous Population of Jericho: Deception of the King of Jericho (vv. 2–6)

3. Rahab and Yahweh: Confession About Yahweh (vv. 7–11)
4. Rahab and the Israelites: Vow to Rescue and Its Conditions (vv. 12–21)
5. Report of the Spies (vv. 22–24)

Translation

2:1. IDENTIFICATION OF RAHAB

2 [1]And Joshua son of Nun secretly sent from Shittim two men to spy saying, "Go and see the land and Jericho." And they went and they entered a house of a woman prostitute, whose name was Rahab. And they lay down there.

2:2–6. DECEPTION OF THE KING OF JERICHO

2 [2]And it was told to the king of Jericho saying, "Look, men have entered here tonight from the Israelites to search out the land." [3]And the king of Jericho sent to Rahab, saying, "Bring out the men who came in to you, who entered your house, for they came to spy out all the land."

[4]And the woman took the two men and she hid him. And she said, "Yes, the two men came in to me, but I do not know from where they came. [5]And when the gate closed at dark, the men went out. I do not know where the men went. Pursue quickly after them, for you will overtake them."

[6]But she brought them up to the roof and she hid them among the stalks of flax, which were arranged by her on the roof.

2:7–11. CONFESSION ABOUT YAHWEH

2 [7]Meanwhile the men pursued after them on the Jordan road down to the ford, but the gate they closed behind as the pursuers went out after them.

[8]Even before they lay down to sleep, she went up to them on the roof. [9]And she said to the men, "I know that Yahweh has given you the land and that your dread has fallen on us and that all the inhabitants of the land pale in despair before you. [10]For we heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you when you went out from Egypt and what you did to the two kings of the Amorites, who were across the Jordan, to Sihon and to Og, how you put them under the ban. [11]We heard and our heart melted and the spirit in each person could not rise up any longer before you, because Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below.

2:12–21. VOW TO RESCUE AND ITS CONDITIONS

2 [12]"Now, swear to me by Yahweh, since I performed kindness to you, [13]that you also perform kindness to the house of my father and you give me a sign of trust that you will let live my father, my mother, my brothers, my sister, and all who belong to them and that you will deliver our lives from death."

[14]The men said to her, "Our life instead of yours to die, if you do not tell this matter of ours. And when Yahweh gives us the land, we will perform kindness and faithfulness with you."

[15]Then she lowered them with a rope through the window, because her house was in a room of the wall, for she lived in the wall. [16]And she said to them, "Toward the mountain you must go, lest those pursuing fall upon you. Hide yourselves there for three days until the pursuers return. Afterward you can go on your way."

[17]The men said to her, "We are blameless from this oath of yours, which you have made us swear. [18]When we enter the land, you must tie this red thread in the window through which you let us down; and your father, your mother, your brother, and all who belong to the house of your father you must gather to you in the house. [19]Any one who goes outside from the doors of your house, his blood is on his head and we are blameless. But anyone who will be with you in the house, his blood is on our head, if a hand is on him. [20]If you tell this matter of ours, we will be blameless from your oath which you have made us swear."

[21]And she said, "According to your words, thus it is." And she sent them away. And they went. And she tied the red thread in the window.

2:22–24. REPORT OF THE SPIES

2 [22]And they went and they came to the mountain and they dwelt there three days until the pursuers returned. The pursuers searched the entire road, but found nothing. [23]The two men returned and descended from the mountain. They crossed and came to Joshua son of Nun and told him everything that happened to them. [24]They said to Joshua, "Yahweh has given the entire land into our hand. All the inhabitants of the land even pale in despair before us."

Notes

The MT and the LXX diverge in a variety of details in Josh 2. Soggin notes the change of speaker in v. 14, where a speech by the two spies in the MT is a speech by Rahab in the LXX (1972: 37). Tov identifies a series of additions to the MT that harmonize details of the story, such as the reference to "two" men (vv. 4–5), the addition "all the inhabitants of the land pale in despair" (v. 9), and the details of tying the red thread to the window (v. 21). Other additions add emphasis, such as the statement in the MT that the oath was forced from the spies (v. 17), or clarification, when the home of Rahab is located on the outer wall of the city (v. 17) (1999: 391–93). See "Appendix I" for a comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

2:1 *Joshua son of Nun.* Boling and Wright note that the longer name, as in Josh 1:1, indicates a new beginning (1982: 143). As in Josh 1:1, the LXX translates the Hebrew *nûn* as *nauē.*

Shittim. The Hebrew *šiṭṭîm* frequently refers to acacia wood, especially as a building material for the tabernacle (Exod 25; 26; 27; 30; 35). The word "Shittim" occurs in three forms: Shittim (Num 25:1; Josh 2:1; 3:1; Mic 6:5), Abel-Shittim (Num 33:49), and the Wadi Shittim (Joel 4:18). As a geographical term, it always occurs with the definite article (Num 25:1; Josh 3:1; 4:18; Mic 6:5; Joel 4:18), suggesting to Boling and Wright the more literal translation "the Acacias" (1982: 144). Historical geographers struggle with the identification of the site. Tell el-Kefrein, a location seven miles east of

the Jordan and six miles north of the Dead Sea, if often proposed. N. Glueck suggested Tell el-Hammam, which is southeast of Tell el-Kefrein on the east side of the Jordan (1943). The literary use of Shittim is limited in the Hebrew Bible; it is associated with the end of the wilderness journey and the crossing of the Jordan River (Num 25:1; 33:49; Josh 2:1; 3:1). Numbers 33:48–49 locates the site on the east side of the Jordan, within the land of Moab as one of the final itinerary stops of the wilderness journey. Shittim is the location where Israelite men have sex with Moabite women and thus become yoked to the Baal of Peor in Num 25:1. Shittim and Gilgal mark the boundaries for the crossing of the Jordan from east to west in Mic 6:5. The location also takes on an eschatological meaning in Joel 4:18, when the Wadi Shittim flows with water from the sanctuary of Yahweh, indicating the paradisiacal fertility of the promised land east of the Jordan on the final Day of Yahweh.

two men. The MT *šĕnayim-'ănāšîm* is translated as "young men" in the LXX, *neaniskous.* The MT agrees with the LXX in Josh 6:23, where the two spies are also described as *hannĕ'ārîm.*

secretly . . . to spy. The MT includes a Piel participle, *měraggĕlîm,* "spying" (translated "to spy"), and the adverb *ḥereṣ,* "secretly." The participle describes the act of spying in a number of stories (e.g., Gen 42:9, 11, 14, 16, 31, 34; Num 21:32; Deut 1:24; 1 Sam 26:4; 2 Sam 15:10). The LXX renders the participle with the infinitive *kataskopeusai,* "to spy." The Hebrew *ḥereṣ* is best translated as an adverb from the root *ḥrṣ,* meaning "silence, dumbness," which in this context likely indicates secrecy. The adverbial use in Josh 2:1 is a hapax legomenon that is absent in the LXX. The word is ambiguous as to whether it describes the action of Joshua, who sends out the spies secretly, or the two men, who spy secretly. The redundancy of the latter reading may suggest that the reference is to Joshua. See the "Comments."

Jericho. The Hebrew *yĕrîḥô* means "moon city." It is also associated with palm trees (Deut 34:3). The site is in the Jordan Valley approximately ten miles northwest of the northern bank of the Dead Sea, and it lies nearly nine hundred feet below sea level. The city may have arisen because of its proximity to freshwater, a motif that is reflected in the legend of Elisha at Jericho (2 Kgs 2). Archaeologists have identified Jericho as one of the oldest cities in human history. Historical geographers identify the city in its earliest development with Tell es-Sultan, which dates from the Neolithic period, approximately 8340 BCE, until its destruction in the Middle Bronze period, around 1600 BCE. J. Garstang argues that a smaller city was rebuilt shortly after this destruction and affirmed the historical reliability of the destruction of Jericho in the book of Joshua (1931: 130–33, 140–48). The conclusion of Garstang, and the historicity of the account in Joshua, was disputed by K. M. Kenyon, who suggested that there was a sequence of only partial occupations and abandonments of an unwalled settlement throughout the Late Bronze period and no occupation during the Iron Age (1979: 555–56; 1993: 680–81). H. Weippert disputed the latter conclusion of Kenyon, arguing that Jericho was indeed occupied in the Iron Age (1976). According to T. A. Holland and E. Netzer, small settlements continued in Jericho until a more extensive seventh-century BCE occupation, probably under Judean administration (1992: 737). It appears that some form of occupation continued through the Neo-Babylonian period. In the Hellenistic period, Jericho was located on the nearby mounds of Tulul Abu

el-'Alayiq. Holland and Netzer concluded that the freshwater from 'Ain es-Sultan made Jericho an important military and economic resource throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (1992: 737).

Archaeology shows the legendary quality of the story of Jericho in the book of Joshua. Kenyon speculated that it may have been the destruction in the Middle Bronze period that is remembered and mythologized in the book (1993: 681). Given the legendary nature of the story, Noort presses the question of why the author focuses on this city and not some other to construct the story (1998a: 166). He concluded that the topography of Jericho, especially its isolation, is the reason for its central role in the book of Joshua. Garstang would agree despite his different evaluation of the historical reliability of the narrative: "Jericho occupied a strategic point, it stood isolated, removed alike from any centre of authority and order as from the possible support of local alliances" (1931: 130).

The literary use of Jericho in the Hebrew Bible is concentrated in the story of its destruction by Yahweh in the book of Joshua, which contains half of the references to the city (twenty-six occurrences). In Joshua, the city of Jericho symbolizes urban life, royal city-states with strong walls, and monarchs in the promised land and requires extermination and is cursed for all time (Josh 6). Outside of the book, Jericho is a minor city that functions as a spa or health center: David sends men to Jericho to recover from the shame of having their beards cut off (2 Sam 10:5), and the Israelites also send Judean captives there for recovery (2 Chr 28:15). Jericho is identified in the postexilic period as a city where the returnees from exile take up residency (Neh 7:36; Ezra 2:34). It may also acquire eschatological significance in the story of Elijah and Elisha, as the place where Elijah ascended to heaven and Elisha sweetened water (2 Kgs 2).

The inclusion of Jericho in Josh 2:1 raises questions about its role in the story of Rahab. The emphasis in the MT, namely, that the city of Jericho was the object of spying rather than the land, fits uneasily in the larger story. Note, for example, that upon their return to Joshua, the spies report on the land, not the city (v. 24). This tension, along with problems in chronology in Josh 1–3, led Knauf to conclude that Josh 2 is a late addition to the book (2008: 46). D. J. McCarthy interpreted the references to the city as an addition to a story of spying the land (1971a: 174). Boling and Wright wrote, "The three references to Jericho in quick succession here (vv. 1–3), but not again in the chapter, serve to tie this story of reconnoitering the land together with the story of the fall of Jericho in chap. 6" (1982: 144). The story of Rahab may originate from an independent legend, but there is little doubt that the setting of Jericho is essential to the story and to the book of Joshua as a whole. The destruction of Jericho (Josh 6) is central in the procession of the ark to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (see "Introduction"), since its extermination under the ban provides the paradigm for what Joshua and the Israelites must do to all cities in the promised land.

And they went. The LXX includes the additional phrase *eisēlthosan hoi duo neaniskoi eis ierichō,* "the two young men entered Jericho."

entered a house of a woman prostitute . . . and they lay down there. The Hebrew *bô',* "to enter; to come in," in conjunction with the verb *šākab,* "to lie down," introduces sexual imagery in the story, especially with the identification of Rabah as a prostitute.

prostitute. The Hebrew *zônâ* describes a "woman occasionally or professionally committing fornication" (*HALOT* 10724). The LXX translates as *pornē.*

Rahab. The Hebrew *rāḥāb* means "broad, wide, or spread out." The LXX translates as *raab.* Knauf emphasizes the mythological background, in which Rahab represents the chaos dragon in Job 26:12 or Ps 9:11 (2008: 47).

2:2 *Look . . . here tonight.* The Hebrew conveys immediacy of time (*hinneh, halayllâ*) and place (*hēnnâ*). The LXX conveys the immediacy of the message with the single word *hōde,* "hither," which is translated in this context as "here."

2:3 *who came in to you, who entered your house, for they came to spy out all the land.* The Hebrew *bô',* "to enter," is a leitmotif in the opening verses of the story, occurring six times in vv. 1–3. The phrase may connote sexual imagery, as it does in a variety of narratives, including those of Abraham and Hagar (Gen 16:2), Jacob and Bilhah (Gen 30:3), Onan and Dinah (Gen 38:8), and Judith (Jdt 12:9), as well as in biblical law (Deut 22:13). The LXX lacks the sexual imagery, stating only that the men entered the house of Rahab, but adds that they entered during the night, *tēn nukta,* which conflicts with the speech of Rahab in v. 5.

2:4 *and she hid him.* The unexpected third-person singular in the MT, *watiṣpĕnô,* is plural in the LXX, *autous.*

Yes. The MT *kēn* is rendered in the LXX as *legousa,* "saying," indicating direct discourse.

the two men came in to me. See the "Notes" on Josh 2:3 concerning the sexual imagery of the Hebrew. The Greek syntax of *eiselēluthasin* with the preposition *pros* lacks the sexual connotations (LSJ 404b).

but I do not know from where they came. The clause is absent in the LXX.

2:5 *Pursue quickly after them.* The Hebrew adverb *mahēr,* "quickly," is lacking in the LXX.

for you will overtake them. The Hebrew *kî,* with the prefixed form of the verb *taśśîgûm,* introduces a real condition (Williams, 1976: 446, 515), which is also reflected in the LXX by the particle *ei.*

2:6 *which were arranged by her on the roof.* The passive participle *hā'ărūkôt,* with the preposition *lāh,* indicates agency (Williams, 1976: 280), which is also reflected in the LXX by the dative of agency, *tēi estoibasmenē autēi.*

2:7 *Meanwhile the men pursued after them.* The *waw* has a disjunctive function, contrasting the action of the pursuers with the two Israelites who are hiding on the roof.

on the Jordan road down to the ford. The Hebrew *derek hayyardēn* identifies a road (see also Exod 13:17, 18). The preposition *'al* indicates the termination of the pursuit as a descent, prompting the translation "down to/on" (Williams, 1976: 287).

2:9–10 The MT and the LXX present different readings of Rahab's confession to the spies. The syntax of the MT suggests parataxis throughout v. 9, since the *kî* clauses begin with the conjunction *wĕkî,* "and that." As a result, Rahab states three conclusions: (1) Yahweh gave Israel the land, (2) dread has fallen on the Canaanites, and (3) the inhabitants of the land are in despair. The source of Rahab's knowledge is stated in v. 10: "For [*kî*] we heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea."

The LXX lacks the third line of the MT in v. 9 and it also renders the verse differently so that it includes both the knowledge acquired by Rahab and the source of her knowledge: "I know that the Lord has given you the land, for [*gar*] the fear of you has fallen on us" (v. 9b).

2:10 *how . . . what.* The Hebrew *'ăšer . . . wa'ăšer* structures the statement in two parts. Noth argues that the juxtaposition of two *'ăšer* clauses is awkward (1971b: 29), but it may be intended to narrow the focus from the exodus in general (the miracle at the Red Sea) to the execution of the ban on Sihon and Og in particular. Verse 10 could be paraphrased: "We heard how [*'et 'ăšer*] Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you . . . and in particular [*wa'ăšer*] what you did to the two kings of the Amorites." Nehemiah 10:31 contains a similar use of the object clause with *wa'ăšer,* when the general commitment to observe Torah in Neh 10:29–30 is given more precise content in v. 31: "in particular [*wa'ăšer*] we will not give our daughters to the people of the land" (see *HALOT* 8321).

Yahweh. The LXX has *kyrios ho theos,* "Lord, the God."

the water of the Red Sea. The translation follows the LXX, *tēn erythran thalassan.* The Hebrew *yam sûp* may also indicate the Red Sea. The word *sûp,* however, designates "reeds" or "rushes," perhaps from Egyptian, *twf(y),* meaning "reed" or "papyrus." The Hebrew *yam-sûp* could be translated "Sea of Reeds" or even "Sea at the End." N. Snaith writes that the Hebrew *yam-sûp* means "[t]hat distant scarcely known sea away to the south, of which no [hu]man knew the boundary. It was the sea at the end of the land" (1965: 395). The meaning "sea at the end of the land" prompted Snaith to revocalize *sûp* to *sôp* (which in Hebrew means "end"). B. F. Batto extended the work of Snaith, arguing that the Hebrew *sûp* could mean "end" or "extinction," without revocalization, on the basis of the word pair *yam* and *yam-sûp* in the Song of Jonah (Jonah 2:4, 6), where a geographical interpretation of *yam-sûp* is unlikely (1983). The inclusion of "water" in reference to the Red Sea is unusual, occurring only here and in Deut 11:4.

Amorites. The Hebrew *'ĕmōrî* is attested in a number of Semitic languages, including Akkadian, *Amurrû;* Sumerian, *Martu;* and Ugaritic, *amrr,* where the term designates a Semitic group of people who infiltrated the middle Euphrates region in the late third millennium BCE. The word was used to identify a distinct group, but it could also describe "western land." The relationship of the large-scale Amorite migration in the ancient Near East and the use of the term in the Hebrew Bible remains unclear, as is evident from a survey of the term in the book of Joshua. The Amorites are identified with the kingdoms of Og and Sihon on the eastern side of the Jordon (2:10; 9:10; 12:2; 24:8, 12), with kings on the west side of the Jordan (5:1; 10:5, 6, 12), with the residents of Ai (7:7), and with all the inhabitants of the land (24:18), who worship other gods (24:15). The Amorites are also distinguished from other indigenous people west of the Jordan River in the stereotyped list of nations (3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11), where they are associated with the highlands, along with the Hittites and the Perizzites (11:3).

Sihon. Sihon is an Amorite king in the land east of the Jordan River whose capital was Heshbon. Numbers 21 (21:21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34) and Deut 2 and 3 (2:24, 26, 30, 31, 32; 3:2, 6) describe his defeat by the Israelites at the conclusion of the wilderness journey, along with Og of Bashan (see below). The defeat of Sihon is the more prominent tradition of victory east of the Jordan River. Judges 11 recounts the Israelite victory over only Sihon, without making reference to Og (11:19, 20, 21; see also Jer 48:45). Also Sihon's capital Heshbon receives special attention with the inclusion of a song about its Moabite origin and its early destruction by Sihon (Num 21:28–29; Jer 48:45). The defeat of Sihon (and Og) becomes a fixed feature in liturgical accounts of salvation in late historiographic psalms (Pss 135:11; 136:19) and in the prayer of Ezra (Neh 9:22). Sihon

appears eight times in four different contexts within the book of Joshua. Rahab (2:10) and the Gibeonites (9:10) refer to the defeat of Sihon in confessing the power of Yahweh. Joshua 12:2–6 recounts the defeat of Sihon and Og; and Josh 13:10, 21, 27 refer to the defeat of Sihon and his land in the allotment of Transjordanian territory.

Og. The Hebrew *ʿôg* may indicate a deity of the underworld in an inscription from Byblos (see "Comments" to Josh 12:1–6). In the Hebrew Bible, Og is an Amorite king of Bashan in the land east of the Jordan River who was defeated by the Israelites at the end of the wilderness journey. The story is recorded in Num 21 (21:33; see also Num 32:33) and in Deut 3 (see also Deut 1:4; 4:47; 29:7; 31:4). It is referred to in Pss 135:11; 136:20; 1 Kgs 4:19; and in the prayer of Ezra (Neh 9:22) as an important element in the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan. Og is also mythologized as one of the remaining Rephaim—a superhuman race of giants in the land of Canaan according to Deut 3:11 (see also Josh 12:4). The defeat of Og of Bashan is referred to six times in the book of Joshua in four different contexts to indicate Yahweh's active presence in holy war against the indigenous nations of the promised land. The initial statements of the Israelite defeat of Og are from the non-Israelites, Rahab (2:10) and the Gibeonites (9:10). The remaining occurrences are in summaries of the conquest of the promised land (12:4; 13:12, 30, 31).

how you put them under the ban. The Hebrew verb "to put under the ban," *ḥāram,* is translated in the LXX as *exōlethreuō,* "utter destruction." The preferred translation in the LXX is *anathema,* "something devoted to destruction," although *exōlethreuō* is also infrequently used outside of Joshua (e.g., Deut 2:24; 3:6). *Exōlethreuō* in Josh 2:10 therefore may simply reflect variation in style on the part of the translator. Yet the distribution of *exōlethreuō* and *anathema* is striking in the book of Joshua, suggesting a difference in meaning. *Exōlethreuō* translates *ḥāram* to describe the war against Sihon and Og (2:10) and the wars in Joshua 10–11 (e.g., 10:1, 28, 37, 39, 40; 11:11, 12). *Anathema* translates *ḥāram* only in the story of Jericho (e.g., 6:16, 17, 21; 7:1, 11, 12, 13 [twice]; see also 22:20, which refers back to Achan in Josh 7). The distribution raises the question of whether the LXX of Joshua limits the theme of the ban to the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6–7, as compared with the MT, where all wars in Joshua are an execution of the ban. See the "Comments."

2:11 *because Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below.* The Hebrew *hûʾ,* "he," in apposition has a restrictive function, emphasizing the exclusive power of Yahweh (*HALOT* 10290). Knauf interprets the statement as a monotheistic confession (2008: 50). The LXX lacks the Hebrew *hûʾ.* T. A. W. van der Louw suggests that the omission was to avoid an awkward style (2009: 11).

2:12–14 The MT and the LXX present a series of contrasts that may result in distinct interpretations of Rahab's request for an oath and the response of the spies. The MT appears to be more restrictive than the LXX with regard to the conditions by which Rahab can be saved from death. The oath between Rahab and the spies is conditional in the MT of v. 14 but unconditional in the LXX. Thus, in the MT the spies agree to perform kindness to Rahab on the condition that she not reveal their activity. In the LXX, by contrast, the spies agree without reservation to deliver her and her entire family from death. This prompts Rahab to make the additional request for mercy as compared with the MT, where the spies offer mercy and it is only conditional. The differences are illustrated in the table.

The Request for an Oath of Rescue

	MT	*LXX*
Rahab's Request (vv. 12–13)	[12]"Now, swear to me by Yahweh, since I performed kindness to you, [13]that you also perform kindness to the house of my father and you give me a sign of trust that you will let live my father, my mother, my brothers, my sister, and all who belong to them and that you will deliver our lives from death."	[12]"And now swear to me by the Lord, the God, because I am showing mercy to you, you also show mercy to the house of my father, [13]and you spare the house of my father, my mother, my brothers, all my house, and everything that is theirs. And you deliver my life from death."
The Response of the Men (v. 14a)	[14]The men said to her, "Our life instead of yours to die, if you do not tell this matter of ours. And when Yahweh gives us the land, we will perform kindness and faithfulness with you."	[14]And the men said to her, "Our life for yours to death."
The Response of Rahab (v. 14b)		And she said, "When the Lord gives over the city to you, you shall show me mercy and truth."

2:13 *and you give me a sign of trust.* The clause is absent in the LXX.

that you will let live. The Greek *zōgrēsete* means "to save alive," but it can also mean to take captive instead of killing.

my father, my mother, my brothers, my sister, and all who belong to them. The singular reference to one sister in the Hebrew may be a corruption. The LXX lacks a reference to a sister but includes the phrase *panta ton oikon mou,* "all my house."

and that you will deliver our lives from death. The LXX translates the plea in the singular: "deliver my life from death."

2:14 *Our life instead of yours to die.* The LXX translates the infinitive construct in Hebrew with the prepositional phrase *eis thanaton,* "for death."

if you do not tell this matter of ours. The second masculine plural of the Hebrew *taggîdû* suggests that the condition of secrecy is placed on the entire family of Rahab. The LXX lacks the clause.

And when Yahweh gives us the land, we will perform kindness and faithfulness with you. The LXX attributes this speech to the woman, who predicts the fall of the city rather than the land before requesting mercy and faithfulness.

2:15–20 The MT and the LXX diverge in the conditions of the oath. The MT twice states in vv. 17 and 20 that Rahab forces the conditions of rescue upon the spies. This motif is absent in the LXX. The presence of this motif in the MT may indicate a difference in the ideology of inclusion between the MT and the LXX that was also apparent in vv. 12–14. The differences are illustrated in the table.

The Conditions of the Oath

	MT	*LXX*
Rahab's Action (v. 15)	[15]Then she lowered them with a rope through the window, because her house was in a room of the wall, for she lived in the wall.	[15]And she let them down through the window.
Rahab's Speech (v. 16)	[16][Similar]	[16][Similar]
The Response of the Men (vv. 17–20)	[17]The men said to her, "We are blameless from this oath of yours, which you have made us swear. [18]When we enter the land you must tie this red thread in the window through which you let us down; and your father, your mother, your brother, and all who belong to the house of your father you must gather to you in the house. [19–20][Similar]	[17]And the men said to her, "We are innocent in this oath of yours. [18]"Look, we are entering into a part of the city and you will place the sign. You will fasten this scarlet cord in the window through which you let us down; and your father, your mother, your brothers, and all the house of your father you will gather to yourself in your house. [19–20][Similar]
Rahab's Response (v. 21)	[21]And she said, "According to your words, thus it is." And she sent them away. And they went. And she tied the red thread in the window.	[21]And she said to them, "According to your word, so let it be." And she sent them away.

2:15 *with a rope.* The LXX lacks a reference to the rope.

in a room of the wall. The Hebrew *bĕqîr haḥômâ* is difficult, since both words mean "wall." The phrase is lacking in the LXX. Hess notes two types of walls that would allow for the statement that Rahab lived in the wall: (1) a casement wall that functions as two parallel walls and (2) "a small circle of mud-brick houses that form a continuous wall around the center" (2008a: 37). He prefers the latter, which then allows for a historical reading of the text and would also account for the absence of archaeological evidence. The gates (2:5), the role of the king (2:3), and the miraculous destruction of the walls of Jericho (6:21) all suggest that the author has in mind a casement wall. Van der Louw concludes that such a casement wall was no longer understood by Hellenistic Jews and thus was omitted by the translator (2009: 15).

2:16 *until the pursuers return.* The LXX adds *opisō hymōn,* "after you."

2:17–18 The syntax is difficult. Verse 17 introduces conditions to the oath between Rahab and the two men. Verse 18 states the conditions as positive statements about what she must do. The NRSV senses the problem and translates v. 18 as a conditional sentence with negative restrictions: "If we invade the land and you do not tie this crimson cord."

2:17 *from this oath of yours.* The masculine singular form of the demonstrative pronoun *zeh* does not agree with the feminine noun.

which you have made us swear. The clause is lacking in the LXX.

2:18 *When we enter the land.* The LXX refers to the city rather than the land.

this red thread. In the LXX, the red thread is described as a sign, *sēmeion.*

2:19 *if a hand is on him.* The clause is absent in the LXX.

2:20 *If you tell this matter of ours.* The LXX translates as "if anyone does us wrong or reveals these words of ours."

2:21 *and she tied the red thread in the window.* The clause is lacking in the LXX.

2:22 *until the pursuers returned.* The clause is lacking in the LXX. Van der Louw argues that the omission is to avoid two problems of logic in the MT: (1) "how could the hiding spies know that the pursuers had returned?" and (2) "the search is mentioned *after* the return of the pursuers" (2009: 13).

2:23 *They crossed and came to Joshua son of Nun.* The LXX reads *diebēsan pros iēsoun huion nauē,* "they crossed over to Joshua son of Naue."

2:24 *Yahweh has given.* The Hebrew *kî* introduces direct discourse. The LXX reflects the MT by using *hoti* (BDF 397.5).

All the inhabitants of the land. The LXX has the demonstrative, "every one of the inhabitants of that land."

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The interpretation of the composition of Josh 2 centers on a series of repetitions in the narrative and the evaluation of possible later additions or expansions of the basic narrative. The repetitions include (1) Rahab hiding the spies (vv. 4, 6), (2) the description of the spies bedding down (vv. 1b, 8), (3) the escape of the spies (vv. 15, 21), and (4) the conditions by which the spies would be released from their oath (vv. 17, 20). Interpreters also identify later additions to Rahab's confession (vv. 9–11) and in the extended speech of the spies (vv. 17–21).

Source critics originally sought to identify parallel accounts of Josh 2 from the doublets. H. Holzinger sketched the outlines of E and J from the repetitions, concluding that Josh 2 consisted primarily of the E source, with only supplements of J remaining (1901: 4–5). O. Eissfeldt recovered a detailed narrative division in identifying the hexateuchal conclusions to the L and J sources (1922: 202–5). The L source focused on the conditional oath between Rahab and the spies, and it did not contain a confession about Yahweh (2:1*, 6, 8, 9b, 12a, 13, 14a, 17–18a, 19–21a*a,* ab, 24). The J source included the motifs of the king of Jericho, Rahab's lie to the king, and her confession that Yahweh is giving the land to the Israelites (2:1*, 2–5, 7, 9a, 12b, 14b–15, 18b, 21b–23). A later editor expanded the confession of Rahab (2:10–11).

Already in the nineteenth century interpreters resisted a source-critical solution to the composition of Josh 2, sensing that the narrative artistry of the story did not conform well to the rather wooden distribution of the doublets into parallels accounts. Wellhausen concluded that the story was essentially a unit of J or E but that vv. 10–11 indicate an expansion of the original narrative (1899: 586). Steuernagel agreed, suggesting that the main narrative of Josh 2 is part of the E source, based on the setting of

Shittim in the E story of Num 25:1ff. He, too, identified later additions in the confession of Rahab (vv. 9b–11) as well as in the repetition of the confession by the spies at the close of the narrative (v. 24). He also judged the extended speech of the spies (vv. 17–21) to be an expansion (1923: 212). The interpretation of Steuernagel became the basis for Noth (1971b: 29–30) and any number of more recent commentators, who continue to identify a series of expansions to an original story of Rahab and the spies, without seeking a source-critical solution (e.g., Soggin, 1972: 36–40; Butler, 1983: 27–32; Otto, 1975: 86–88; J. P. Floss, 1986: 79).

The emergence of the literary and rhetorical study of biblical narrative is moving researchers farther from the traditional source-critical solution for interpreting Josh 2. Nelson acknowledges the possibility of a prehistory to the story but chooses to concentrate on the present form (1997a: 41). Knauf further argues for a unified reading of Josh 2, concluding that the story is a late theological composition that presupposes the Pentateuch as Torah. He adds that the story of Rahab is intended to introduce an antiwar perspective into the book of Joshua in that the negotiations between the spies and Rahab indicate exceptions to the extermination of all indigenous nations in Canaan, thus qualifying the absolute commands of Exod 23:31–33; 34:15; and Deut 7:1–5, 16–24 (2008: 46).

The most consistent question among interpreters regarding the composition of Josh 2 is the speech of Rahab in vv. 9–11. The text-critical study of the MT and the LXX indicates a continuing history of composition in the versions. Interpreters, especially those who consider the original narrative to be pre-Deuteronomistic, also sense a history of redaction before the versions. Wellhausen, for example, concludes that vv. 10–11 indicate later Deuteronomistic authorship on the basis of the motif of the fear of the nations (1899: 120). Steuernagel expands the scope of the Deuteronomistic insertion to include vv. 9b–11, since the fear of the nations also appears in v. 9b, which leaves only v. 9a as the speech of Rahab in the original version of the story (1923: 212–13). Noth follows the reading of Steuernagel but extends the original form of the pre-Deuteronomistic speech to include the following *kî* clause: "I know that Yahweh has given you the land and that [*kî*] your dread has fallen on us." He notes, however, that the multiple *kî* clauses in the MT of vv. 9b–10 are awkward and likely later additions to the text, since only the first is tied directly to Rahab's statement of knowledge (1971b: 29). The analysis results in two stages of composition: (1) the original speech of Rahab in v. 9a and perhaps also v. 11, and (2) the later addition of vv. 9b–10, which includes the specific inner-biblical references to the Pentateuch with the motifs of the fear of the nations (Exod 15:15), the miracle at the Red Sea (Exod 14–15), and the defeat of the Amorite kings (Num 21; Deut 2–3). I interpret the confession of Rahab in Josh 2:9–11 as composed by one author, especially given the late composition of the entire narrative. The author of the confession of Rahab repeats many of the same themes found in the statement of the Gibeonites in Josh 9:8–9.

Interpreters also note a series of problems in the literary context of Josh 2 that raise questions about whether the entire narrative of Rahab might be a later addition to the book of Joshua. Three features of the literary context in particular have influenced the identification of the composition of Josh 2: (1) the continuation of the story of Rahab into Josh 6, (2) the disruption of chronology between Josh 1 and 3, and (3) the literary links to pentateuchal narratives, especially Num 25.

The evaluation of the composition of Josh 2 is influenced by the extension of the story of Rahab into Josh 6, when vv. 22–25 narrate the collapse of the wall of Jericho and the rescue of Rahab with the concluding etiology that the clan of Rahab continued to live in the midst of the Israelites "until this day." The two parts of the story raise a question about the original form of the account. K. Möhlenbrink, for example, argues that the rescue of the spies in Josh 2 was originally unrelated to the legend of the walls of a city falling down in Josh 6 (1938: 258). This hypothesis influences subsequent theories of composition, since it raises the question of how the two stories were combined in the book of Joshua.

Noth assigns the origin of the Rahab legend to the etiology of her house in Josh 6: 25, making the rescue of the spies in Josh 2 a subsequent expansion that focuses on three core speeches by Rahab: (1) Her lie to the king of Jericho (2:3, 4b), (2) her confession to the spies (2:9–14), and (3) her request for rescue (2:16–21aa). The three speeches are each given a setting: (1) Josh 2:4a, 6,; (2) Josh 2:7, 8; and (3) Josh 2:15, 21abb. The narrative is also framed with an introduction (2:1–2) and a conclusion (2:22–24) (1971b: 22, 29).

More recent study by Floss postulates an oral version of the story in the account of the spies in Josh 2, not the house of Rahab in Josh 6. Floss concludes that the origin is a tale about two spies, a nameless prostitute, and their encounter in a nameless city (2:1*, 2b* 3*, 4*, 5, 6, 15, 16, 22). This oral legend is then incorporated into the book of Joshua through a sequence of Deuteronomistic redactions (1982: 79, 102, 174–75, 210–17). Bieberstein rightly questions whether it is possible to recover an oral version of the story, which originally lacked both a context and a purpose (1995: 104). The more recent trend of commentators is to reject an interpretation of the story of Rahab as an ancient legend. Thus Knauf concludes that Josh 2 is neither ancient, nor a local legend, but a theologically constructed story (2008: 46–47). This is also my point of departure for interpreting Josh 2 and 6. The story of the spies in Josh 2 and the rescue of Rahab in Josh 6 are a literary creation. There are four central motifs in Josh 6:22–25, and all depend on Josh 2, including the reference to the two spies (6:22; 2:1), the oath (6:22; 2:12, 17, 20), the rescue of Rahab's entire family (6:22–23; 2:12, 13, 18), and Rahab's action of hiding the spies (6:25; 2:6). R. Polzin rightly notes that the framing of the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6 with the story of Rahab in Josh 2 and 6 introduces a point of tension between the absolute demands of the ban in Deuteronomy and the rescue of the Canaanite Rahab (1980: 85–91).

The problem of chronology between the story of Rahab in Josh 2 and the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 1 and 3 has also influenced theories of composition. Joshua 1 and 3 are related by a three-day sequence. Joshua 1:11 states that the Israelites were to prepare for the crossing of the Jordan in three days' time, which is enacted in Josh 3:2 when the officers charged the people at the end of the three-day period to follow the ark across the river. The story of Rahab and the spies in Josh 2 disrupts the account of the crossing of the Jordan River, when the spies hide from the men of Jericho for three days before returning to Joshua in the Israelite camp (2:22). S. Wagner states the conclusion of many that the two three-day sequences must be read consecutively and that they conflict in chronology, so that Josh 2 is a narrative independent of the crossing of the Jordan (1964: 257). Van Seters agrees, stating that the story of Rahab is a secondary addition intended to explore a universal form of Yahwism (1983: 325), which accounts

for the disruption of chronology with the account of the crossing of the Jordan. Literary critics note, however, that the disruption of chronology may be a literary device to evaluate the secret action of Joshua in sending out spies in Josh 2, over against the divine command to cross the Jordan in Josh 1 and 3 (L. D. Hawk, 1991: 59–71).

The many points of contact between Josh 2 and pentateuchal narratives also influence the identification of the author. Steuernagel identifies the author as the Elohist, noting that the setting of Shittim in Josh 2:1 suggests the same author as Num 25:1, where the Israelites are also located at Shittim (1923: 212). Butler underscores the same literary relationship but attributes the composition to a Deuteronomic author (1983: 31). Wagner describes Josh 2 as a continuation of the spy stories from Num 13–14 and Deut 1, thus relating the account of Rahab to the Pentateuch without specifically identifying the author (1964: 257). Mowinckel, by contrast, interprets Josh 2 as the conclusion to the distribution of land east of the Jordan River that is narrated in Num 32 (1964: 9–16). F. Langlamet argues, instead, that the Yahwist was the author of Josh 2 on the basis of shared language with the story of Abraham's servant who finds Isaac's wife in Gen 24 and the account of Lot's rescue from Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 19 (1971: 180–81). Otto agrees with Langlamet, noting the close literary relationship between Gen 24:8 and Josh 2:17, 20 within the J source (1975: 97). R. G. Kratz (2005: 279–95), on the other hand, identifies Josh 2 as part of an original story of the exodus, in which the geographical setting of Shittim plays an important role (Num 25:1a; Deut 34: 5f; Josh 2:1; 3:1). I interpret the many references to the Pentateuch, including Gen 19 and 24; Exod 15; Num 13–14, 21, and 25; and Deut 1 and 4 as indications of the late composition of Josh 2 and the author's broad use of the Torah as a literary source. Knauf rightly concludes that the story of Rahab is a theological construction based on the Torah (2008: 46).

RAHAB THE TRICKSTER

The portrait of Rahab as a prostitute who rescues the Israelite spies through trickery has dominated the study of the genre of Josh 2. The early interpretation of these motifs tended to focus on the historical recovery of the character Rahab or events associated with the city of Jericho. Gunkel interpreted the motifs as representing a *Sage* about foreign hospitality (1931). D. H. Windische noted Greek and Roman parallels about prostitutes who save cities (1917). Gressmann identified an etiology of Canaanite cultic prostitution in the character of Rahab (1922: 134–64). Hölscher agreed with Gressmann, suggesting that the etiology traced the origin of cultic prostitutes in Jericho to Rahab, perhaps explaining how Israelites took over a Canaanite cultic institution (1919). Noth focused more on the house of prostitution in Jericho, which may originally have meant "the house in the public square," from the Hebrew *rḥb,* meaning "broad, wide, or even public." He suggests that the phrase likely designates a house of prostitution that survived in the location of Jericho. This house eventually became associated with a person, Rahab, who for this reason should not be identified as a cultic prostitute (1971b: 23, 29). J. Heller disagreed, arguing that Rahab was actually a priestess who worshiped the moon god from her roof. This accounts for the setting of Josh 2:6, when she hides the spies on her roof (1965). A common feature throughout the different interpretations of genre is the assumption that the story of Rahab is an

etiology, which preserves the memory of an ancient character, a cultic practice, or perhaps even a historical phenomenon.

The historical value of etiologies began to erode with further research by Noth. He questioned whether the origin of the story of Rahab could be accounted for with the assumption that it represents a legend associated with the walls of Jericho, a window, or even a red cord (1971b: 23). Subsequent research by B. S. Childs (1963) and B. O. Long (1968: 3) raised further questions about recovering the ancient setting of stories like that of Rahab. They argued instead that etiological motifs advance the aims of authors and thus are not organic to oral stories. G. M. Tucker confirmed the growing suspicion by concluding that a historical or cultic reconstruction of the story of Rahab based on etiology "remains highly conjectural" (1972: 84–85). He follows the conclusion of Long that any future identification of the genre must arise from a literary study of Josh 2, rather than assumptions about the ancient setting of the folktale (1972: 68).

The literary study of Josh 2 points to the genre of a trickster tale. The trickster in folklore is defined by three important characteristics: (1) The trickster has marginal social status, (2) relies on himself or herself, and (3) is an agent of change. First, marginality is a central feature of trickster stories (K. Cunningham, 1997: 813). The trickster is often presented as disadvantaged and as functioning from a position of weakness (K. Farmer, 1978: 22). The trickster is the least likely to succeed; he is "the poor relative, youngest son, the exile, the ex-prince, the soldier of a defeated army" (S. Niditch, 1987: xi), or as we see in Joshua, she is the city prostitute. Second, the marginal status of the trickster means that the hero must rely on the self in order to survive through deceit rather than strength (R. D. Patterson, 1999: 388). But there are qualifications. The trickster is more of a con artist than an evil protagonist (Niditch, 1987: xi), surviving by wit and cleverness. Farmer adds the theological perspective that the trickster's reliance on self is in contrast to faith in divine rescue (1978: 122). Third, the trickster is an agent of change, a cultural hero who represents the destruction of boundaries (Cunningham, 1997: 814). The trickster represents change by "poking fun at anything that parades as permanent, important, or impermeable" (L. E. Sullivan, 1986: 46), which, in the case of Rahab, is the city of Jericho with its thick and secure walls, or the exclusive social boundaries of tribal Israel in the book of Joshua that appear to be secured by the ban. The change brought about by the trickster is often represented as carnal desires of insatiable hunger or sex. Sullivan cautions that "the trickster's appetites cannot be exhaustively explained in terms of the biology of sex or the physiology of hunger" (1986: 46). They represent, instead, the trickster's craving for other people, a desire for a change in life or even religion. The crossing of boundaries by the trickster, therefore, is not achieved through mystical contemplation, but through sensuous pursuit. Of the trickster's sexual activity, Sullivan writes, "His (or her) bodily passages become the loci where worlds meet, come together, and even pass though and interpenetrate one another" (1986: 46).

Rahab fulfills the definition of the trickster as being marginal, self-reliant, and an agent of change. Her primary identification in the story is sexual; she is a prostitute, whose house is located in the wall of the city. The location of her home signifies her marginal status in the city of Jericho. The prostitute in the ancient world signifies "degradation, debasement and corruption" (M. Davies, 1995: 225). The same holds true in the Hebrew Bible, where the social status of the prostitute is "that of an outcast, though not an outlaw, a tolerated, but dishonored member of society" (P. Bird, 1989: 120). The

identification mirrors the definition of the trickster as the weak and the disadvantaged. The portrayal of Rahab as a prostitute is meant to symbolize her marginal position in the city. Her actions in deceiving the king of Jericho and in forcing an oath of rescue from the Israelite spies correspond to the self-interest of the trickster, who survives by cleverness. Bird concludes that the entire account of the spies in Jericho depends on Rahab's marginal status as a prostitute (1989: 129). She is a trickster, who lives by her wits and in the process captures the Israelite spies through sexual intercourse, pokes fun at the supposed power of the king of Jericho and his army, and in the end forces an oath of rescue from the Israelite spies for herself and her family.

Rahab also functions as an agent of change for the Israelite spies, the citizens of Jericho, and her family. As a prostitute, she crosses boundaries through sex. In fact, in her role as a prostitute Rahab is the only point of contact between the citizens of Jericho and the Israelites in the story. She also symbolizes change within her own character, when she undergoes a transformation from urban to rural life in devising her family's rescue from Jericho. Prostitution is characteristic of urban society in the ancient world (Bird, 1989: 212), not the pastoral life of the Israelites in the book of Joshua. Thus, the description of Rahab as a prostitute at the outset of the story firmly identifies her with the indigenous urban population of the promised land. She is a city-dweller, but one who lives in the wall of Jericho at the margin of urban life. Sex with a prostitute, moreover, can indicate change from pastoral innocence to civilized life in ancient literature, as in the case of Enkidu in the Gilgamesh Epic (VII.iii.1–20). He is transformed from the primitive world of animals to the civilized life of humans when he has sex with a prostitute—a fate he bemoans at his death with a curse on prostitutes that they might always slink in the "shadow of the city's wall" (*ANET* 86), where they live at the margins of urban life.

The sexual imagery surrounding the meeting of the Israelite spies and Rahab (2:1–4) may indicate the same transformation of the spies as that of Enkidu, from pastoral innocence to the vices of urban life. Ironically, the remainder of the story narrates the rescue of the spies from their fate through the deception and wit of the prostitute, who was the channel for their loss of innocence. The central theme of the story, however, is not the contamination of the spies from urban life through their encounter with a prostitute or even their rescue from it. Rather, it is the transformation of Rahab from the status of a prostitute, who lives in a city wall at the margins of urban society (2:15), to that of a heroine of the Israelites, whose window in the wall (2:21) becomes a means of transfer to rural life on the edge of the Israelite camp (6:23).

The "Notes" indicate that the portrait of Rahab is developed in distinctive ways in the MT and the LXX. In the MT, Joshua sends out the spies "secretly" (v. 1); Rahab encourages the men of Jericho to pursue the spies "quickly" (v. 5); and the dialogue between Rahab and the king of Jericho is filled with sexual innuendo (vv. 2–6). All of this is absent in the LXX. The contrasts suggest a more critical portrait of Joshua in the MT. He sends out the spies "secretly" to reconnoiter the land immediately after the divine revelation of the imminent successful conquest in Josh 1. The contrasts also suggest a more colorful portrait of Rahab in the MT, which is carried over into her interaction with the two spies, where she functions in a more prominent role as a trickster than in the LXX rendition. The distinct portraits continue into the account of the oath that is made between Rahab and the spies (vv. 12–21), which may suggest distinct views toward the inclusion of non-Israelites. The MT is more restrictive than the LXX on the

conditions by which Rahab can be saved from death. The oath between Rahab and the spies is conditional in the MT of v. 14: "Our life instead of yours to die, *if you do not tell this matter of ours.* And when Yahweh gives us the land, we will perform kindness and faithfulness with you." The statement of the spies is unconditional in the LXX, "Our life for yours to death." This prompts Rahab to make the additional request for mercy: "And she said, 'When the Lord gives over the city to you, show me mercy and truth." In the MT, it is the spies who offer mercy, and it is only conditional.

The ambiguity of the character of Rahab corresponds well with the prostitute's complex role in the book of Joshua. She is not given clear motive in the opening verse of Josh 2. The result is a long and varied history of interpretation about her character. Rahab is a uniformly positive character in the New Testament as an ancestor of Jesus (Matt 1:5), a hero of faith (Heb 11:31), and an ethical model in extending hospitality to the spies (Jas 2:25). The same process of idealization is evident in Jewish tradition, where she is described as beautiful (b. Meg. 15A), a proselyte (Sipre Numbers 78), the wife of Joshua (b. Meg. 14B), and the ancestor of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Ruth Rabbah 2:1). The rabbis also initiated a debate that has continued in the history of interpretation whether Rahab was simply an innkeeper or indeed a prostitute (b. Zebaḥ. 116B). Calvin accentuated Rahab's profession as a prostitute to illustrate her inability to achieve faith outside of election (1995: 3.24.11). The contemporary interpreters Bird (1989: 129) and A. Bellis (1994: 114–15) also emphasize Rahab's role as a prostitute without Calvin's theological evaluation. The interpretation of Rahab as an innkeeper is evident already in Josephus (*Ant.* 6.2), and it continues in the reading of F. M. Cross (1990: 101) and M. J. Evans (2005: 990). Y. Zakovitch cites Kimchi, who downplays the difference by focusing on Rahab's character, stating that female innkeepers are most likely prostitutes anyway (1990: 82). Bird bridges the different interpretations by focusing on the designation "house of a woman prostitute" instead of the character of Rahab, which, she concludes, indicates a brothel (1989: 127–28). Rowlett moves the interpretation in yet another direction, exploring Rahab's role in aiding the spies from a postcolonial perspective, in which Rahab resembles Pocahontas (2000).

Comments

2:1. IDENTIFICATION OF RAHAB

The episode begins by noting the secret nature of Joshua's mission to spy out the land and Jericho. The question arises: From whom is the mission intended to be a secret—the Canaanites, the Israelites, or God? Secrecy toward the Canaanites is redundant, since spying is secret (*GVG* §103a). J. J. Kraus suggests that the secret nature of the mission may be directed toward the Israelites, especially in light of the catastrophe that occurred in the first mission of the spies in Num 13–14 and Deut 1:19–46 (2012). The secrecy may not be about the clandestine nature of the spies' mission at all, but rather the action and motive of Joshua. Calvin follows this line of interpretation: "Are we to approve of his [Joshua's] prudence? Or are we to condemn him for excessive anxiety, especially as he seems to have trusted more than was right to his own prudence, when, without consulting God, he was so careful in taking precautions against danger?" (1949: 43). Calvin gives Joshua the benefit of the doubt and assumes that he had consulted God before undertaking the mission. But this information is absent from the text.

The question Calvin raises is partially answered by examining the problem of chronology that the spying of Jericho introduces into the opening chapters of the book. Joshua 1:11 and 3:2 indicate that entering the promised land requires three days of preparation at Shittim, after which time the Israelites are to cross the Jordan River. The spying of Jericho in Josh 2 introduces a counternarrative in this sequence of preparation for conquest, since it too requires three days to complete. The separate three-day time periods in Josh 1 and 3 and in Josh 2 result in the contrast between Joshua's "secret" mission of the spies and the more public divine command to cross the Jordan. The contrast, according to A. Sherwood, casts the narrative of Josh 2 in a "dubious light" (2006: 50). It recalls the previous failed attempts to spy out the land in Num 13–14 and Deut 1, and it anticipates the defeat at Ai that also results from advice for war achieved from spying rather than consulting the Deity (Josh 7:2–5). Hawk reinforces the negative focus of Josh 2, noting that the oath to rescue Rahab violates the command that Israel remain separate from the indigenous nations, while the setting of Shittim specifically links the story with Num 25:1–5, where Israel previously "prostituted themselves" with foreign women (1991: 59–71). The competing chronologies suggest that Joshua is hiding the mission of the spies from the Deity, who neither commanded it nor was consulted. This secret action of Joshua, independent of the Deity, will result in the incorporation of the non-Israelite clan of Rahab into the life of the Israelites—a clear violation of the divine command to exterminate all the indigenous nations. The divine command, moreover, is conveyed in such a public manner that even the prostitute Rahab knows of it (2:9–11). Boling and Wright capture the problem, stating that the "story of Rahab sticks out like a sore thumb" because the negotiated acceptance of her family presents a "glaring internal contradiction . . . with the warfare guidelines in Deut 20:10–20" (1982: 150). A similar action occurs in Josh 9, when Joshua makes a covenant with the Gibeonites, again without consulting Yahweh, which also leads to their incorporation into the Israelite community within the promised land.

The inclusion of indigenous Canaanites into the Israelite community as a consequence of actions that are undertaken independently of Yahweh is a literary strategy of the MT version of Joshua. It allows the author to maintain a strict ideology of social exclusion, even while exploring ways in which non-Israelites can share in Israel's life in the promised land. The author uses this literary design at the outset of the story to place the spies in the house of Rahab. A similar technique occurs later in the narrative, when Rahab forces the oath of rescue from the spies in Josh 2:12–21. The combination of these two events allows the author to explore the legal rights of non-Israelites or perhaps even proselytes in the promised land without actually embracing a more inclusive form of Yahwism, or denying outright the absolute demand of the ban. The LXX does not share the MT's degree of social exclusion and thus abandons the motif of secrecy in Josh 1:1 with its implication of disobedience; it also restructures the dialogue between Rahab and the spies in Josh 2:12–21 so that the oath is freely given by the spies, rather than forced from them. The LXX may not even consider Rahab to be under the ban, since it translates her reference to the ban in Josh 2:10 as *exōlethreuō,* "to destroy utterly," rather than the expected *anethematizō,* "to be devoted to destruction."

The setting of Shittim is established in Josh 2:1. This setting ties Josh 2 and 3 closely together as one literary unit, since Shittim also functions as the point of departure for the Israelites' crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3:1. The disruption of chronology,

however, between the instruction for a three-day preparation for crossing the Jordan in Josh 1:10 and its fulfillment in Josh 3:2 also raises the question of whether the story of Rahab is a later addition (see Knauf, 2008: 46). However one answers the question of the history of composition, the setting of Shittim and the identification of Rahab as a prostitute are related. The setting points the reader back to the wilderness journey, where the Israelite men had sex with the women of Moab at Shittim (Num 25:1). The reference to the Pentateuch infuses the encounter of the spies and Rahab with sexual imagery, even though the language in Josh 2:1 is less explicit than that in Num 25:1. The name Rahab, meaning "broad or wide," may also be intended to underscore the sexual background of the story (A. Brenner, 2002: 47–48). But other images also emerge, including the mythical connotations of the chaos monster Rahab (Job 9:13).

2:2–6. DECEPTION OF THE KING OF JERICHO

The narrative explores the identity of Rahab through three scenes in which she functions in three distinct relationships, first with the indigenous population of Jericho (vv. 2–6), second with Yahweh (vv. 7–11), and third with Israel (vv. 12–21).

Joshua 2:2–6 explores the relationship of Rahab to the indigenous urban population of Jericho through her deception of the king of Jericho. The section opens abruptly in vv. 2–3 by underscoring the failure of the mission of the spies, who are identified immediately by the citizens of the city and reported to the king. The king, in turn, demands that Rahab turn over the Israelite men, repeating the sexual motif "entered" from v. 1, while also relating the motif to the act of spying: "Bring out the men who came in [*bô'*] to you, who entered [*bô'*] your house, for they came [*bô'*] to spy out all the land." Boling and Wright underscore the importance of the word *bô'* in Josh 2:1–4, noting its occurrence seven times in the section (1982: 144).

Rahab functions over against the citizens of the city and the king. Knauf introduces a categorical difference between Rahab as a resident, who lacks power, and the king and his entourage as citizens, who control the land from the cities. From this he concludes, "If Canaan is conceived as an assemblage of city-states and its citizens, then Rahab is not even a Canaanite" (2008: 49). Instead, she functions at the margins of urban life, and her relationship to the citizens of Jericho is that of a trickster. She hides the spies and lies to the king in vv. 4–6. These actions recall the midwives in Exodus, who also conceal Israelite males and lie to Pharaoh about it (Exod 1:15–22). Unlike the midwives, however, Rahab is not identified by the narrator as a God-fearer at the outset of the story. Instead, her motives unfold in the telling of the story. Her act of hiding the spies in vv. 4a and 6 frames her speech to the king of Jericho in vv. 4b–5. Despite the shifting setting between the king of Jericho and the spies, the scene remains firmly focused on her speech and actions. The inquiry of the king provides the occasion for Rahab to play the role of the trickster by lying twice. She acknowledges that the men came (*bô'*) to her, but she adds that she neither knows (*wĕlô' yāda'tî*) from where the men came nor knows (*lô' yāda'tî*) where they were going. Rahab's lie to the king may indicate her will to survive, or perhaps her rejection of urban life in Jericho in favor of the rural life of the Israelites represented by the two spies.

The two acts of concealment in vv. 4a and 6 frame and balance her twice-told lie to the king of Jericho. The spies remain passive as Rahab orchestrates their rescue. Their

passivity has nothing to do with the themes of holy war, as argued by McCarthy (1971b: 228–29); rather, it accentuates their failure as spies and the central role of Rahab in the narrative. The initial concealment in v. 4a provides the background for interpreting Rahab's response to the king of Jericho as a lie. Hawk detects in the background elements of the story of Lot's nighttime visitation in Sodom (Gen 19), including the motif of two men entering a doomed city at night, the demand from residents that the visitors come out, and the rescue through dialogue (1992: 89–90). The second account of the concealment in v. 6 adds more detail concerning the manner by which Rahab hid the spies under stalks of flax on the roof.

2:7–11. CONFESSION ABOUT YAHWEH

Joshua 2:7–11 explores the relationship between Rahab and Yahweh through her confession that Yahweh is giving the land to Israel (v. 9a) and that he is the God in heaven (v. 11b). This speech also includes a rehearsal of the central events of Israel's salvation, including the exodus, the miracle at the Red Sea, and the defeat of the Amorite kings Sihon and Og (vv. 9b–11a). Rahab's address to the spies (vv. 9–11) is her second speech in the narrative, and it begins with a statement of knowledge, "I know," providing contrast to her previous speech to the king of Jericho, where she twice falsely denied knowledge: "I do not know" (vv. 4b–5).

Rahab's confession in vv. 9–11 is long, with a complex series of causal (*kî*) and relative (*ʾăšer*) clauses, which suggest literary expansion. The syntax of the MT, however, makes it difficult to recover the history of composition. The specific motifs of the Israelite story of salvation and the reference to the ban are intended to sharpen the central themes of the narrative and to create specific literary ties to the Pentateuch (see "Notes" and "Composition"). The present form of the speech is structured into two statements, one in vv. 9–10 and the other in v. 11, which work together to form a confession of faith about the power of Yahweh. Verses 9–10 include a confession (v. 9), followed by the experiences that support it (v. 10): Rahab knows (*yāda'*) that Yahweh is giving the land to Israel (v. 9), based (*kî*) on the reports of Yahweh drying up the Red Sea (v. 10a) and the success of the ban in the Israelite war against Sihon and Og (v. 10b). Verse 11 repeats the two parts of vv. 9–10, but in reverse order. In this speech Rahab first describes what she has experienced, namely, the fear of the Canaanites (v. 11a), which provides the basis for her confession about the power of Yahweh in the following *kî* clause (v. 11b): "Yahweh . . . is God in heaven above and on earth below." The result of this inverted design is that the speech of Rahab in vv. 9–11 is framed by a single confession, which includes a statement of faith (v. 9a) with reason for belief (v. 11b): "And she said to the men, 'I know that Yahweh has given you the land [v. 9a] . . . because Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below' [v. 11b]." The middle portion of the speech in vv. 9b–11a fills out the confession by recounting the central events of salvation as further support for Rahab's confession in vv. 9a and 11b. These events include the exodus, the drying up of the Red Sea, the fear of the nations, and the execution of the ban (*ḥerem*) on Og and Sihon. The interpretation of the speech separates into four parts: (1) the core confession that Yahweh is the God in heaven above and on earth below, (2) the motifs of the exodus, (3) the fear of the nations, and (4) the theme of the ban.

Yahweh Is the God in Heaven

Rahab's confession that Yahweh is "God in heaven above and on the earth below" is an inner-biblical quotation of Deut 4:39, where the same confession appears in a speech of Moses to the Israelites (see also the speech of Solomon in 1 Kgs 8:23). Mayes notes that the confession in Deut 4:39 represents late tradition in the book of Deuteronomy (1979: 158), in which the affirmation of the unique power of Yahweh is similar to that in Second Isaiah (e.g., Isa 43:10; 44:6; 45:6, 22). Römer locates the change from the monolatry that dominates the book of Deuteronomy (e.g., 6:14; 8:19; 11:28; 13:3) to the monotheism of Deut 4 in the postexilic period, during the time of Persian rule (2005: 172–75). This is also the social milieu for the composition of Rahab's confession, which suggests that the exploration of the universal power of Yahweh in Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Joshua occurs during the period of Persian rule. But Deut 4:39 and Josh 2:11 represent different points of view on this theme. Deuteronomy 4:32–40 is exclusive in focus; it is intended to affirm the universal power of Yahweh to underscore the uniqueness of Israel's election. Joshua 2:11b moves in the other direction; it is a confession by the Canaanite Rahab that probes the religious inclusivity of Yahweh's universal rule within the literary setting of a book that is extreme in its exclusive ideology.

The emphasis on inclusivity in the confession of Yahweh as the "God in heaven" (*'ĕlōhîm baššāmayim*) broadens the context for the interpretation of Josh 2:11b to include a range of postexilic texts that also describe Yahweh as the "God of heaven" to underscore the inclusivity of Yahwism. This title appears nine times in the Aramaic correspondence from Elephantine ("God of heaven," *'ĕlāh šĕmayyā';* CAP 30:2, 28; 31:[2], 27; 32:4; 38:[2], 3, 5; 40:1) and an additional twenty-one times in postexilic biblical texts in Hebrew and in Aramaic: The Hebrew *'ĕlōhê haššāmayim* occurs eight times (Gen 24:3, 7; Jonah 1:9; Ezra 1:2; Neh 1:4, 5; 2:4, 20), *'el haššāmayim* once (Ps 136:26), and the Aramaic *'elāh šĕmayyā'* an additional twelve times (Ezra 5:11, 12; 6:9, 10; 7:12, 21, 23 [twice]; Dan 2:18, 19, 37, 44). Joshua 2:11 differs from these texts in using the preposition "in" (*bĕ*), "God *in* heaven," rather than the definite article in Hebrew or the definite suffix in Aramaic: "God of heaven." Yet the inclusive content of Josh 2:11a overlaps with these texts. The phrase "God in heaven" appears in the Aramaic of Dan 2:28 (*ĕlāh bišmayyā'*). This strengthens the argument that the confession of Rahab dates from the Persian period.

D. K. Andrews writes that the title "God of heaven" reflects the influence of Persian religion and politics on postexilic Jews, where the god Ahura Mazda functioned as the celestial deity or high god (1964). Although the Persians tolerated local cults, Andrews suggests that they likely favored those cults, which reflected the celestial emphasis of Ahura Mazda. In this case, the emergence of the title "God of heaven" in postexilic literature represents a claim among postexilic Jewish authors that the cult of Yahweh was more than a local cult, but reflected the celestial emphasis of Ahura Mazda and thus was worthy of their attention and support. Andrews notes the same practice in Herodotus, who identifies Ahura Mazda with Zeus, writing, "the whole circle of heaven, they [the Persians] call Zeus" (*Hist.* 1.131.2).

The distribution of the title "God in heaven" reinforces the interpretation of Andrews; it does not appear in Jewish devotional literature but is used mainly in the nar-

ratives of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, when non-Jewish characters refer to the Deity, or in official communication between Jewish leaders and the Persians. The title is used in narratives that describe Jews serving in the Persian court (Nehemiah in Neh 1:4, 5; Daniel in Dan 2:18, 19), in correspondence between Jewish leaders and foreign officials (Tattenai in Ezra 5:11, 12; Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar in Dan 2:37, 44; 5:23), or in Jonah's address to the foreign sailors (Jonah 1:9). The one exception is the oath between Abraham and his servant in Gen 24:3: "I will make you swear by Yahweh, the God of heaven and earth" (see also v. 7). The postexilic authors of Chronicles and Ezra also use the title to idealize Persian kings, as foreign emperors who recognize Yahweh, in the edict of Cyrus (2 Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2) or in the correspondence of Darius (Ezra 6:9, 10) and Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:12, 21, 23). This final usage provides the closest parallel to the speech of Rahab in Josh 2:11b, since, like the Persian kings, she too identifies Yahweh as the "God in heaven." The similarity, however, allows for an important contrast that provides insight into the antimonarchic outlook of the author of Joshua: The idealized foreigner who recognizes Yahweh is not a monarch, but the prostitute Rahab, whose antimonarchic point of view is evident by her lies to the king of Jericho.

Themes of the Exodus

Two related themes characterize the exodus in the speech of Rahab: the divine leading out of Egypt and the drying up of the Red Sea. J. Wijngaards has identified the statement of the divine leading from Egypt as a standard confessional formula, which he calls the Exodus Motif (1965: 92). It consists of the clause "Yahweh brought us out of Egypt." This confession uses stereotyped language, including the causative form of the verb "to go out" (*yāṣa'*), with Yahweh as the subject and Israel as the object. The noncausative form of the verb "to go out" can be a technical term for the going out of a slave, according to H. D. Preuss, while the causative form can express release from prison, giving the motif overtones of liberation from social oppression (1990: 233). The motif of the divine leading out of Egypt becomes one of the defining characteristics of the Deity, as is evident in Yahweh's self-introduction to the Decalogue: "I am Yahweh your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the house of slavery" (Exod 20:1). The drying up (*yabbāšâ*) of the Red Sea is closely related to the act of Israel leaving Egypt in the book of Exodus (14:16, 22, 29; 15:19). The confrontation at the sea is more than Yahweh's destruction of the Egyptian army but also includes the divine leading of the Israelites through the Red Sea on dry ground (Dozeman, 1996b: 63). In this way the two themes noted in Rahab's speech emphasize the divine leading of the Israelites, not the destruction of the enemy in the sea.

The allusions to the exodus in Rahab's speech show again that the book of Joshua is dependent on the entire Pentateuch and not simply the book of Deuteronomy. The emphasis on liberation in the Exodus Motif is prominent in Deuteronomy. Yahweh is described as "having brought out" Israel with a strong hand (6:21; 7:8; 9:26), with a strong hand and an outstretched arm (5:15; 7:19), and with his presence and great power (4:37). Other uses of the motif describe the place or situation from which Israel was rescued: Israel was "brought out" from the iron furnace (4:20), from slavery (5:6; 6:12; 8:14; 13:18), from the hand of Pharaoh (7:8), from the Egyptians (4:20, 37; 6:21; 9:26; 23:3; 26:9), and from the land of Egypt (5:6; 6:12; 8:14; 13:5, 10; 20:1). The motif

of Yahweh drying up the Red Sea, however, is absent from the book of Deuteronomy. It is confined to Exodus in the Pentateuch, and it will return in the book of Joshua in the account of the crossing of the Jordan River (Josh 3–4).

Fear of the Nations

McCarthy (1971b) identified a series of holy war motifs in the speech of Rahab, including the dread (*'êmâ*) and the despair (*môg*) of the nations (v. 9), and the melting (the verb *māsas*) of their hearts (v. 11). When read together, these motifs highlight an inner-biblical connection to the war poem of Moses at the Red Sea, when he describes the reaction of the nations to divine warfare in Exod 15:15b, 16a with similar language: "All the inhabitants of Canaan pale in despair [*môg*] before you; dread [*'êmâ*] and terror [*pāḥad*] have fallen on them." The terror of the nations is an important motif in the tradition of Yahweh as a divine warrior, illustrated most clearly by Yahweh's speech to Moses in Exod 23:27: "I will send my terror [*'êmâ*] in front of you, and will throw into confusion all the people against whom you shall come."

The Ban

Rahab introduces the theme of the ban (*ḥerem*) in her confession. The causative form of the verb *heḥĕrîm,* "to put under a ban," describes the dedication of an object, person, or animal to total destruction in war or in sacrifice. The noun *ḥerem,* "what is banned," characterizes the booty from war or the victim for sacrifice. In the case of war, objects under the ban cannot become the possession of warriors, nor can the human who sacrifices under the ban retain any portion of the slaughter or redeem it with money. All humans under the ban in war or in sacrifice are forbidden to live under any circumstances. The ban is an absolute law in the Hebrew Bible (for interpretation of the ban, see the "Introduction"). Thus, when Rahab, the Canaanite, seeks asylum from the absolute demands of the ban, she is challenging a central theme in the book of Joshua. Knauf goes so far as to conclude that the episode of Rahab is an antiwar report (2008: 46).

2:12–21. VOW TO RESCUE AND ITS CONDITIONS

Joshua 2:12–21 spells out the relationship between Rahab and the Israelites through the oath of rescue and its conditions. The section may be divided into two exchanges between Rahab and the spies (vv. 12–14 and 15–21). Rahab remains in the position of power in the first exchange as she requests (vv. 12–13) and receives (v. 14) an oath of rescue from the spies. But the roles are reversed in the second exchange, when, after Rahab provides the plan of escape (v. 16), the spies dominate the narrative by outlining in detail the conditions of the oath of rescue (vv. 17–21). The final speech of the spies becomes the point of focus in the narrative, since it outlines the process and the conditions by which a non-Israelite, Rahab, can survive the ban on the city of Jericho.

Oath of Rescue

The change in theme from Rahab's confession to her request for an oath from the spies in vv. 12–14 is signaled by the Hebrew *'attâ,* "now," in v. 12. The oath between Rahab and the spies is based on kindness (*ḥesed*), translated in the NRSV as "steadfast love." Rahab uses the motif to describe her spontaneous act of mercy toward the spies: "I

performed kindness [*ḥesed*] to you." She repeats the motif to describe the content of the oath that she seeks from the spies: "Swear to me by Yahweh [*bayhwh*] . . . that you also perform kindness [*ḥesed*] to the house of my father." The request for an oath (with the Niphal form of *šāba*') is a judicial expression (*HALOT* 23633), indicating that the trickster story of Rahab evolves into a legal narrative about the redemption of the clan of Rahab from the law of *ḥerem.* The story is problematic because Yahweh requires the extermination of all indigenous people of the promised land without exception. No criteria for exemption from the ban exist in the Pentateuch. The story of Rahab and her exemption from the absolute requirement of the ban represent a qualification of the teaching of Torah and make her story a legal precedent.

The central role of *ḥesed* in fashioning an exemption to the divine law of the ban is not surprising, since it is the one virtue that is able to change divine commands in the Pentateuch. The character of *ḥesed* is revealed in the extended revelation of Yahweh to Moses in Exod 34 after the sin of the golden calf, when the Deity desired to destroy the Israelite nation: "Now let me alone so that my wrath may burn hot against them [Israel] and I may consume them; and of you [Moses] I will make a great nation" (Exod 32:10). The successful intercession of Moses for the continued life of the nation is indicated when Yahweh reveals the qualities of mercy (*ḥannûn*), graciousness (*raḥûm*), and kindness (*ḥesed*) as the basis for nullifying the previous death sentence (34:6–9). *Ḥesed* in this case not only indicates a change in the Deity, but also illustrates the spontaneous nature of the virtue (K. Sakenfeld, 1978: 119), since Israel had given up all the legal rights of covenant in worshiping the golden calf. The same spontaneity characterizes Rahab's *ḥesed* toward the spies, who also had no legal basis for expecting her help. But *ḥesed* can function in a legal context as well, in which case it means "loyalty" within the context of making an oath or establishing a covenant (N. Glueck, 1961: 3–21). The legal meaning of *ḥesed* is what Rahab requests from the spies as an oath (v. 13). Thus both aspects of *ḥesed,* as spontaneous mercy and as legal loyalty, function in the exchange between Rahab and the spies. Although personal—to the point of death—the response of the spies in v. 14 is firmly grounded in the world of law, since their *ḥesed* toward Rahab is extended only with legal conditions, which in this case is the need for Rahab to maintain secrecy—a quality that the spies failed to maintain in their mission. The oath of the spies, however, whether coerced, as in the MT, or not, as in the LXX, lays the groundwork for the possible exemption of Rahab and her indigenous family of Canaanites from the law of the ban.

Conditions of the Oath

The setting of Rahab's house is crucial for interpreting the conditions of the oath of rescue in vv. 15–21. The significance of the setting is indicated by the change of location for the second exchange from the roof in v. 8 to a room in the house in v. 15. Rahab is described as assisting the spies in their escape by lowering them through a window with a rope. At this moment in the story, the narrator lingers to describe twice the location of the house in the wall of Jericho: "because her house was in a room of the wall, for she lived in the wall." The sequence of events has prompted interpreters to downplay the significance of v. 15. The problem is that the extensive conversation between Rahab and the spies during the act of escape lacks verisimilitude. The effect is to emphasize the location of the house in the wall. Soggin rearranged the text so that the exchange

in vv. 17–21 preceded v. 15 (1972: 42). Tucker also judged the narrative to be out of chronological order as a result of successive redactions (1972: 76). Nelson eliminates the focus on the location of the house in the wall as a textual corruption of v. 15 in the MT (1997b: 39). But the details of the window as a threshold to Rahab's home and its liminal location in the wall of Jericho are crucial to the narrative.

First, the image of a woman in the window continues the sexual dimension of the narrative that was first introduced with the identification of Rahab as a prostitute at the outset of the story. U. Winter notes the erotic connotation of the window, since women are often restricted to the domestic sphere of the home, in which case the window functions as a connection to the outside world (1983: 296–301). S. Bietenhard explores the function of the window, for example, in the story of Michal (1999). H. N. Rösel provides further comment on the function of the window: "Here the author makes use of an erotic motif well known in the biblical and extra-biblical literature: a woman grants a man—this case two men—exceptional access or exit. Underlying this is the risqué relationship between them: the woman may be a virgin or a princess; here, however, she is a prostitute" (2011: 51).

Second, the function of the window also goes beyond the erotic to provide commentary on Rahab's liminal status as a resident of Jericho who will survive the ban. The spies state two conditions in vv. 16–21 that would free them from their oath to exempt Rahab and her family from the ban. One condition focuses on the character of Rahab. She is required to keep their mission a secret in v. 20, which repeats the original condition from v. 14: "If you tell this matter of ours, we will be blameless from your oath which you have made us swear." They add another condition, however, which focuses on Rahab's house and more specifically her window. The window to her home must be marked with a red thread (v. 18), and only those of her family who are in the house will be spared (v. 19). This condition is reminiscent of the ritual of Passover during the exodus (Exod 12:21–23), where the blood on the doorpost is apotropaic, since it was able to turn away the destroyer from entering the house and only those who remained in their houses during the night would be spared from death. Survival from the night of death, however, did not transform or purify the Israelites in any way. It simply spared them from the divine act of destruction. The same is true for Rahab and her family.

During Yahweh's attack on the walls of Jericho, the red thread in the window of Rahab's house serves a function similar to that of the blood on the doorpost of the Israelite homes in Egypt. Like the blood of the Passover, the red thread wards off death from the collapse of the walls; it guards the inner space of Rahab's house; and it allows the family members of Rahab who remain in her house to survive the execution of the ban on the city of Jericho. They do not become members of the Israelite community by being spared. The conditions stated by the spies in vv. 17–20 do not reflect negative motives, as argued by Hawk (1991: 69), as if they were "looking for a way out of the oath" or "denying responsibility for the oath." Rather, the conditions are the legal means by which the divine law of the ban on the indigenous population of the promised land might be suspended. The exchange between Rahab and the spies concludes in v. 21 with Rahab agreeing to the conditions and securing the safety of her home with the red thread. The result is that Rahab and those members of her family who remained in her home survive the destruction of Jericho and live "outside the camp of Israel"

(Josh 6:23), which signifies their continued status as non-Israelites even though they are spared from the ban.

2:22–24. REPORT OF THE SPIES

The narrative of Rahab concludes with a report of the spies entering the hills to hide for three days (v. 22), returning to Joshua, telling him the events of their trip (v. 23), and then providing a concluding confessional summary: "Yahweh has given the entire land into our hand." This report is ironic, however, since there is no reason to believe that the spies completed their mission of reconnoitering the land, and their report to Joshua is a repetition of the confession of Rahab in v. 9a: "I know that Yahweh has given you the land." The addition to the report in v. 24b, "all the inhabitants of the land even pale in despair before us," also repeats Rahab's confession from v. 9b. The limitation of their report so that it is a repetition of Rahab's confession in vv. 9–11 may be intended as an idealization of Rahab; or it may indicate the failure of the spies' mission, since they are capable of conveying only Rahab's interpretation of the events, rather than providing any independent evaluation.

Crossing the Jordan (3:1–5:12)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The story of the ark crossing the Jordan River and entering the promised land is the first episode in the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim in Josh 3:1–8:35 (see the "Introduction"). It is a story of theophany; when the ark crosses the Jordan, Yahweh is revealed to the Israelites as "El, the living." The episode introduces mythic themes and cultic rituals of salvation into the book of Joshua. The stopping of the flow of the Jordan River (3:14–16), the crossing on dry ground (3:17), the leading of the ark (3:6, 17), the erecting of memorial stones and intergenerational teaching of the people (4:7–8, 19–24), the performance of the ritual of circumcision (5:2–9), the celebration of Passover (5:10), the eating of unleavened bread (5:11), and the cessation manna (5:12) are all themes that relate the entry into the land within the larger story of the exodus and the wilderness journey. And as in the stories of salvation from Egypt in the Pentateuch, Yahweh is the central character, orchestrating the plot by preparing for the crossing at Shittim (3:5–6, 9), by stopping the flow of the Jordan with the ark (3:14–17), and by commanding the ritual of circumcision at Gilgal (5:2–9).

The themes of salvation from Egypt, in combination with the prominent role of Yahweh in the ark, transform the natural topography of the Jordan River Valley into the setting for an extraordinary religious experience in which the sequence of events embodies a rite of passage. A. van Gennep defines rites of passage as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age." The rite of passage, therefore, provides a ritual means of transition by which a person or a group is carried from one phase of human experience to another. Such transitions are marked by three phases: (1) the act of separation from a social structure or cultural condition; (2) a marginal state, described as "liminal," from the Latin *limen,* meaning "threshold"; and (3) the reincorporation into a new social structure (1909: 15–25). V. and E. Turner add that the rite of passage often signifies the inward change of people and the external transformation of the social order (1978: 249). The ark's crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3:1–5:12

narrates both the inward transformation of Israel, symbolized externally by circumcision, and the potential of the Israelites to inaugurate a new social order that lacks kings and royal cities.

Joshua predicts the inward change of the Israelites at the outset of the episode when he says that in crossing the Jordan they "will know that El, the living, is in [their] midst" (3:10). Upon entry into the promised land, the rite of passage is sealed through circumcision, where the people finally shed the "reproach of Egypt" (5:2–9). The inward transformation of the Israelites is also signified by the geography of the story, which traces the people's entrance into the land. The intermingling of realistic topography with mythic themes allows the author to develop a theology of the land that solidifies the new identity of the Israelites (J. M. Houston, 1978: 226). As a result, Israel's inward change in shedding the reproach of Egypt is represented geographically by means of the separation from the chaotic wilderness and the entry into ordered life in the land, with the ark of Yahweh positioned between the two in the liminal sphere of the Jordan River. In this way, L. L. Thompson concludes that Israel's rite of passage through the river is an "epoch-making" story that "narrates the transition from the time of promise to the time of fulfillment" (1981: 355–57). Joshua encourages the people to secure their inward change by nurturing the memory of the Jordan River crossing through intergenerational teaching (4:7–8, 19–24).

The crossing of the Jordan is also a myth of origin that signifies social and political change. Myths of origin have political potency, because they often question and even condemn present social, political and religious order. This is certainly true of Josh 3:1–5:12, where the ark's crossing of the Jordan is framed by the condemnation of the Canaanite kings and their royal cities. First the Israelites learn (3:10–11) and then the Amorite and Canaanite kings also realize (5:1) that Yahweh's crossing of the Jordan in the ark represents the destruction of the current rule of monarchs and their royal city fortresses. But the rite of passage is more than the emptying of the land of its established order; it also serves to clarify and organize the new features of Israel's social order that will be spelled out in the subsequent story. R. S. Hendel characterizes such restructuring of society as "world-making," the refashioning of a new order for life from its present structure (1992: 3–18). World-making, therefore, is always constructed from the social situation at hand, which grounds the story of Joshua in the realistic geography of Syria-Palestine. The entry into the land becomes a cipher "to clarify and organize various elements in Israel's social order: geographical delineations, physical terrain, ethnic groups, norms and rules, means of production, political, military and socioeconomic organizations, cultic practices, and systems of belief" (L. L. Thompson, 1981: 356). These are the central themes of the author of Joshua, whose story of destruction (Josh 1–12) and repopulation (Josh 13–24) of the promised land is a political-religious narrative about creating an ideal rural world out of the ruin of the royal cities. The procession of the ark into the promised land is the means by which Yahweh will accomplish this goal.

The setting of the events is important for narrating the rite of passage in Josh 3:1–5:12. The story begins in Shittim, outside of the promised land (vv. 1–6), and it concludes with the observance of rituals in the land at Gilgal (5:2–12). Between these framing scenes, Yahweh directs the crossing of the Jordan River in three stages: (1) Yahweh instructs Joshua on how the ark will enter the river (3:7–8); (2) the ark halts in the middle of the river, and Yahweh commands Joshua to select twelve men to take

twelve stones (4:3–4); and (3) Yahweh commands Joshua to bring the ark out of the river (4:15–16). The result is a story of five scenes, in which the procession of the ark from Shittim to Gilgal narrates the Israelite rite of passage into the promised land:

1. Preparation at Shittim (3:1–6)
2. Entry of the Ark into the Jordan and the Stopping of the Water (3:7–17)
3. Halting of the Ark in the Middle of the Jordan and the Twelve Stones (4:1–14)
4. Exit of the Ark from the Jordan and the Return of the Water (4:15–5:1)
5. Rituals at Gilgal (5:2–12)

Translation

3:1–6. PREPARATION AT SHITTIM

3 [1]And Joshua rose early in the morning. They set out from Shittim and they entered as far as the Jordan, he and all the Israelites. And they spent the night there before they would cross.

[2]At the end of three days, the scribes crossed through the midst of the camp [3]and they commanded the people saying, "When you see the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, your God, and the Levitical priests carrying it, you will set out from your place and walk after it. [4]But let there be a distance between you and it, about two thousand cubits in measure—do not approach it—so that you may know the way in which you must go for you have not crossed this way before."

[5]And Joshua said to the people, "Consecrate yourselves for tomorrow Yahweh will do wonders in your midst."

[6]And Joshua spoke to the priests saying, "Lift the ark of the covenant and cross before the people." And they lifted the ark of the covenant and they went before the people.

3:7–17. ENTRY OF THE ARK INTO THE JORDAN AND THE STOPPING OF THE WATER

3 [7]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "This day I will begin to make you great in the eyes of all the Israelites so that they will know that as I was with Moses, I am with you. [8]Now you will command the priests lifting the ark of the covenant saying, 'When you enter the edge of the water of the Jordan, in the Jordan you will stand.'"

[9]Joshua said to the Israelites, "Step forward here and listen to the words of Yahweh, your God." [10]And Joshua said, "By this you will know that El, the living, is in your midst. And he is dispossessing before you the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites. [11]Indeed, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth is crossing before you into the Jordan. [12]Now, take for yourselves twelve men from the tribes of Israel, one man for each tribe. [13]When the soles of the feet of the priests carrying the ark of Yahweh, the Lord of all the earth, rest in the water of the Jordan, the waters of the Jordon will be cut off, the waters flowing down from above, they will stand in one heap."

[14]When the people set out from their tents to cross the Jordan, and the priests were carrying the ark of the covenant before the people, [15]and when those carrying the

ark entered the Jordan, and the feet of the priests carrying the ark dipped into the edge of the water—the Jordan bursting all of its banks throughout the days of harvest—
16then the waters of the Jordan flowing from above stood still. They arose in one heap a very great distance in Adam, the city, which is by Zarethan, while those flowing down to the Sea of Arabah, the Salt Sea, ceased and were cut off. Then the people crossed over opposite Jericho.

17The priests carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh stood on dry ground firmly in the midst of the Jordan. And all the Israelites were crossing on dry ground, until the entire nation completed the crossing of the Jordan.

4:1–14. HALTING OF THE ARK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE JORDAN AND THE TWELVE STONES

4 1And when the entire nation had completed the crossing of the Jordan, Yahweh spoke to Joshua saying, 2"Take for yourselves from the people twelve men, one from each tribe, 3and command them saying, 'Take for yourselves from here, from the middle of the Jordan, from where the feet of the priests stood firmly, twelve stones and bring them across with you, and rest them in the place in which you lodge tonight.'"

4And Joshua called to the twelve men, whom he had appointed from the Israelites, one man from each tribe. 5And Joshua said to them, "Cross before the ark of Yahweh, your God, to the middle of the Jordan and raise up for yourselves, each man one stone on his shoulder, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, 6so that this may be a sign in your midst, when your children ask tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones to you?' 7And you will say to them, 'The waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh. When it crossed through the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off.' And these stones will be a memorial to the Israelites forever."

8And the Israelites did as Joshua commanded. They took up twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan as Yahweh spoke to Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. And they carried them over with them to the campsite and laid them down there. 9But twelve stones Joshua set up in the middle of the Jordan underneath the feet of the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant. And they are there yet to this day.

10But the priests carrying the ark were standing in the middle of the Jordan until everything was completed that Yahweh commanded Joshua to say to the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua. And the people moved in haste and they crossed. 11And when all the people had finished crossing, the ark of Yahweh and the priests crossed before the people.

12And the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh crossed as a fifth column before the Israelites as Moses told them. 13About forty thousand equipped for military service crossed before Yahweh for battle on the plains of Jericho.

14On that day Yahweh made Joshua great in the eyes of all the Israelites. And they saw him as they saw Moses all the days of his life.

4:15–5:1. EXIT OF THE ARK FROM THE JORDAN AND THE RETURN OF THE WATER

4 [15]And Yahweh said to Joshua saying, [16]"Command the priests carrying the ark of the testimony that they should come up from the Jordan."

[17]And Joshua commanded the priests saying, "Come up from the Jordan." [18]And when the priests carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh came up from the middle of the Jordan—the soles of the feet of the priests were drawn to the dry land—then the waters of the Jordan returned to their place and they went as yesterday and the day before on all its banks.

[19]The people came up from the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month and they camped at Gilgal on the eastern edge of Jericho. [20]And these twelve stones, which they took from the Jordan, Joshua raised up at Gilgal. [21]And he spoke to the Israelites saying, "When your children ask their fathers tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones?' [22]you will make known to your children saying, 'On dry ground Israel crossed this Jordan.' [23]For Yahweh your God dried up the water of the Jordan from before you until you crossed, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us until we crossed, [24]so that all the people of the land may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong and that you may fear Yahweh your God all the days."

5 [1]And when all the kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan toward the west and all the kings of the Canaanites who were by the sea heard that Yahweh dried up the water of the Jordan before the Israelites until they crossed over, their hearts melted and the spirit in them could not rise up any longer before the Israelites.

5:2–12. RITUALS AT GILGAL

5 [2]At that time Yahweh said to Joshua, "Make for yourself swords of stone and again circumcise the Israelites a second time."

[3]And Joshua made for himself swords of stone and he circumcised the Israelites at the Hill of the Foreskins.

[4]This is the reason why Joshua circumcised: All the people going out of Egypt, the males, all the men of battle died in the wilderness on the way, in their going out of Egypt. [5]For all the people who went out were circumcised. But all the people who were born in the wilderness on the way in their going out from Egypt were not circumcised. [6]For forty years the Israelites went in the wilderness until all the nation perished, the men of war, who went out of Egypt, those who did not listen to the voice of Yahweh and to whom Yahweh swore that they would not see the land, which Yahweh had sworn to their fathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey. [7]But their children he raised up in their place. Joshua circumcised them, because they were uncircumcised, since they did not circumcise them on the way.

[8]And when all the nation had been circumcised, they dwelt in their places in the camp until their recovery.

[9]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Today I have rolled away the reproach of Egypt from upon you." And he called the name of that place Gilgal, until this day.

[10]And the Israelites camped at Gilgal and they kept the Passover in the fourteenth day of the month at evening in the plain of Jericho.

[11]And they ate from the produce of the land on the day after Passover, unleavened bread and roasted grain on this very day.

[12]And the manna ceased on the next day when they ate the produce of the land. And there was no longer manna for the Israelites. And they ate from the produce of the land of Canaan in that year.

Notes

The MT and the LXX differ in many of the details of the crossing of the Jordan River and in the rituals at Gilgal, giving rise to debate over the priority of the versions. Tov identifies a series of exegetical midrash-type changes in the LXX of Josh 3–4 in which the season of the flooding of the Jordan is identified as the time of the wheat harvest (3:15), the twelve men Joshua choses to carry stones are described as "distinguished" (4:4), and the children questioning the meaning of the stones are clarified as "sons" (1999: 155–58). From a comparison of thirty-five variants, Bieberstein also concludes that the MT is the older text, with the LXX representing later modifications (1995: 196). But the many pluses in the MT indicate the same phenomenon in the reverse direction. S. Sipilä notes the expansion in the identification of Moses as "the servant of Yahweh" (1991: 69). Nelson points out that the MT clarifies the location of the stones in Josh 4:4 (1997a: 64). Tov underscores further the theological correction that results from the insertion of the "ark" in Josh 4:5 to qualify a direct confrontation with the Deity (1999: 394). However one reconstructs the textual priority, the comparisons between the MT and the LXX indicate a complex textual history that includes ideological and theological changes in both versions of the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3–4, in addition to variants that result from textual corruption. Sipilä concludes that one is not able to favor the *Vorlage* of either the LXX or the MT as the better or more original textual tradition (1991: 72).

The differences between the MT and the LXX increase even further in the account of the ritual observance at Gilgal in Josh 5. The MT represents the more expanded textual tradition over the shorter LXX. The differences between the MT and the LXX with regard to circumcision and Passover increase the debate over the literary priority of the two textual traditions. Auld (1998a: 12–14), working in the tradition of Holmes (1914: 29–31), argues that the MT pluses are expansions to the more original *Vorlage* of the LXX and were added for theological reasons. The clarification in the MT of vv. 4–7 that all males were circumcised in Egypt is meant to counter the opposite statement in the LXX that only some the Israelite males were circumcised. In the same way the three-day chronology for observing Passover in the MT of vv. 10–12, which is absent in the LXX, is meant to bring the story into conformity with the Priestly legislation in Lev 23. Gooding (1977), however, reverses the literary relationship of the MT and the LXX. He argues that the LXX version of the wilderness journey in vv. 4–7 is a later explanation for the problematic statement in v. 2 of the MT that the Israelites were circumcised for a second time at Gilgal. Van der Meer extends the argument of Gooding, attributing the textual differences between the MT and the LXX to the Greek translator (2004: 335–415). Tov represents a mediating position by noting changes in both versions. The changes in the MT include the reference to circumcision for the second time in v. 2 and the chronology for observing Passover in vv. 11–12 (1999: 383–97),

while the modifications in the LXX include the description of flint knives in vv. 2–3 (1978: 50–61).

The structure of Josh 3:1–5:12 is similar in the MT and the LXX. Both narrate the crossing of the Jordan as a sequence that (1) begins in Shittim with the preparation for the conquest (3:1–6), (2) progresses to the setting of the Jordan River (3:7–5:1), and (3) concludes with rituals at Gilgal (5:2–12). Both versions also follow the same progression of rituals and reaction of the nations: (1) the memorial of the twelve stones (see already 4:19–24), (2) the fear of the nations (5:1), (3) the ritual of circumcision (5:2–9), (4) the celebration of Passover, (5) the eating of unleavened bread and first fruits, and (6) the cessation of manna (5:10–12). The shared structure of Josh 3:1–5:12 in the MT and the LXX is complicated by the discovery of the Qumran text 4QJosh[a]. Ulrich (1994) has determined that this text changes the structure of the crossing of the Jordan by inserting the building of an altar and the ritual reading of Torah immediately after the crossing, which, although it is not specifically stated, likely takes place at Gilgal. The absence of the full text makes the literary context somewhat ambiguous, but the ritual reading of the Torah may occur after Josh 4:24 and before the ritual of circumcision in Josh 5:2–9. In the MT the ritual reading of the Torah is recounted much later in Josh 8:30–35, after the destruction of Ai, where it is located at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim; and in the LXX the ritual also takes place at Ebal and Gerizim, but at an even later point in the story after the notice that the Canaanite kings were gathering to make war against Joshua (following the MT of Josh 9:2). Thus, the MT and the LXX follow the same procession of the ark from Shittim to Ebal and Gerizim, while the Qumran text 4QJosh[a] appears to depart from this structure.

The divergent structure to the accounts of the crossing of the Jordan River in the MT, LXX, and 4QJosh[a] raises questions about the textual priority of the versions and the relationship of the book of Joshua to the Pentateuch. Some interpreters conclude that the present form of Deut 27 is linked contextually to the book of Joshua, since Moses points to Josh 3:1–5:12 when he commands the Israelites to erect large plastered stones for the purpose of writing the Torah as the first ritual act after crossing the Jordan River: "On the day that you cross over the Jordan into the land . . . you shall set up large stones and cover them with plaster. You shall write on them all the words of the Torah" (Deut 27:2). Verse 4 clarifies Mount Ebal as the location for this ritual: "You will set up these stones . . . on Mount Ebal." As S. L. Sanders notes, however, there is tension in the contextual relationship between Joshua and Deuteronomy, since none of the textual versions of the book of Joshua fulfills this command (2004: 124–25). The MT and the LXX include the account of erecting stones at Gilgal, but they are not inscribed with the Torah, nor are they plastered. Instead, the two versions postpone the reading of the Torah, which both locate at Ebal and Gerizim, until the defeat of Ai many chapters later. The text of 4QJosh[a] may follow the prescription of Deut 27 that the law be read from plastered stones as the first act of the Israelites in the promised land, but the reading of the Torah appears to take place at Gilgal, without any mention of Mount Ebal.

Ulrich (1995a: 145–46) argues that 4QJosh[a] represents the oldest stage in the history of the text, since it is the most straightforward and uncomplicated account: When the Israelites cross the Jordan, they immediately write the Torah on plastered stones. This conclusion, he notes, is also supported by the account of Josephus (*Ant.* 5.16–19).

The MT and the LXX would then represent later editions of the book of Joshua. This argument, however, raises problems of interpretation. First, Josephus has a significantly different presentation of the ritual at Ebal and Gerizim, in which Joshua journeys from Shiloh to Shechem for sacrifice at the altar at a much later time in the book, placing the event in the context of Josh 17 (*Ant.* 5.68–70). Second, Ulrich's interpretation presupposes that the book of Joshua was never an independent composition but was always tied directly to the book of Deuteronomy, an argument that I do not follow in this commentary. The absence of the ark in Deut 27 and its presence in the MT, LXX, and 4QJosh[a] suggest, rather, that the author of Joshua is likely aware of the story in Deuteronomy but is providing a distinct interpretation that conforms to the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 (see the "Introduction"). Sanders (2004) rightly underscores that the different structures of the story in the versions of Joshua indicate an ideological debate within Second Temple Judaism about the appropriate sacred place in which the Torah is to be inscribed and recited in the promised land. This is particularly evident in 4QJosh[a] where the ritual reading of the Torah appears to be removed from Ebal and Gerizim (see the "Comments" on Josh 8:30–35). See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

3:1 *Shittim.* See the "Notes" to Josh 2:1.

he and all the Israelites. The LXX lacks the phrase. Sipilä concludes that the MT is a gloss to explain more clearly who the people are (1991: 68).

3:3 *the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, your God.* The Hebrew *'ărôn,* "ark," is a central motif in the story of the crossing of the Jordan, occurring seventeen times in Josh 3–4. The LXX translates as *kibōtos.* The ark is described with various terms (see the "Introduction"). The most common description is *'ărôn habbĕrît,* "the ark of the covenant" (3:6 [twice], 8, 11, 14; 4:9). It may be further identified as the cultic object "of Yahweh," *'ărôn bĕrît yhwh* (3:17; 4:7, 18), or "Yahweh your God," *'ărôn bĕrît yhwh 'ĕlōhêkem* (3:3). Other descriptions include *'ărôn yhwh,* "the ark of Yahweh" (4:11); *'ărôn yhwh 'ĕlôhêkem,* "the ark of Yahweh your God" (4:5); *'ărôn yhwh 'ădôn kŏl-hā'āreṣ,* "the ark of Yahweh the Lord of all the earth" (3:13); *hā'ărôn,* "the ark" (3:15; 4:10); and *'ărôn hā'ĕdût,* "the ark of the testimony (4:16). The ark also plays a central role in the destruction of Jericho (6:4, 6 [twice], 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13), the sin of Achan (7:6), and the writing of the law at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:33), thus tying the stories of the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3–5), the destruction of Jericho (Josh 6–7), and the writing of the law at Gerizim and Ebal (Josh 8) into a story of procession into the promised land.

Levitical priests. The Hebrew *hakkōhănîm halwiyyim* lacks a conjunction, suggesting a single understanding of the priesthood as it is reflected in Deuteronomy, where *hakkōhănîm halwiyyim,* "the Levitical priests," have a range of functions, including the legal authority over the sanctuary (17:8–13) and the witnesses of Torah before the king (17:14–20). The LXX suggests two classes of priests by including the conjunction *kai,* "and," between the two terms "priests" and "Levites." Sipilä writes of the *Vorlage* of the LXX: "There is no reason to believe that there should have been a corruption in the Hebrew" (1991: 67). Thus, it appears that the LXX represents the Priestly understanding, in which the Aaronide priests are a different order from the Levites who serve them (Num 1–8).

3:4 *But let there be a distance between you and it, about two thousand cubits in measure—do not approach it—so that you may know the way in which you must go.* The

Hebrew is awkward. The command to remain at a distance and not to approach the ark (v. 4a) disrupts the instructions to follow the ark (v. 3) and the purpose for following it (v. 4b). Soggin (1972: 47) reverses the order of v. 4, placing the purpose clause, *lĕma'an,* "so that," at the beginning of the verse (see also the NRSV). The LXX translates as *alla makran estō ana meson hymōn,* "but let there be a distance between you and it," followed by the command to stand still at a distance, *stēsesthe.* This may be a misreading of the Hebrew *bammidâ,* "in measure," as a Hithpael form of the verb *'āmad* (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 106). The LXX *tēn hodon hēn poreuesthe autēn,* "the way in which you are journeying," is an overly literal rendering of the Hebrew (Auld, 2005: 104).

for you have not crossed this way before. The Hebrew *mitmôl šilšôm,* "from yesterday, to the third," means here "never before." The LXX translates literally as *ap echthes kai tritēs hēmeras,* "the way yesterday or the third day."

3:5 *Consecrate yourselves.* The LXX includes *hagnisasthe eis aurion,* "purify yourselves for tomorrow."

3:6 *the ark of the covenant.* The LXX uses the longer title, *tēn kibōton tēs diathēkēs kyriou,* "the ark of the covenant of the Lord."

And they lifted. The LXX repeats the reference to priests, *hoi hiereis.*

3:7 *so that they will know.* The use of *'ăšer* to introduce a purpose clause is unusual, but possible (Williams, 1976: 466). The LXX *hina* also indicates a purpose clause.

3:8 *Now you.* The Hebrew *wĕ'attâ,* which places the emphasis on Joshua, is rendered in the LXX as *kai nun,* "and now."

3:10 *And Joshua said.* The clause is lacking in the LXX.

El, the living. The Hebrew *'ēl ḥay* is likely a title (Boling and Wright, 1982: 153). See the similar phrase in Hos 2:1; Pss 42:3; 84:3. The LXX suggests a more descriptive translation than a title, *theos zōn,* "God is living" or "a living God."

And he is dispossessing. The LXX translates as *olethreuōn olethreusei,* "utterly destroy."

the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites. The list of the indigenous nations serves an ideological purpose for biblical authors about the need for social exclusivity within the boundaries of the promised land. In the book of Joshua the divine command to exterminate the indigenous nations is interwoven with a polemic against kings and royal cities, in which the killing of the urban dwellers is necessary for achieving the ideal rural life envisioned by Yahweh for the people of God. The list of indigenous nations occurs twenty-six times in a variety of forms in the Hebrew Bible, listing ten nations (Gen 15:18–20), eight (Josh 24:11; Ezra 9:1), seven (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 1 Esd 8:69), six (Exod 3:8, 17; 23:23; 33:2; 34:11; Deut 20:17; Josh 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; Judg 3:5; 1 Kgs 11:1; Neh 9:8), five (Exod 13:5; Num 13:29; 1 Kgs 9:20; 2 Chr 8:7; Jdt 5:16), three (Exod 23:28), two (Gen 13:7), and one (Josh 1:4). E. C. Hostetter notes the flexibility in the composition of the lists (1995: 148–49). The changing numbers modify the boundaries of the promised land from a small area in western Palestine to a broad region of the ancient Near East that extends from Egypt in the south to the Euphrates River in the northeast. The list of nations in Gen 10 describes most of the indigenous nations as descendants of Canaan, the son of Ham, including Sidonites, Hethites, Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites (Gen 10:15–19). The territory of these nations ranges from the city of Sidon in the northwest to Gaza in the southwest, and

the area surrounding the Dead Sea in the east, including the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Lasha.

The list of indigenous nations occurs six times in Joshua, including variously eight nations (24:1), seven (3:10), six (9:1; 11:3; 12:8) and one (1:4). The LXX of Josh 3:10 lists the same seven indigenous nations as the MT in a slightly different order, reversing Hivites/Perizzites and Girgashites/Amorites.

MT	*LXX*
Canaanites	Canaanites
Hittites	Hittites
Hivites	*Perizzites*
Perizzites	*Hivites*
Girgashites	*Amorites*
Amorites	*Girgashites*
Jebusites	Jebusites

Canaanites. The Hebrew *kĕna'an,* "Canaan," and *kĕna'ănî,* "Canaanite," are of uncertain origin. The terms refer to both a people and a territory in the Hebrew Bible. The word "Canaan" may refer to purple dye (Akkadian, *kinahhu*); the designation "low," as in lowlands; or the act of being subdued (the Semitic root *kn'*). Reference to Canaan in Mesopotamia may occur already in the third millennium BCE in the Eblaite archive (*ga-na-na*); it also appears at Mari in the second millennium (*ki-na-ah-num*) and is listed as an Egyptian province in the Amarna letters (EA 36.15). Canaan appears in the Merneptah Stele, composed during the fifth year of Merneptah's rule (ca. 1220 BCE) to describe his military success:

> Plundered is the Canaan with every evil;
> Carried off is Ashkelon;
> Seized upon is Gezer;
> Yanoam is made as that which does not exist;
> Israel is laid waste, his seed is not. (*ANET* 376–78)

The Merneptah Stele indicates that the middle three references (Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yano'am) are cities, while the reference to Canaan is not a specific city but a region, which J. M. Weinstein states may refer to one of the three provinces of Syria-Palestine: Amurru, Upi, and Canaan (1981).

The term Canaan/Canaanites occurs twenty-three times in the book of Joshua, where it designates both a people and a place.

1. *Canaanite People.* The Hebrew *kĕna'ănî,* "Canaanite," occurs fifteen times (3:10; 5:1; 7:9; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 13:3, 4; 16:10 [twice]; 17:12, 13, 16, 18; 24:11). Many of these references designate a people who are indigenous to the land of Palestine. In the ideology of the book of Joshua, the Canaanites are included in the list of nations requiring extermination (3:10; 9:1; 24:11). Joshua 17:16 associates the Canaanites with iron technology and chariots. Joshua 17:13 also states the slave status of the Canaanites to the tribe of Manasseh. The LXX translates "Canaanite" in Josh 3:10 as *chananaion,* or variations of the same word in all instances in the book of Joshua, except Josh 5:1, where the MT, "the kings of the Canaanites," is translated as "the kings of Phoenicia [*tēs phoinikēs*]."

2. *Land of Canaan.* The Hebrew *'ereṣ kĕna'an,* "land of Canaan," occurs eight times (5:12; 14:1; 21:2; 22:9, 10, 11, 32; 24:3; see also "land of the Canaanites" in 13:4) and usually designates the entire land of Palestine west of the Jordan River (5:12; 14:1; 22:9, 10, 11, 32, 24:3; see also 21:2, which locates Shiloh in Canaan). The references to the Canaanite people (*kĕna'ănî*) also frequently include descriptions of the territory, blurring the distinction between people and territory. The territory associated with the Canaanite people shifts throughout the book of Joshua. Joshua 5:1 identifies it as the seacoast, as compared with the remainder of the land west of the Jordan, which is designated as Amorite. Joshua 17:16 identifies the plains of Ephraim and Manasseh as Canaanite territory. Joshua 22:9–11 contrasts Canaan, west of the Jordan River, with the region of Gilead, east of the Jordan. Still other more limited locations include the area of the Philistine cities in the southern region of Palestine (13:3–4) or the northern territory of Ephraim and the city of Gezer (16:10). Thus it would appear that Canaan can have a more restricted meaning, albeit in different locations in the south and north, and that it can also designate the entire land west of the Jordan. The territory of the Canaanites in the Table of Nations suggests the comprehensive area west of the Jordan River, including the territory that extends from Sidon in the north to Gaza in the south, as well as eastward to the cites of Sodom and Gomorrah on the Dead Sea (Gen 10:19–20). The LXX translates "Canaan" as *Chanaan* in all instances of the book of Joshua except Josh 5:12, where it refers to "the land of the Phoenicians." The reference to Canaan in the MT of Josh 24:3 is absent in the LXX.

Hittites. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

Hivites. The Hebrew *ḥiwwî* is not mentioned by other nations in the ancient Near East. The etymology of Hivite may be related to *ḥwh* III, "gathering," from which appears *ḥawwâ,* "tent camp." J. Blenkinsopp suggests a connection between Hivites and Hurrians (1972: 15–18). In the Hebrew Bible, the ethnic designation is limited almost exclusively to the list of indigenous nations (nineteen of twenty-four occurrences). Blenkinsopp notes that the Hivites and the Jebusites are closely related in the list of indigenous nations, occurring in the second to the last position (Hivites) and the last position (Jebusites) fourteen times, perhaps suggesting a relationship between the cities of Gibeon and Jerusalem, whose residents are Hivite and Jebusite, respectively (1972: 14). In addition to being included in the list of indigenous nations, the Hivites are also associated with northern cities in the vicinity of Tyre (2 Sam 24:7) and Shechem (Gen 34:2). The wives of Esau (Gen 36:2) are Hivites, as are the Gibeonites in Joshua (MT 9:7; 11:19). The term "Hivites" occurs seven times in the book of Joshua, five times in the list of indigenous nations (3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11) and two times as the ethnic identification of the Gibeonites (MT 9:7; 11:19). The LXX translates the reference to the Hivites in the list of indigenous nations as *ton euaion.* The Gibeonites are described as "Horite" in Josh 9:7, while the reference to the Hivite origin of the Gibeonites in the MT of Josh 11:19 is absent in the LXX.

Perizzites. The term *pĕrizzî* identifies an unknown ethnic group that occurs for the most part in the list of indigenous nations (seventeen of the twenty-six occurrences), where it is identified as living in the highlands. Boling and Wright suggest that the

term may indicate a Hurrian ethnic group (1982: 166), but the word is more likely an appellative that describes people who live in villages as opposed to cities. Deuteronomy 3:5 describes the extent of the conquest of Og of Bashan as including "fortress towns with high walls" (*ḥômâ gĕbōhâ*) and "villages" (*happĕrāzî*; see the similar description in 1 Sam 6:18). Esther 9:19 describes such villages as "open cities" (*'ārê happĕrāzôt*). The pairing of the Perizzites with the Canaanites in Genesis (13:7; 34:30) and in Judges (1:4, 5) may be intended to contrast city (Canaanite) and village (Perizzite) dwellers in the promised land. All are devoted to destruction in the book of Joshua, where the term occurs five times. Four occurrences are within the list of indigenous nations (3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 24:11). Joshua 17:15 is unique in pairing the Perizzites with the Rephaim as indigenous people who dwell in the forest. The LXX translates as *ton pherezaiov*. The reference to the Perizzites in Josh 17:15 is absent in the LXX.

Amorites. See the "Notes" to Josh 2:10.

Girgashites. The Hebrew *girgāšî* is of uncertain etymology. The term signifies an unknown people from the ancient Near East who are likely a literary creation of biblical authors, although the name *grgš* occurs in Ugaritic literature (*PRU* 3:249). The literary function of the term, however, resists interpretation. The Girgashites are included as offspring of Canaan in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:16; see also 1 Chr 1:14), and they are infrequently included in the list of indigenous nations (Gen 15:21; Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 24:11). The ethnic group is referred to twice in the book of Joshua (3:10; 24:11). The LXX translates as *ton gergesaion.*

Jebusites. The Hebrew *yĕbûsî* identifies an ethnic people who are associated with the city of Jerusalem. Boling and Wright identify the name "with Amorite *yabusum* and the name of a town east of the Jordan river, Jabesh (-Gilead)" (1982: 167). E. Lipinski suggests a correlation to the Yabusi'um mentioned in the cuneiform archive from Mari (2004: 502). The Hebrew *yĕbûs* may also refer to the city of Jerusalem (Judg 19:11). The Jebusites are identified in the Hebrew Bible as the pre-Israelite residents of the city (Judg 1:21; Josh 15:8, 63; 18:16), who were conquered by David (2 Sam 5:6, 8; 1 Chr 11:4, 6) yet influence the rise of an urban and monarchic form of Yahwism there. The origin of the Jerusalem temple is identified as land owned by Arauna, the Jebusite. The etiological story memorializes the Jebusites as city-dwellers who play an important role in establishing Jerusalem as the city of Yahweh (2 Sam 24:16, 18; 1 Chr 21:15, 18, 28; 2 Chr 3:1). Over against this idealized urban portrait, the Jebusites are often included in the list of indigenous nations that must be eliminated from the promised land (twenty-two of the twenty-six occurrences). The book of Joshua only emphasizes the threat of the Jebusites and the need to exterminate them. The terms "Jebusites" (ethnic group) and "Jebus" (location) occur nine times in the book. Jebus is the pre-Israelite name of Jerusalem (15:8; 18:28) and its surrounding area (18:16). The Jebusites are included in the list of indigenous nations to be exterminated (3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11), and they represent the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem who continue to populate and to pollute the city in the present time of the author (15:63). The LXX translates as *ton iebousaion.*

3:11 *the Lord of all the earth.* The Hebrew *'ădôn,* "Lord," is translated as *kyriou,* "Lord," in the LXX, which renders the name Yahweh in the Greek text.

crossing before you into the Jordan. The LXX lacks the phrase "before you."

3:13 *the ark of Yahweh, the Lord.* The LXX writes only *kyriou.*

the waters flowing down from above, they will stand in one heap. The Hebrew is unclear. The *waw* on the closing clause, *wĕya'amdû nēd 'eḥād,* "and they [the waters] will stand in one heap," does not follow clearly from the previous clause, *hammayim hayyōrĕdîm milmā'lâ,* "the waters flowing down from above." Boling and Wright suggest an archaic use of the *waw* for emphasis (1982: 156). The LXX represents a smoother rendition by eliminating the conjunction and the reference to the water piling up into "one heap." The use of *nēd,* "one heap," in the MT creates a literary relationship to the Song of the Sea, where Moses also describes the water of the Red Sea as piling up into a heap (*nēd,* Exod 15:8).

3:14–16 The Hebrew syntax is difficult. Verse 14 is an extended temporal clause (*wayhî binsōă' hā'âm,* "when the people set out") that continues into another temporal clause in v. 15 (*ûkĕbô' nōśē'ê hā'ārôn,* "when those carrying the ark entered"), which is overloaded still further with information about the seasonal flooding of the Jordan. The main clause does not reappear until v. 16, when it is stated that the waters of the Jordan stood still. The LXX provides some clarity by translating the Hebrew temporal clauses as sentences.

3:15 *the Jordan bursting all of its banks throughout the days of harvest.* The LXX adds *therismou pyrōn,* "of wheat harvest." Tov (1978: 55–56) and Sipilä (1991: 67) suggest a midrash-type explanation in the LXX to explain the Hebrew "day of the harvest" to readers who were no longer aware of the seasonal reference.

3:16 *then the waters of the Jordan flowing from above stood still.* The translation assumes that v. 16 is picking up the main clause from v. 15a. This also appears to be the syntactical structure of the LXX in v. 16a, *kai estē.*

in Adam, the city, which is by Zarethan. The phrase is unclear in the MT. "In Adam" follows the MT *Kethib,* as compared with the *Qere* "from Adam" (*m'dm*). Historical geographers are uncertain of the location of both Adam and Zarethan. Zarethan is associated with Succoth in 1 Kgs 7:46, as the general area where Solomon constructed foundries in the "plain of the Jordan." The literary function of the reference in Joshua, however, resists interpretation. Adam may occur in Hos 6:7 as the location where the Israelites broke covenant, but this reference provides no insight into Josh 3:16. The LXX departs from the MT, locating the damming of the waters at *kariathiarim,* "Kiriath-jearim," which is located in the hill country of Judah and also appears in the list of tribal boundaries in Josh 15:9, 60. The LXX designation appears to depart altogether from the flow of the Jordan River.

Sea of Arabah. The Hebrew *yām hā'ărābâ* designates the Dead Sea. The term occurs infrequently in the Hebrew Bible to describe the location of the Dead Sea within the wilderness journey (Deut 4:49) and the extent of the kingdom Israel in the eighth century BCE (2 Kgs 14:25). The Sea of Arabah occurs twice in the book of Joshua, where it is identified with the Salt Sea (3:16) and as a border of the region of the promised land that Joshua conquered (12:3). The LXX translates as *tēn thalassan araba,* "the sea of Araba."

Salt Sea. The Hebrew *yām-hammelaḥ* designates the contemporary Dead Sea. The references to the Salt Sea are confined for the most part to geographical texts (Num 34:3, 12; Josh 15:2, 5; 18:19). Once it is identified with the Valley of Siddim in Gen 14:3. The Salt Sea is identified with the Sea of Arabah in Deut 3:16 and Josh 12:3. The LXX translates as *thalassan halos,* "the Salt Sea."

3:17 *The priests . . . stood on dry ground firmly.* The Hiphil infinitive absolute, *hākēn,* is translated as an adverb, "firmly" (*BHS* 35.4). The word is absent in the LXX.

the entire nation. The MT describes the Israelites as a *gôy,* "nation," rather than *'am,* "people." The term *gôy* is used frequently to refer to the Israelites in the divine promise of nationhood and land to the ancestors (e.g., Gen 12:2; 17:4, 5, 6, 16, 20; 18:18; 46:3) and occasionally in the story of the exodus (Exod 19:6; negatively in 32:10; 33:1–3), but it is avoided for the most part in the book of Deuteronomy, where it tends to refer to non-Israelite nations. The Israelites are described as a *gôy* in Josh 3–22 (3:17; 4:1; 5:6, 8; 10:13), perhaps to signal the fulfillment of the divine promise of nationhood to the ancestors. The six remaining references in Josh 23 (vv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13) reflect the usage of Deuteronomy, where *gôyim* refers to foreign nations.

4:2 *Take for yourselves.* The MT is plural; the LXX uses the singular.

twelve men. The number is absent in the LXX.

4:3 *from here, from the middle of the Jordan, from where the feet of the priests stood firmly.* The Hebrew *hākîn,* "stood firm," is repeated from Josh 3:17, only this time as an infinitive construct rather than an infinitive absolute. The LXX presents a much shorter translation, *ek mesou tou iordanou,* "from the middle of the Jordan," which lacks a reference to the priests.

twelve stones. The LXX translates *hetoimous,* "twelve *readied* stones," perhaps reflecting the infinitive absolute of the MT *hākîn.*

and rest them in the place in which you lodge tonight. The LXX identifies the camp more clearly as a military garrison (*stratopedeia*). The word is used only here and in 2 Mac 13:14, where the war camp is once again emphasized: "So, committing the decision to the Creator of the world and exhorting his troops to fight bravely to the death for the laws, temple, city, country, and commonwealth, he pitched his [war] camp [*tēn stratopedeian*] near Modein."

4:4 *And Joshua called to the twelve men.* The LXX ties vv. 4–5 closely together by translating v. 4 as a participial clause, *anakalesamenos,* "and when Iesous called." The LXX also adds the description of the twelve participants, *andras tōn endoxōn,* "esteemed men."

4:5 *Cross before the ark of Yahweh, your God.* The LXX changes the liturgy by eliminating the role of the ark. Instead of a procession before the "ark of Yahweh" in the MT, the LXX writes *prosagagete emprosthen mou pro prosopou kyriou,* describing an event that takes place before Joshua and God. Compare Soggin (1972: 49–50), who sees a far more complex change of liturgy between the MT and the LXX.

4:7 *The waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh. When it crossed through Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off.* The LXX adds "river" to the identification of the Jordan: *iordanes potamos*. Yet it does not contain the repetition in the MT that the "waters of the Jordan were cut off," and it adds a universal description to the ark, *pasēs tēs gēs,* "the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth."

these stones. The LXX adds the dative of possession, *hymin,* in reference to the stones.

4:8 *And the Israelites did as Joshua commanded.* The LXX attributes the command to the Lord, *kathoti eneteilato kyrios tōi iēsoi,* "and the sons of Israel did as the Lord commanded Joshua."

according to the number of the tribes of Israel. The LXX lacks the reference to the number of the tribes but underscores the time, *en tēi sunteleiai tēs diabaseōs tōn hyiōn Israēl,* "at the completion of the crossing of the sons of Israel."

4:9 *But twelve stones.* The LXX indicates more clearly that the stones are distinct, *allous dōdeka lithous,* "other stones."

4:10 *according to all that Moses commanded Joshua.* The reference to Moses is absent in the LXX.

4:11 *the ark of Yahweh.* The LXX adds *tēs diathēkēs,* "the ark of the *covenant* of the Lord."

and the priests crossed before the people. The LXX shifts the image to the stones, *hoi lithoi emprosthen autōn,* "the stones before them."

4:13 *on the plains of Jericho.* The LXX translates *pros tēn ierichō polin,* "against the city of Jericho."

4:14 *And they saw him as they saw Moses.* The LXX simplifies the Hebrew with *ephobounto auton hōsper mōusen,* "they feared him as Moyses."

4:18 *were drawn to the dry land.* The Hebrew clause lacks the conjunction *waw,* which creates some ambiguity about the structure of the sentence. The Niphal form of the verb *nātaq* also raises a question about the meaning. The verb indicates separation. The imagery suggests separation from the water by contact with the dry ground. The LXX focuses less on the separation from the water in the MT and more on the contact with the ground, *ethēkan tous podas epi tēs gēs,* they "placed the feet on the land" (see also the NRSV, "touched dry ground").

4:19 *Gilgal.* The Hebrew *gilgāl* means "stone circle," from the root *gll,* "to roll." The LXX translates as *en galgalois.* Interpreters debate the location of Gilgal. V. Fritz reviews possible sites, including areas in the eastern vicinity of Tell es-Sultan such as Tell Der Gannam, Tell e-Gurn, and Tell el-Matlab but concludes that despite intensive research, the location of Gilgal is not yet fixed (1994: 48–49). The location of Gilgal shifts throughout the Hebrew Bible. It is near Jericho in the story of the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 4:19); it is a site in the highlands of Samaria in the story of Elijah and Elisha (2 Kgs 2:1); it is a place-name on the northern border of Judah (Josh 15:7); and it is the center of the king of the Goiim (the MT of Josh 12:23). Gilgal occurs once in the Pentateuch, in Deut 11:30, where it is associated with the covenant ritual of cursing and blessing from the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, which is a more northern location than the setting of the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3–4. The legal ritual from Deut 11:30 appears in Josh 8:30–35, without mention of Gilgal. The shifting setting of Gilgal has prompted historical geographers to hypothesize more than one Gilgal in several distinct geographical locations, including near Jericho, the southern hill country of Samaria, the northern border of Judah, and perhaps a location even farther north (J. Muilenburg, 1955).

The literary function of Gilgal in the Hebrew Bible is more consistent. Gilgal occurs thirty-eight times, mostly in stories critical of kingship. The theme of kingship is established in the stories of Samuel, where Gilgal occurs fourteen times in 1 Sam 10–15 as the setting for both the rise and the fall of the kingship of Saul. Samuel anoints Saul with the words, "Come, let us go to Gilgal and there renew the kingship" (1 Sam 11:14–15). But it is also at Gilgal that Samuel announces the downfall of Saul's

kingship, when Saul trespasses into the sacred by sacrificing (1 Sam 13:1–15) and sparing the life of King Agag in war (1 Sam 15:1–33). The association of Gilgal with the criticism of kingship continues in the prophetic books of Hosea and Amos, who refer to the setting in order to judge the monarchy (Hos 9:15; 12:12; Amos 4:4; 5:5). The antimonarchic legends of Elijah and Elisha also refer to Gilgal as the place of vindication, since it is where Yahweh took Elijah to heaven in the whirlwind (2 Kgs 2:1; 4:38).

The association of Gilgal with the criticism of kingship remains central in the book of Joshua, where the place-name occurs thirteen times in the MT (4:19, 20; 5:9, 10; 9:6; 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43; 12:23; 14:6; 15:7) and ten times in the LXX (4:19, 20; 5:9; 9:6; 10:6, 7, 9; 12:23; 14:6; 15:7—the references to Gilgal in the MT of 5:10; 10:15, 43 are absent in the LXX). The antimonarchic significance of Gilgal in 1 Sam 10–15, Hosea, and Amos, as well the legends of Elijah's transfiguration, is important to the literary development of Josh 1–12. The identification of Gilgal as the first camp in the promised land encourages a symbolic interpretation of the site (4:19). The legendary sites of Gilgal and Shittim provide the overall structure to the narrative of the crossing of the Jordan (4:19), which does not appear to be deeply rooted in Israelite tradition, since there is only one additional reference in Mic 6:5. Gilgal is also associated with a range of cultic rites of passage into the promised land, including the twelve stones, circumcision, Passover, unleavened bread, and the cessation of manna (5:2–12). In 4QJosh[a] Gilgal also appears to be the setting for the writing of the Torah on stones. The antimonarchic significance of Gilgal takes center stage in the remainder of its occurrences in Josh 1–12, where the camp at Gilgal provides contrast to the royal cities in the promised land that Joshua (10:6, 7, 9, and in the MT of 10:15, 43) and Caleb (14:6) destroy. The references to Gilgal as the city of the king of Goiim (12:23) and as a city on the border of Judah (15:7) depart from the literary development of the location in Josh 1–12.

4:21 *When your children ask their fathers tomorrow.* The orientation of the MT is toward the future: It is the children of those who crossed the Jordan River who will one day ask their fathers. The LXX does not include the future reference *māḥār,* "tomorrow." It also narrows the scope of the liturgy to those present at the event, *hoi huioi hymōn,* "your sons ask you."

4:22–23 The liturgical response is limited to v. 22 in the MT: "On dry ground Israel crossed this Jordan." In the MT, v. 23 continues the speech of Joshua, in which he provides the reason for the confession. On the use of *'ăšer* as a conjunction, which provides the reason for a preceding statement, see *HALOT* 8321B.c. The suffixes shift in the MT from the second person ("your God," "you crossed") to the first person ("before us," "we crossed"). Langlamet, among others, suggested textual emendations (1969: 54). The shift may be intentional, however; it progresses from the second generation of Israelites, who have just experienced the drying up of the Jordan ("you crossed"), to the past experience of the first generation of Israelites, represented by Joshua, who witnessed the drying up of the Red Sea. The experience of Yahweh's power by two separate generations will provide the content of the liturgy for future generations (v. 21). The LXX is not clear on where the liturgical response stops. Like the MT, it begins in v. 22. But the participle in v. 23, "dry up," appears to continue the liturgy, rather than introducing a speech by Joshua as in the MT: v. 22, "you will proclaim to your sons, 'Israel crossed the Iordan on dry ground"; v. 23, "when the Lord our God dried up the water

of the Jordan." In addition, the third-person plural preposition of the LXX in v. 23 is also unclear: "When the Lord our [*hēmōn*] God dried up the water of the Iordan before *them* [*autōn*] until *they* crossed."

4:24 *that you may fear Yahweh your God all the days.* The LXX translates as "that you may worship [*sebēsthe*] the Lord your God for all time."

5:1 *And when all the kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan toward the west.* The LXX lacks the phrase "toward the west."

and all the kings of the Canaanites. The LXX identifies the kings of the Canaanites as the "kings of Phoenicia."

heard that Yahweh dried up the water of the Jordan. The LXX writes "the Lord, God" and "the Iordan River."

until they crossed over. The translation represents the MT *Qere.* The *Kethib* is in the first person, *ʿābarnû,* "until we crossed over."

5:2 *swords of stone.* The Hebrew *ḥarbôt ṣūrîm* is a hapax legomenon. The Egyptians may have used such a knife for circumcision (*HALOT* 20190). The LXX expands the description of the knives, emphasizing their sharpness, *machairas petrinas ek petras akrotomou* ("swords of stone out of the sharp rock"). Tov (1999: 155–56) identifies a Midrash-type of exegesis in the LXX translation on the basis of the LXX of Deut 8:15, where Yahweh is said to have made water flow for the Israelites in the desert from a sharp rock (*ek petras akrotomou*). Auld agrees with the literary connection, writing, "The scribe is making an exegetical link to that divine provision [from Deut 8:15]: circumcision also comes from the flinty stone and is also related to divine grace" (2005: 122). Van der Meer suggests instead that the LXX translator "sought to modify the crude notion of a circumcision with such primitive instruments as stone knives" (2004: 338). The imagery in the MT certainly accentuates the primitive and archaic nature of the rite and reinforces the anti-technological point of view in the book of Joshua, which may be softened in the LXX with the emphasis on the "sharpness" of the knives. The archaic image of a stone knife for circumcision is first introduced in the story of the divine attack on Moses (Exod 4:24–26), where Zipporah circumcises Gershom with a similar flint knife (*šôr*).

and again circumcise . . . a second time. The differences between the MT and the LXX present a set of interpretive problems. The Hebrew *wĕšûb,* "and again," is translated in the LXX as *kathisas,* "placing," or better, "sitting," suggesting perhaps a Hebrew *Vorlage, yāšab,* "to sit," in which case the MT represents a corruption. But the Hebrew also includes *šēnît,* "a second time," which is absent in the LXX. H. N. Rösel (2011: 82) notes that *šĕnît* "may be a secondary reading added to secure the reading *wšwb* ('and again') against *yāšab* ('and sitting')." For Rösel the word for "a second time" signifies the reinstatement of the rite of circumcision after its cessation during the wilderness journey, thus the return to a lost archaic rite (see also Gooding, 1977: 156–57; and Nelson, 1997a: 77). The second circumcision in the MT has also been interpreted as a physical action, following the two stages of circumcision in the rabbinic period, as stated, for example, in m. Yebam. 8:1 and b. Yebam. 72A (see Holmes, 1914: 30–31; Auld, 1998a: 14; Sasson, 1966). L. Mazor notes that the reading in the LXX conforms to the Egyptian practice of circumcision in a sitting position (1994: 36; see also *ANEP* 629). Auld agrees, writing that there is evidence from both ancient and more recent eastern Mediterranean practice that the circumciser is seated on a stool (2005: 122).

5:3 *Hill of the Foreskins.* The phrase is a hapax legomenon. It is unclear whether the text is a description of a place, "the Hill of the Foreskins," or of quantity, "Joshua circumcised so many Israelites that there was a hill of the foreskins." The preposition *'el* suggests the latter reading, although *HALOT* 7714 notes the possibility of interchange between the prepositions *'el,* "to" or "toward," and *'al,* "upon," which would allow for the geographical interpretation. The LXX supports the more geographical reading, *epi tou kaloumenou topou bounos tōn akrobusiōn,* "at the place called Hill of the Foreskins." R. Gradwohl suggests that the phrase "Hill of the Foreskins" reflects the practice of burying the excised foreskins (1976). C. G. den Hertog counters that the Greek emphasis on place is meant to clarify that the mount was not made of foreskins (1996: 158).

5:4–7 *Reason for Circumcision.* The Pentateuch is ambiguous about the role of circumcision in the exodus. The rite is associated with Abraham in the Priestly literature (Gen 17), but the story of the exodus begins with the disruption of tradition (Exod 1:7–8). The biblical authors may have understood the rite of circumcision to have ceased while the Israelites were in Egypt. This interpretation is confirmed in Exod 4:22–24, when Gershom undergoes circumcision in the wilderness by Zipporah, Moses' Midianite wife, who reintroduces the ritual to Moses, using the same primitive knife (*ṣôr*) as Joshua. This is the only story of circumcision associated with the exodus; there is no further account of the circumcision of the Israelites in Egypt as part of the events of the exodus. The Priestly author addresses the topic of circumcision in Exod 12:43–49, as a postscript after the celebration of Passover in Egypt, stating that circumcision is a requirement for native Israelites and resident aliens who wish to participate in the Passover. The subject matter of natives and resident aliens indicates that the law has a future orientation in Priestly tradition, relating to the time when the Israelites are residents in their own land. Many interpreters view Josh 5:2–9 as an inner-biblical interpretation of this Priestly law.

Despite the absence of a story about the circumcision of the Israelites in Egypt, both the MT and the LXX of Josh 5 assume that the ritual took place. Yet each presents a distinctive account of the role of circumcision during the exodus and the wilderness journey, and as a result they diverge significantly in providing the reason why Joshua circumcised the Israelites. Auld notes that vv. 3 and 8 frame vv. 4–7 by providing a summary report of the circumcision by Joshua. The linking of vv. 3 and 4 in the LXX would qualify this conclusion to some degree. But Auld is certainly correct that vv. 4–7 provide distinct commentary in the MT and the LXX on who was to be circumcised and why it was necessary (2005: 125). The two interpretations are contrasted in the table.

MT	*LXX*
	[3]And Iesous made sharp swords of rock and circumcised the sons of Israel at the place called Hill of the Foreskins, [4]which is how Iesous purified the sons of Israel, who were born on the way and who were not circumcised of those coming out of Egypt.
[4]This is the reason why Joshua circumcised: All the people going out of Egypt, the males, all the men of battle died in the wilderness on the way, in their going out of Egypt. [5]For all the people who went out were cir-	[5]All of these Iesous circumcised.

cumcised. But all the people who were born in the wilderness on the way in their going out from Egypt were not circumcised.
6For forty years the Israelites went in the wilderness until all the nation perished, the men of war, who went out of Egypt, those who did not listen to the voice of Yahweh and to whom Yahweh swore that they would not see the land, which Yahweh had sworn to their fathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey.

7But their children he raised up in their place. Joshua circumcised them, because they were uncircumcised, since they did not circumcise them on the way.

6For forty-two years Israel had lived in the wilderness of Madbaritis. Therefore the majority of the warriors coming out of the land of Egypt were uncircumcised—those who disobeyed the commands of God, whom he determined would not see the land that the Lord swore to their forefathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey.
7Instead of them, he raised their sons, whom Iesous circumcised because they remained uncircumcised on the way.

In the MT all the male warriors of the exodus generation were circumcised before leaving Egypt, but the males who were born in the wilderness were not circumcised (v. 5). Thus the institution of circumcision ceased during the wilderness journey in the MT version of events, so the reinstatement of the rite becomes necessary. The entire generation of those who experienced the exodus died in the wilderness (v. 4) because they disobeyed Yahweh (v. 5). The specific act of disobedience is not stated, only the consequence of their losing the promised land. Joshua circumcises the males who were born on the wilderness journey (v. 7). The MT is likely an inner-biblical interpretation on the Priestly law of circumcision in Exod 12:43–49 as a requirement for participating in the Passover.

The LXX also assumes the circumcision of the Israelites in Egypt but qualifies the ritual as including only part of the nation. Thus in the LXX there are two groups of uncircumcised males: some members of the exodus generation, and some who were born on the wilderness journey (v. 4). Not all of the male warriors who leave Egypt die in the wilderness. Instead, a select group of uncircumcised males from the exodus generation disobey the Lord by not circumcising their sons, and they lose the promise of land (v. 6). Joshua circumcises the children of these disobedient warriors, who died in the wilderness (v. 7). The LXX suggests an inner-biblical interpretation of the law on infant male circumcision in Lev 12:3. It also describes the rite of circumcision as purifying the person who undergoes the rite, which is absent in the MT. The same word is used to describe the metaphorical circumcision of the heart in Deut 18:10 and the pruning of a garden in 4 Macc 1:29

5:4 *This is the reason why.* The MT *wĕzeh haddābār ʾăšer* occurs in one additional text, 1 Kgs 11:26, where the reason for Jeroboam's rebellion is provided. H. N. Rösel states that the formula is meant to provide a "theological explanation for the 'second' circumcision" in the MT (2011: 83). The LXX renders the Hebrew with a relative clause, *hon de tropon,* which ties vv. 3 and 4 more closely together.

Joshua circumcised. The MT lacks an object, which is provided in the LXX, *tous hyious israēl.* The LXX also departs from the MT by interpreting circumcision as an act of purification (*periekatharen*) when the expected Greek word for circumcision

is *peritemnō* (see Josh 5:2, 3, 5, 7, 8). The repetition of *peritemnō* in Josh 5:2–8 has prompted some scholars to interpret *perikatharizō* as a stylistic variation (Hollenberg, 1876: 5; Holmes, 1914: 29). But the Greek translator is likely introducing a distinctive interpretation of circumcision. Moatti-Fine suggests a moral interpretation (1996: 117–19), while van der Meer notes that the term implies physical purity (2004: 347). The emphasis on purity suggests that the Greek translator is interpreting circumcision in light of Egyptian cultural practice (see the "Comments"), which, as noted by Herodotus, emphasizes the central role of purity in the practice of circumcision (*Hist.* II.37).

Who were . . . who were. The LXX employs the relative *hosoi* with the enclitic particle *pote* to describe in general the two categories of uncircumcised males: (1) "who were born on the way" and (2) "who were not circumcised of those coming out of Egypt." The sentence has no parallel in the MT, indicating either a distinctive Hebrew *Vorlage, kôl . . . wĕkôl* (Auld, 1998a: 13) or a free interpretation of the MT by the Greek translator (van der Meer, 2004: 351).

5:5 *For all the people who went out were circumcised.* Absent in the LXX. The two categories of uncircumcised males in the LXX of v. 4 suggest rather that only part of the males leaving Egypt were circumcised.

5:6 *For forty years.* The MT reflects the traditional understanding of the length of the wilderness journey as consisting of forty years (Num 14:33, 34; 32:13; Deut 1:3; 2:7; 8:2; 29:2). This is likely a metaphorical number meant to represent the general time span of a generation (Judg 3:11). The LXX designates the wilderness journey as a forty-two year period, *tessarakonta gar kai duo.* Interpreters account for the difference in the LXX in a number of ways. Soggin states, "Instead of 40, LXX has 42, for no apparent reason" (1972: 69). Nelson (1997a: 73) follows Boling and Wright (1982: 184) in suggesting dittography, *'rb'ym [wšnym] šnh.* Gooding proposes a more historiographical perspective in the LXX, in which the symbolic number forty years in the MT (Num 14:33) is read literally and combined with the two years of travel before Kadesh-barnea (Num 10:11), thus arriving at the number forty-two (1977: 164; see also Tov, 1999: 158). In this case, the MT and the LXX indicate divergent interpretations of the history of the exodus and the wilderness journey.

in the wilderness. The LXX transliterates the MT *midbār* into the place-name *en tē erēmō tē midbaritidi,* which is likely a conflation of two occurrences of the Hebrew phrase (so Margolis, 1931–1938: 70). Boling and Wright suggest that the LXX is "an incorrect restoration of the phrase that seems to be missing in v. 4, *b[mdbr bdrk b]š'tm*" (1982: 184). The location of Madbaritis is repeated in the description of the borders for the tribe of Benjamin in Josh 18:12, where the MT *tōšē'ōtāyw midbarâ bêt 'āven* ("and it ends at the wilderness of Beth-aven") is rendered in the LXX as *kai estai autou hē diexodos hē midbaritis baithōn* ("and its outlet shall be Madbaritis Baithon"). For discussion of the general meaning of the wilderness in Joshua, see the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

until all the nation perished, the men of war, who went out of Egypt. The MT account of the punishment of the older generation is clear: "all the nation perished" because, even though all of the first generation were circumcised, they did not circumcise their children in the wilderness. The LXX lacks the phrase "all the nation perished," and it repeats the theme from v. 4 that not all males who left Egypt were circumcised: *dio aperitmētoi ēsan hoi pleistoi autōn,* "therefore many of them were uncircumcised." But the Greek has been interpreted in various ways depending on the reading of the geni-

tive *autōn,* "of them." Gooding reads the genitive *autōn* as a reference to the second generation: "therefore the majority of them (i.e., the sons) of the warriors" were uncircumcised (1977: 164). According to this translation, the offense of the majority of the warriors was not that they were uncircumcised, but that they failed to circumcise their sons in the wilderness as demanded by the legislation in Lev 12:3. As a result, v. 7 states that the sons of these disobedient warriors are circumcised instead of them: *anti de toutōn antikatestēsen tous hyious autōn,* "instead of them, he raised their sons." But the genitive *autōn* is more likely a reference to the first generation: "the majority of the warriors coming out of the land of Egypt were uncircumsised." Compare Van der Meer, who emends the LXX further, substituting *aperitmētoi,* "were uncircumcised," with *apērtisthēsa,* "were finished off." The emendation, according to Van der Meer, accounts for the Hebrew clause that is absent in the LXX: *'ad-tōm* [*kŏl-haggôy*], "until all the nation perished" (2004: 355–78, esp. 366–69).

5:9 *Today.* The MT *hayyôm* is rendered in the LXX as *en tēi sēmeron hēmerai,* "on this day."

the reproach of Egypt. The MT and the LXX agree that circumcision "removes the reproach of Egypt" (Hebrew, *ḥerpat miṣrayim;* Greek, *ton oneidismon aigyptou*). The meaning of this phrase, however, is unclear (Noort, 2005): (1) it may describe an action of the Egyptians, such as taunting. The translation "taunt of Egypt" would be similar to Zeph 2:8, where the prophet states, "I heard the taunt of Moab" (Hebrew, *ḥerpat mô'ab;* Greek, *oneidismous mōab*) (see also Gen 34:14). This interpretation emphasizes the function of Josh 5:9 as a conclusion to the ritual of circumcision in vv. 2–8. (2) The phrase may also describe the condition or status of the Israelites in relationship to Egypt, perhaps even referring to slavery in Egypt, which would be removed in the ritual of circumcision upon entry into the promised land (so H. N. Rösel, 2011: 84). This meaning would be similar to the report to Nehemiah in Neh 1:3 that the demolished city of Jerusalem has placed the remnant "in reproach," or better, "in shame" (Hebrew, *bĕḥerpâ;* Greek, *en oneidismōi*) (see also Isa 51:7; Jer 24:9; 42:18; Ezek 5:14; Joel 2:17). This interpretation emphasizes more the function of Josh 5:9 as an introduction to the following rituals of Passover and unleavened bread and the cessation of manna in Josh 5:10–12 (see the "Comments").

and he called . . . until this day. The temporal phrase *'ad hayyôm hazzeh* is absent in the LXX, and the speaker is ambiguous. In the MT the speaker is either Joshua (see the "Translation") or the narrator: "And so that place is called Gilgal to this day" (NRSV). In the LXX the speaker is the Lord or Joshua.

5:10 *And the Israelites camped at Gilgal.* The notice of the Israelites camping at Gilgal is a repetition from Josh 4:19. The LXX lacks the clause.

in the plain of Jericho. The LXX adds the more precise time *epi dysmōn ierichō en tōi peran tou iordanou en tōi pediōi,* "at sunset at Iericho across the Iordan in the plain."

5:11–12 *on the day after Passover . . . on this very day . . . And the manna ceased on the next day.* The MT indicates a sequence of three days: Passover on the fourteenth day at evening (v. 10); the eating of unleavened bread and roasted grain in the fifteenth day, *mimmāḥŏrat happesaḥ,* "on the day after Passover" (v. 11); and the cessation of manna on the sixteenth day, *mimmaharat,* "on the next day" (v. 12). The sequence may be influenced by the cultic calendar in Lev 23. The LXX lacks the three-day sequence and omits the reference to unleavened bread, suggesting that the festivals of Passover and

Unleavened Bread are fused into one cultic event and that the observance of Passover, the eating of new grain, and the cessation of manna occur on the same day, *en tautēi tēi hemērai* (v. 11).

5:11 *roasted.* The Hebrew *wĕqālûy,* "roasted," is in the form of a Qal passive participle. The term is used once in reference to a person (Jer 29:22), and twice in reference to grain (Josh 5:11; Lev 2:14). The LXX emphasizes instead the newness of the grain, *nea,* "fresh."

5:12 *the produce of the land.* The LXX uses the free rendering *ekarpisanto*, "to enjoy the fruit of the land," for the Hebrew *mitbû'at 'ereṣ*. The phrase appears one other time in the LXX of Prov 8:19.

the land of Canaan. The LXX identifies the land of Canaan as *chōran tōn phoinikōn,* "the land of the Phoenicians." The location is puzzling, since the translator has tended to refer to Phoenicia to designate land north of Canaan, along the coast as in Josh 5:1. The same change of location occurs in Exod 16:35, where the subject is also the cessation of manna: "The Israelites ate manna . . . until they came to the border of the land of Canaan" (MT, *'ereṣ yiśra'ēl*). In this text also the LXX translates as *eis meros tēs phoinikēs,* "to the border of Phoenicia." Van der Meer suggests that the Greek is not a reference to the place-name Phoenicia but a description of the area as including "date palms" (2004: 405).

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Joshua 3:1–5:12 contains two literary problems that indicate a history of composition. The first is literary structure. The story of the ark's crossing of the Jordan has repetitions that lack a clear literary design. The introduction contains conflicting chronologies of a one-day and a three-day event for the crossing of the Jordan (3:1, 5 and 3:2–4). The selection of twelve men occurs twice, first in a speech by Joshua (3:12) and a second time as a divine command (4:2). The procession of the priests with the ark changes, so that they both lead and follow the people (3:16–17; 4:10, 18–19). The memorial stones are placed both in the middle of the Jordan (4:9) and on the west side in the camp of Israel (4:8) and at Gilgal (4:20). Joshua also provides two teachings on the meaning of the stones, one to the twelve men (4:6–7) and another to the entire nation (4:21–24). The second problem is literary context. Joshua 3:1–5:12 includes themes from the Pentateuch, but it is not clear whether the narrative was originally part of the hexateuchal sources or an independent story that is only loosely related to the Pentateuch. The setting of Shittim ties the narrative to the conclusion of the wilderness journey in Num 25. The theme of crossing water on dry ground points back to a similar event at the Red Sea in Exod 14, although the ark is absent from the story of the exodus. The observance of Passover and eating of unleavened bread further anchors the crossing of the Jordan in the central festivals of the exodus in Exod 12–13, while the cessation of manna at the close of Josh 5 ties the episode to Exod 16, creating a frame to the wilderness period.

Interpreters offer two views of the history of composition to account for these internal repetitions and the relationship of the story to the Pentateuch. Source critics conclude that the present form of the crossing of the Jordan contains parallel accounts of the same story and that each version originally functioned as the conclusion to a source

document, thus providing evidence for an original Hexateuch. The many repetitions in Josh 3:1–5:12 reinforce the literary ties to the Pentateuch, since it, too, is composed in a similar manner, with narratives that are filled with doublets that frequently disrupt the flow of the narrative. But other interpreters are less certain. The lack of correspondence between the language of Josh 3:1–5:12 and the pentateuchal sources and the difficulty in recovering complete parallel versions of the crossing of the Jordan suggest a single narrative, composed independently from the pentateuchal sources.

Wellhausen illustrates an early source-critical solution to the composition of Josh 3:1–5:12 and the problem that the method poses in accounting for the growth of the text and its relationship to the Pentateuch (1899: 120–23). He identified two parallel accounts of the Jordan River crossing based on internal repetitions: the JE source (3:1, 5, 12; 4:1, 3, 8; 5:2–9) and the Dtr version (3:2–4, 6–8, 9–17 [minus 12]; 4:2, 4–7, 9, 11a, 12–14, 20–24). JE is a one-day event (3:1, 5) that recounts the selection of twelve men (3:12), but the focus remains on the entire Israelite nation, whom Joshua commands to follow the ark, to pick up the twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan River, and to erect them in the camp on the west side of the Jordan (4:1, 3), which they do (4:8). The circumcision of the Israelites at Gilgal immediately follows (5:2, 3, 8, 9; expanded within JE to include vv. 4, 5–7). JE is part of a hexateuchal source, according to Wellhausen. The setting of Shittim (3:1) follows from Num 25:1–5; the call for purification (3:5) repeats themes from Exod 19:10ff and Num 11:18; and the circumcision of the Israelites (5:2, 3, 8, 9) is tied to Exod 4:22–24.

The Dtr version is not a source from the Pentateuch; it represents the work of the author who inserted the Deuteronomic law within the pentateuchal sources (Wellhausen, 1899: 119). The content of the Dtr version is a three-day event (3:2–4) that includes a more expanded account of the crossing (3:14–17). It also includes the exaltation of Joshua (3:6–8), who instructs the Israelites about the power of Yahweh (3:9–11, 13) and the meaning of the stones (4:6–7, 20–24). The twelve men erect the stones (4:4–5) to represent the Israelite people, who include the eastern tribes (4:12–14), while Joshua also places stones in the middle of the Jordan River (4:9). Wellhausen identified the Priestly source from the date for the crossing of the Jordan (4:19) and the inclusion of Passover, unleavened bread, and manna to the ritual of circumcision (5:10–12). The combination of the parallel versions of JE and Dtr results in the incoherent structure of the present form of Josh 3:1–5:12, in which the two chronologies compete in the telling of the story (3:1, 5 and 3:2–4); the selection of the twelve men is hopelessly out of context (3:12); the crossing of the Jordan by the people and the priests lacks order (4:11); and the ceremony of the stones occurs twice in different locations (4:1, 3, 8; and 4:4–5, 9).

The inability of Wellhausen to separate the J and E sources and the prominent role of the Dtr version, with its absence of literary ties to the source documents, illustrate the problem facing Wellhausen's source-critical reading of Josh 3:1–5:12. Yet, his identification of two parallel accounts of the crossing of the Jordan established the paradigm for subsequent source-critical research on composition. E. Albers, for example, refined Wellhausen's description of the two versions of the crossing of the Jordan by identifying both the J (3:1a*b*b, 5, 10a, 11, 13–14, 15b, 16a*a*b, 17a*b**; 4:3*, 6–7a, 8, 17–18, 20*) and E (3:2–4, 6, 8, 9, 10b, 12, 15a 4:4–5, 7b, 10, 11, 12) sources (1891: 6), although he was unable to carry the analysis through the ritual at Gilgal in Josh 5 (1891: 46–85).

O. Eissfeldt presented a comprehensive source-critical solution to the composition of Josh 3:1–5:12 by identifying three parallel sources (1922: 206–10). The L source recounts the crossing of the Jordan as a journey that begins at Shittim and ends with the ritual of circumcision at Gilgal (3:1*, 14–15a, 17b; 4:1, 3*, 6–7a, 8*; 5:2–3, 8–9). The J source narrates the crossing as a one-day event, in which the memorial stones are placed in the middle of the Jordan River (3:1*, 5, 10–11a, 13, 17; 4:2, 3*, 7*, 9–11a, 13a, 15–18). And the E source is a three-day story that culminates in the placing of the memorial stones at Gilgal (3:2–4, 6–9, 12, 13b, 15b–16; 4:4–5, 8*, 11b, 12, 13a, 14, 19–24; 5:1).

Eissfeldt's recovery of the three sources belies a series of literary problems, including the relationship of the distinct sources to the Pentateuch and the literary process by which the separate sources are related in the present form of the text (1922: 66–69). Subsequent attempts to address these problems produced increasingly baroque reconstructions of the history of composition. Langlamet, for example, sought to trace the formation of the text in two studies. In the first (1969: 29–30), he identified the sources J (3:1*, 5*, 11, 14; 4:2–3, 6–8, 10–11), E (3:12–13, 15–16; 4:4–5, 9, [11]), and P (4:[13], 15–17, 19) and their literary combination in JE (3:1*, 5*, 10–17*; 4:1–11*, 18, 20) and in Dtr (3:2–4, 6–10; 4:12, [13], 14, 21–24). In the second (1972: 38), he revised the history of composition to include the three non-Priestly sources J^1 (3:1*, 14a, 16*; 4:1*, 3*, 8, 19b), J^2 (3:1*, [9], 10–11, 13a*, 15a; 4:7a*, 10b), and E (3:[6*], 12; 4:4–5*, 16–17[?], 20, 21b–22), reflecting more closely Eissfeldt's identification of the three sources L, J, and E.

E. Otto (1975: 26–65) recognized the problem of recovering too many sources in Josh 3:1–5:12, so he returned to the limitation of two sources, A and B, reminiscent of Wellhausen's original source-critical reading. The A source recounts the crossing of the Jordan in one day, with Joshua setting the stones in the middle of the Jordan River (3:1, 5, 9–12; 4:4–7, 9, 10a*a*b, 11b*b;* 5:1–5, 8b, 9, 10–12*). The B source is a more extended three-day account of crossing, in which the ceremony of the memorial stones takes place across the river at Gilgal (3:2, 3, 4b*bg,* 6–8, 13*, 14–17ab*a;* 4:1b, 2, 3, 8, 11ab*a,* 13, 14, 18b, 19*, 20–24). Source A lacks Deuteronomistic motifs for the most part (limited to 3:9, 10; 4:6, 7) and is tied more closely to the pentateuchal J source (or Yahwistic historical work). It continues the wilderness itinerary of Shittim (Num 25:1; Josh 3:1), and it repeats the intergenerational instruction from the exodus (Exod 12:26–27; 13:14–16; Josh 4:6–7), as well as the motif of manna from the wilderness journey (Exod 16:35b; Josh 5:12). The more extensive B source contains many Deuteronomistic motifs, including the identification of Levitical priests (Josh 3:3; Deut 17:8–20), the role of scribes in holy war (Josh 3:2; Deut 20:5–9), Joshua's succession of Moses (Josh 3:7a; Deut 31:7–8), and the tradition of the two and one-half tribes east of the Jordan (Josh 4:12; Deut 3:12, 13, 18–20). Otto concludes that a redactor combines the two sources by filling out the B source with material from the A source, as well as including additional material (3:17b*b;* 4:1a, 15–18a).

Noth departed from the source-critical solution to the composition of Josh 3:1–5:12 because he was unable to identify two accounts of the crossing of the Jordan, which is the core event in the narrative (1971b: 31–39). He argued, instead, that the act of crossing the Jordan occurs only once (i.e., Josh 3:16–17 and 4:1) and that the repetitions are the result of later additions to the original single narrative, rather than the combination of parallel versions as proposed by source critics. Thus, Noth identified an origin narrative (3:1, 5, 11 [3:12; 4:4–5], 14–17; 4:1–3, 8 [9], 10–11, 13, 18–20,

23*; 5:1–3, 10–12); a Deuteronomistic supplement (3:2–4 [4ab*a*], 6–10; 4:6, 7, 10a*b*, 12, 14, 21–24), which is part of the composition of the Deuteronomistic History; and post-Deuteronomistic additions that redefine the role of the priests (4:15*, 16–18), as well as later glosses (e.g., 4:19).

The original story, according to Noth, is a narrative with minimal speeches: one by Joshua (the instruction to prepare for the crossing, 3:5) and two by Yahweh (the command to select twelve men and stones, 4:1–3; and the command to circumcise, 5:2). The plot of the narrative is a one-day event (3:1) that progresses in three stages: (1) Joshua prepares the people to follow the ark in crossing the Jordan (3:5, 11, 13; perhaps also 3:12; 4:4–5); (2) while the people are crossing the Jordan (3:14–17), the Deity commands Joshua to select twelve men who must take stones from the Jordan and place them in the camp on the west side of the river (4:1–3, 8; perhaps also 4:9); and (3) the crossing is completed (4:10–11, 13, 18), followed by the erection of the stones at Gilgal (4:19*–20, 23*; 5:1) and the rituals of circumcision, Passover, and unleavened bread (5:2, 3, 10–12).

The Deuteronomistic version consists primarily of speeches that reinterpret the chronology of the original story to be a three-day event (3:2), the ark to represent a covenant (e.g., 3:3, 8), the stones to signify the story of salvation from Egypt (4:6–7, 21–24), and Joshua to be the successor of Moses (3:7; 4:10, 14). The Deuteronomistic version, therefore, is not an independent narrative but a supplement to and revision of the original story. The speeches include Joshua's instructions to the scribes on the meaning of the crossing (3:2–4), to the priests on how to cross the Jordan (3:6), and to the people on the presence of Yahweh (3:9–10) and the significance of the stones (4:6–7, 21–24). In addition, Yahweh informs Joshua of his exaltation to a position similar to that of Moses (3:7), which is fulfilled in 4:10, 12, 14.

Noth's argument that Josh 3:1–5:12 does not contain two or more complete versions of the crossing of the Jordan has become the majority opinion among interpreters. The response to his interpretation is developing in two directions. One group seeks to refine the history of composition by focusing on the development of specific motifs in the narrative. A second group limits interpretation to the present form of Josh 3:1–5:12 in an effort to account for the complex literary structure through the use of contemporary narrative criticism. After a review of these positions, I relate the two approaches to interpreting the composition of the story.

C. A. Keller (1956) represents a refinement of Noth's view of the composition of Josh 3–4. He agrees with Noth that there are not parallel versions of the entire story, but he does think that there are distinct motifs that can be traced in more detail than Noth demonstrated since these motifs likely represent ancient liturgies. Keller identifies two such motifs: the crossing of the Jordan (3:1–17; 4:10–19) and the memorial stones (4:1–9, 20–24). Both accounts are ancient traditions, although the Jordan crossing served as the basis for the inclusion of the memorial stones in their combination. The motif of the ark also becomes a point of focus in subsequent research on composition. Noth acknowledged a literary development surrounding the different terminology for the ark in Josh 3–4, but J. Dus probes more deeply the history of composition surrounding the ark, which for him plays the central role in the development of the story (1960a: 120–34). Dus traces the evolution of the legend through multiple stages, from the ark's original placement in the river on the stones, which function as its pedestal, to the

reinterpretation of the ark in the setting of Gilgal as a symbol of the Deuteronomistic understanding of covenant and finally as the Priestly ark of the testimony.

E. Vogt (1965) changes the thematic focus to holy war in order to account for the original story in Josh 3–4 and its history of composition, which he concludes could not even be read as a literary unity by an ancient Semite (1965: 126). Vogt recovers an original story of holy war against Jericho (3:1, 7, 14a, 16; 4:10b, 12–14, 19b), which is transformed by a cultic legend with two distinctive themes: (1) the legend of the ark crossing the Jordan (3:2–6, 8–11, 13, 14b–15a), and (2) the erection of the memorial stones (4:1–3, 8, 11, 20–24; of which 3:15b and 4:15–19a are later additions). Fritz (1994: 43–58) develops further the research of Vogt, also identifying an original story of the crossing of the Jordan River followed by circumcision in preparation for war (3:1, 14a, 15a, 16; 4:11a, 18, 19; 5:2, 3, 8). This story undergoes multiples stages of expansion, including a Deuteronomistic redaction focused on the theme of the ark and circumcision (RedD: 3:10, 11, 14b, 17; 4:9, 10; 5:4–7, 9, 10a, 11*, 12a), a post-P redaction about the priests (RedP: 4:15–19), an addition to the narrative that interprets the memorial stones (4:1–9, 20–23), and further redactional additions (3:2–4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15b; 4:11b, 12, 13, 14, 24; 5:10b, 11*, 12b).

The research of Keller, Dus, Vogt, and Fritz illustrates the influence of Noth's insight that Josh 3:1–5:12 contains only a single account of the crossing of the Jordan. This insight must influence any further interpretation of the composition of Josh 3:1–5:12. But their work also demonstrates the tendency to depart from Noth's modest reading of the history of composition of Josh 3:1–5:12 as a single story that undergoes one significant Deuteronomistic reinterpretation to include multiple literary additions around a variety of themes that repeatedly change the structure of the story. R. Polzin gives voice to the unease among literary critics over the increasing complexity of these scholarly refinements to Noth's research. He counters that however complicated the history of composition may be, the primary aim of the interpreter is "to determine what the text in its present form is saying" (1980: 92). This sentiment has tended to dominate more recent studies of Josh 3:1–5:12, where interpreters either acknowledge a history of composition, but fail to apply the insight to the interpretation of the text (e.g., Nelson, 1997a: 55–80; Creach, 2003: 43–57; C. Pressler, 2002: 28–41), or ignore issues of composition altogether (Hawk, 2000: 53–62, 78–82; D. S. Earl, 2010: 127–39; S. L. Hall, 2010: 46–78). The question lingers, however, whether it is possible to account for the present structure of Josh 3:1–5:12 exclusively through a synchronic literary interpretation.

Polzin represents the most thorough attempt to provide a comprehensive literary reading of the present form of Josh 3:1–5:12 as a unified narrative (1980: 73–112). His hermeneutical starting point, surprisingly, is based on the historical-critical work of Noth, who identified the Deuteronomistic History as a unified composition by one author, the Deuteronomist. Polzin assumes this hypothetical reconstruction and thus concludes at the outset that the crossing of the Jordan must be interpreted in the larger literary context of Deuteronomy–2 Kings, which the Deuteronomist composed as a single literary work with one overarching ideological perspective (1980: 16–24). The Deuteronomistic History is therefore a "monologue," according to Polzin, which means that all the literature conforms to "a single dominating point of view" (1980: 21). The book of Deuteronomy not only establishes the overarching perspective, it also provides

the compositional strategy for the entire corpus, which is the interplay between speeches (reported speech) and narrative (reporting speech). The key for interpreting the central message of Deuteronomy is to identify tension or conflict between the extended speeches of God and Moses (reported speech) and the narrative (reporting speech), which often represents the voice of the narrator (1980: 25–72). The points of tension between speeches and narration are intended to explore the "hermeneutics of the word of God" in Deuteronomy, specifically how the law code is both authoritative ("authoritarian dogmatism") and open to change through time ("critical traditionalism").

Polzin argues further that the thematic focus and the literary strategy of the Deuteronomistic author continue from Deuteronomy into the conquest of the land in Josh 1–12, although the predominance of speeches (reported speech) gives way to narrative (reporting speech) in order to explore the subtle relationship between prediction and fulfillment, and the tension between a stable law and the need for legal change over time (1980: 16–24, 29–72). Speeches continue to play an important role in Josh 1–12, but the shift in emphasis to narrative allows the Deuteronomist to describe the varied ways in which Joshua and the Israelites fulfill the commands from Deuteronomy. The result is that Josh 1–12 provides the polemical response of "critical traditionalism" to the overly simplified view of "authoritarian dogmatism," which would advocate the fulfillment of Deuteronomic law in Joshua without change (1980: 80). Examples of the polemical character of speeches in Josh 1–12 include the discourse of Rahab in Josh 2, as well as speeches by Yahweh and Joshua in Josh 3:1–5:12 (for the full list, see Polzin, 1980: 80–84). In the story of Rahab, speeches provide the Canaanite point of view on the conquest, culminating in the oath to rescue her family despite the Deuteronomic law on war (Deut 7:1–5; 20:15–18), which forbids such acts of mercy toward Canaanites (1980: 85–91). The same strategy of "critical traditionalism" appears in speeches by Yahweh and Joshua in the crossing of the Jordan. The speech of Yahweh about circumcision in Josh 5:2b, 9 is a literary allusion to the theme of forgiveness in Deut 9:28, by which the Deuteronomist extends the theme of mercy from Rahab to the second generation of Israelites, emphasizing once again how the application of law can change through time (1980: 110–11). Two speeches by Joshua in Josh 3:9b–13 and 4:5 continue the pattern, when they are presented as reiterations of direct divine commands (3:7b–8; 4:2–3), which accentuate a "critical stance toward the word of God" that allows for interpretation and application in a distinct way (1980: 82–83).

Finally, Polzin also argues that the liturgical nature of Josh 3:1–5:12 is crucial for interpreting the literary unity of the narrative. It allows the Deuteronomist "to construct a highly intricate and amazingly precise compositional structure," in which temporal, spatial, psychological, and phraseological planes interact to create a unified narrative (1980: 94). Central to this interpretation is the identification of five episodes in Josh 3:1–5:1 with overlapping chronological sequences (the cultic rituals at Gilgal in 5:2–12 are outside of this structure):

1. Story of the Crossing of the Jordan (3:1–17)
2. Twelve Stones in the Israelite Camp (4:1–8)
3. Account of the People in the River (4:9–14)
4. Exit of the Priests and the Return of the Water (4:15–18)
5. Twelve Stones at Gilgal (4:19–5:1)

What appears to be out of sequence upon first reading in the arrangement of these five episodes is actually a literary strategy of the ritual narrative, in which the author shifts the temporal, spatial, and psychological perspectives back and forth to emphasize key events and to present the same events from different points of view. The repetition of the twelve stones in episodes 2 and 5, for example, emphasizes this event from two points of view: first from the perspective of the Israelites (4:1–8) and then from the perspective of the indigenous nations (4:19–5:1). The spatial organization of all five episodes reinforces the contrasting points of view in episodes 2 and 5. Episodes 1–3 narrate the story of the crossing from a vantage point *outside* of the promised land, where the ability of the Israelites to cross the river and enter the land is central; while episodes 4–5 view the event from *inside* the promised land at Gilgal, where the immobility (and thus security) of the ark takes center stage. In addition, events that appear out of place are in fact intentional literary devices to create emphasis and anticipation in the reader. The command of Joshua to select twelve men (3:11–12), for example, is out of place in episode 1. It appears unexpectedly and without a stated purpose. The reason for this unexpected interruption is not the result of a history of composition; rather, it is a literary device to prefigure episode 2, where the selection of the twelve men is the central theme. Polzin writes that Josh 3:11–12 "tantalizingly set the reader up to anticipate something that in fact will soon follow in 4:1–8" (1980: 95). The same literary strategy is evident in the sudden exiting of the ark from the Jordan in episode 3 (4:11); it, too, is meant to prefigure episode 4, where the processing of the ark out of the Jordan is the central theme. In this way episodes 1–2 and 3–4 share a similar literary strategy, in which a theme is introduced out of sequence in episodes 1 and 3 to prefigure the content of episodes 2 and 4. The result of the variety of temporal, spatial, and psychological strategies in Josh 3:1–5:1 is a narrative that "approaches geometric precision" (1980: 94).

COMPOSITION OF JOSH 3:1–5:12

The insights of both Noth and Polzin are important for discerning the history of composition of Josh 3:1–5:12. Polzin provides three guidelines: (1) the present form of the text must reveal its structure; (2) the composition contains a dynamic relationship between speeches and narratives, as opposed to Noth's tendency to separate the two; and (3) the crossing of the Jordan is a liturgical narrative that departs from a strict linear progression to emphasize key events through repetition. Noth adds three additional insights that also influence the interpretation: (1) the present form of the text contains a history of composition and is not the work of one author; (2) the multiauthored text does not allow for a single dominating point of view, as Polzin argues; and (3) the repetitions in the text are more than a literary strategy of one author; instead, they represent conflicting interpretations of the same event.

I combine the insights of Noth and Polzin with three qualifications. First, Polzin's criteria for determining the boundaries of episodes 1–5 lack a clear literary basis for the complex temporal, spatial, and psychological relationships that he describes. Second, Noth's separation between narrative in the pre-Deuteronomistic story and speeches in Deuteronomistic composition ignores the present form of the narrative as a control for evaluating the history of composition. Third, the shared adherence of Noth and Polzin

to the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis predetermines the identification of the author of Josh 3:1–5:12 and the literary context of the narrative. This historical-critical presupposition is particularly influential with Polzin, who restricts all interpretation of the crossing of the Jordan to the literary horizon of Deuteronomy, even though the narrative contains strong literary ties to the Pentateuch as a whole. Noth's identification of a pre-Deuteronomistic form of the crossing of the Jordan recognizes more complex literary relationships with themes in the Pentateuch. In contrast to Noth, I argue that a postpentateuchal date better accounts for these motifs in the narrative. Finally, the MT and the LXX indicate a continuing history of inner-biblical exegesis, in which editors clarify the nature of the priesthood or the identity of the ark. These revisions do not represent the same programmatic interpretation of the crossing of the Jordan as the two stages of composition that I describe.

The interplay of speeches and narrative in the present form of Josh 3:1–5:12 indicates that divine speeches mark important points of transition in the plot structure of the story. There are four divine speeches, which signal (1) the entry into the Jordan (3:7–8), (2) the selection of twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan (4:1–3), (3) the exit from the Jordan (4:16–17), and (4) the rite of circumcision (5:2, 9). When the introduction in Josh 3:1–6 is added, the speeches by Yahweh yield a story of five scenes: (1) introduction/preparation (3:1–6), (2) entering the Jordan (3:7–17), (3) taking twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan (4:1–14), (4) exiting the Jordan (4:15–5:1), and (5) circumcision (5:2–12). Speeches by Joshua also tend to follow each divine discourse, either to execute the divine command or to provide interpretation. Thus, Joshua (1) interprets the act of entering the Jordan (3:9–13), (2) explains the meaning of the stones to the twelve men in the middle of the river (4:4–7), and (3) executes the divine command to exit the Jordan (4:17) before adding yet another interpretation of (4) the stones on the west side of the Jordan (4:21–24). The distribution of the speeches by Yahweh and Joshua can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Preparation (3:1–6)
    Scribes' Speech: 3:2–4
    Joshua's Speech: 3:5–6
2. Entering the Jordan/Stopping the Water (3:7–17)
    Divine Speech: 3:7–8
    Joshua's Speech: 3:9–13
3. Middle of the Jordan/Twelve Stones and Twelve Men (4:1–14)
    Divine Speech: 4:1–3
    Joshua's Speech: 4:4–7
4. Exit from the Jordan/Return of the Water (4:15–5:1)
    Divine Speech: 4:15–16
    Joshua's Speech: 4:17
    Joshua's Speech: 4:21–24
5. Circumcision (5:2–12)
    Divine Speech: 5:2, 9

The outline allows for a number of initial interpretations about the structure and composition of Josh 3:1–5:12. First, it confirms the crucial role of the divine speeches in providing the central structure to the story of the crossing of the Jordan. This conclu-

sion is strengthened when we note that there are no repetitions or doublets of any divine speech. Thus the story of crossing the Jordan is told as a three-stage process in which the ark enters (3:7–17), pauses midriver (4:1–14), and exits (4:15–5:1). The transitions in each case are signaled by a divine speech. Second, scenes 1 and 5, which mark the periods of preparation and conclusion, provide the frame for the story. The scenes indicate progression from the preparation at Shittim for the rite of passage, where there is no divine speech (3:1–6), to the completion of the rite of passage in the ritual of circumcision at Gilgal, where there is only divine speech (5:2–9). Third, the middle three scenes describing the crossing of the Jordan River share the same structure, in which speeches by Yahweh and Joshua interact to advance the plot and to interpret the meaning of the events. Fourth, scene 4 departs from the expected structure of the middle three scenes, in which speeches by Yahweh and Joshua are balanced. Two speeches by Joshua (4:17 and 21–24) overload the structure of scene 4 while the second (4:21–24) also departs from the literary confines of the scene by reinterpreting an earlier speech of Joshua from scene 3 (4:4–7). The two speeches represent distinct interpretations of the twelve stones in the form of intergenerational instruction or catechism; each is structured in such a way that the asking of a question prompts an answer, which provides an interpretation of the ark's crossing of the Jordan River. The central question in both Josh 4:4–7 and 21–24 is, "What do these stones mean?" (4:6a and 21b). The answers in Josh 4:7 and 22–24 are etiologies that interpret the nature of the divine theophany, which occurs when the ark crosses the Jordan River. The two speeches of Joshua represent a history of composition, in which the meaning of the ark's crossing of the Jordan is interpreted by different authors: The first author locates the speech in the middle of the river (4:4–7), and the second author adds a new interpretation of the events as a speech of Joshua on the western side of the river (4:21–24).

Noth and Polzin agree that the same Deuteronomistic author wrote the two speeches of Joshua in Josh 4:4–7 and 21–24, even though they provide different interpretations of the stones. Noth questions whether a portion of Josh 4:23 may reflect an older narrative, but in the end he assigns the main features of Josh 4:21–24 and all of Josh 4:4–7 to the Deuteronomist, because of the style of speech and the close literary ties to Deut 6:20–25, where the form of the catechism is also used. He judges the date of the event in Josh 4:19 to be a post-Deuteronomistic addition in the style of the Priestly source (1971b: 37–39). Polzin views all of Josh 4:4–7 and 19–24 as the composition of the same author, who "allows the narrative to display these events from different spatial and psychological points of view," with the first speech representing the Israelite perspective on the crossing and the second its implications for the nations (1980: 97, 100). I argue, as many others have, that distinct authors composed the two catechisms and that they provide the key to the history of composition of Josh 3:1–5:12.

The comparison of Josh 4:4–7 and 19–24 underscores how different the two catechisms are from each other both in content and in the literary context. In Josh 4:4–7, the catechism focuses narrowly on Joshua and the twelve representatives of Israel (4:4). The setting for instruction takes place while the ark is in the middle of the Jordan (4:5). Joshua directs each of the twelve men to take a stone as a sign (4:6) that will occasion future teaching between the generation of the twelve and their children: "When *your* children [*benêkem*] ask tomorrow, saying 'What are these stones *to you* [*lākem*]?'" Joshua 4:7 provides the answer and hence the interpretation of the crossing of the

Jordan. The meaning of the stones is limited in scope; they signify the power of the ark to cut off (*nākar*) the waters of the Jordan as it is crossed (*ʿābar*). The Israelites play no role in this version of the crossing, and there is no indication that the teaching is meant to tie the crossing of the ark to specific events in the Pentateuch or that the procession of the ark across the Jordan is part of a larger narrative sequence of the events that begin in Egypt and continue into the wilderness journey. On this basis G. W. Coats rightly concludes that this version of the crossing of the Jordan is independent of the sequence of stories in the Pentateuch (1969; 1985a: 142–43).

The stones take on new meaning in Josh 4:19–24. The catechism is dated to Month 1, Day 10, relating the occasion for the teaching contextually to the Priestly chronology of the exodus in the Pentateuch (Exod 12). The setting for the teaching changes from the middle of the river to Gilgal in the promised land (Josh 4:20), recalling the itinerary notices from the wilderness journey in the Pentateuch. The catechism is directed to the entire Israelite nation, rather than simply to the twelve men (4:21). The question, moreover, is no longer directed to the immediate audience, but in the MT includes many future generations: "When your children ask their fathers [*ʾābôtām*] tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones?'" These changes are accompanied by a reinterpretation of the stones. Joshua 4:22 shifts the focus of the crossing from the ark to the Israelite nation: "On dry ground Israel crossed this Jordan." As noted by Coats, the ark is missing altogether in this version (1985a: 142). Joshua 4:23 refashions the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 4:4–7, which recounted the procession of the ark, into an experience of the Israelite people, which recalls a similar event at the Red Sea during the exodus: "For Yahweh your God dried up the water of the Jordan from before you until you crossed as Yahweh your God did at the Red Sea." The parallel between the Red Sea and the Jordan River as similar events in the story of salvation from Egypt to Canaan is reinforced by the shared motif that Yahweh dried up (*yābaš*) both the sea and the river, allowing the Israelites to pass through on dry ground (*yăbbaššâ*) (Exod 14:16, 22, 29; 15:19; Josh 4:22, 23). Thus, while the reinterpretation shifts the focus of the story from the procession of the ark to the experience of the Israelite people, at the same time it broadens the literary horizon of the crossing of the Jordan River from its original function as a rite of passage within the book of Joshua to an event within the larger story of salvation from Egypt, thus contextualizing the book of Joshua with the Pentateuch. Finally, Josh 4:24 also expands the meaning of the Israelite crossing to include the acknowledgment of Yahweh by all the nations: "so that all the people of the land may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong."

Different authors composed Josh 4:4–7 and 4:19–21. Coats interprets Joshua 4:4–7 to be the more original version of the crossing of the Jordan and Josh 4:19–24 a later addition (1985a: 144–45). Otto (1975: 43–46, 54–56) and H.-J. Fabry (1985) share Coats's conclusion but disagree on the identity of the authors. Otto identifies Josh 4:6–7 as a pre-Deuteronomistic composition that continues the J source of the Pentateuch (Source A) and Josh 4:21–24 as Deuteronomistic (Source B). The non-Deuteronomistic character of Josh 4:6–7 is based on the use of the word "memorial" (*zikkārôn*) in v. 7, a motif that is absent in Deuteronomistic literature. The liturgical setting of Josh 4:4–7 is also tied more closely to the catechisms in the book of Exodus than in the book of Deuteronomy, where obedience to the law (Deut 6:20–25) replaces the cultic setting of Passover (Exod 12:26–27) and unleavened bread (Exod 13:3–10).

The literary evidence supports Otto's conclusion that the author of Josh 4:4–7 is not the Deuteronomist. But the designation of the stones as a memorial is not the composition of the pre-Deuteronomistic Yahwist. Rather, it indicates post-Deuteronomistic authorship, since the identification of memorials occurs almost exclusively in Priestly literature in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 12:14; 28:12, 29; Lev 23:24; Num 16:40; see the "Comments"). Fabry also rejects the Deuteronomistic authorship of Josh 4:19–24, noting the mixture of Priestly and Deuteronomistic motifs. The date of the event to Month 1, Day 10 in Josh 4:19 ties the crossing of the Jordan to the Priestly liturgical calendar (Exod 12). The use of *'ăšer* to introduce the question in Josh 4:21 is in the style of Priestly writing in the Pentateuch (e.g., Lev 4:22). The recognition formula in Josh 4:24 aimed at the nations, "so that all the people of the land may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong," repeats a central motif from the Priestly version of the exodus, where the purpose of the events is also to force Pharaoh and the Egyptians to acknowledge Yahweh (e.g., Exod 6:7; 7:5; 14:4, 18).

Joshua 4:4–7 and 19–24 both contain a mixture of Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs from the Pentateuch; therefore, the history of composition can be based on neither the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis nor the recovery of early pentateuchal sources, since both versions of the catechism presuppose the Pentateuch as a whole. A more secure way to identify the distinct authors is through the change in literary context that results from the two interpretations of the stones. The author of Josh 4:4–7 limits the meaning of the stones to the book of Joshua, focusing specifically on the procession of the ark across the Jordan River. The author of Josh 4:19–24 expands the meaning of the stones to represent the power of Yahweh in the events of salvation from Egypt, where the dual crossings of the Red Sea in Exodus and the Jordan River in Joshua now frame the wilderness journey, thus contextualizing the book of Joshua as a continuous narrative with the Pentateuch. The new interpretation of the stones in Josh 4:19–24 also influences the details of the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3:1–5:12, although it is not possible to unravel the history of composition with certainty. For this reason, I address the more detailed problems of composition in the "Comments," where I identify two stages of composition: (1) an original version of the ark crossing the Jordan River, in which the teaching associated with the stone memorial takes place in the middle of the river (3:1–11, 13–17; 4:1–8, 10a, 12–18; 5:2–3, 8); and (2) a reinterpretation of the crossing so that the teaching associated with the stone memorial occurs at Gilgal (3:12; 4:9, 10b–11, 19–24; 5:5, 9). The comparison of the MT and the LXX indicates that the history of composition exceeds these two stages.

CULTIC RITUAL AT GILGAL

Many interpreters identify the oldest version of the crossing of the Jordan with an ancient cultic ritual at Gilgal that precedes the literary development of the story in Josh 3:1–5:12. The anchoring of the earliest *Sagen* in Josh 2–9 to the cultic practice at Gilgal is a central hypothesis in Noth's interpretation of the book of Joshua (1971a: 11–13). In this, he follows a host of other interpreters. Noth argued that the earliest oral versions of the stories in Josh 2–9 originated as local etiologies tied to the cultic practice of the tribe of Benjamin at Gilgal. The oral *Sagen* are first organized into a collection of stories in the ninth century BCE; this collection is unrelated to the literature from the

Pentateuch. The *Sagen* in Josh 2–9 include Rahab (Josh 2), the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3–4), circumcision (Josh 5), the wars against Jericho (Josh 6) and Ai (Josh 8), and the deception of the Gibeonites (Josh 9). Thus, the crossing of the Jordan emerges as an independent cultic etiology of the tribe of Benjamin that is unrelated to the other *Sagen* in Josh 2–9 and the stories of salvation from Egypt in the Pentateuch.

H. J. Kraus (1951) expanded Noth's hypothesis regarding the role of Josh 3:1–5:2 in the cultic liturgy at Gilgal. He noted that many of the motifs in Josh 3–4 are rooted in worship practice, including the Levitical priests (3:3), the ark (3:5), the twelve men representing tribal Israel (3:12), and, most prominently, the twelve stones at Gilgal (4:20). Kraus concluded that the stones "represent the center of the holy place; they give factual substance to the image of a circle of stones called up by the very sound of the name Gilgal" (1951: 185). The content of Josh 3–4, with its reference to both the Red Sea and the Jordan River, is part of the original liturgy, according to Kraus. The aim of the liturgy is to reenact the entire experience of salvation from Egypt as it is preserved in the historical credos (e.g., Deut 26:4–9), where the exodus from Egypt and the entry into the promised land are central themes. In this way, the liturgy includes an actualization of "salvation history" through the crossing of the Jordan, which begins from an altar on the east side of the Jordan and progresses to Gilgal on the west. By emphasizing the ritual actualization of the exodus and conquest, Kraus accounts for the reference to the Red Sea in a liturgy that is performed at the Jordan River, while still accepting Noth's conclusion that the literature of Josh 3:1–5:12 is separate from the sources of the Pentateuch. Kraus concluded that the Deuteronomist incorporated the legend of Gilgal into the book of Joshua, instead of the ending of the pentateuchal sources, because the ritual was the "authoritative source of the occupation of the land" (1951: 198).

Soggin broadened the lens for interpreting the pairing of the Red Sea and the Jordan River in Josh 4:23–24 (1965). He agreed with Kraus that the distinct bodies of water represent different themes from the historical credo, but he increased the scope of the contrast to include two separate rituals. The Red Sea is tied to the exodus and Passover and the Jordan River to the possession of the promised land in the defeat of Jericho. These themes merge over time in the tribal rituals at Gilgal, until national shrines in the monarchic period replace the cultic site. One can still see the formative influence of the cultic practice in the structure that emerges in the stories of the exodus (Exod 12–15) and the taking of the promised land (Josh 3–5). The influence of Gilgal also lingers behind the story of Elijah crossing the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8), the pairing of sea and river in Ps 114, and the reference to Shittim and Gilgal in Mic 6:5. F. M. Cross, building on the research of Soggin, rooted the pairing of the Red Sea and the Jordan River in Canaanite mythology, where *Yamm* (sea) and *Nahar* (river) represent a single deity (1973: 138–40). Agreeing with Soggin, Cross also stated that these themes are combined in the Gilgal cult, but he extended his reconstruction beyond Soggin by identifying the poem in Exod 15 as the original liturgy for the spring new year festival at Gilgal. Although Josh 3–5 is a later literary development, it still allows for the reconstruction of the original spring new year festival, which included (1) sanctification for holy war, (2) the procession of the ark as a war palladium to the sanctuary of Gilgal, (3) the procession of the people across the Jordan as a symbolic reenactment of the crossing of the Red Sea during the exodus, (4) the establishment of the twelve stones and the celebration of Passover as a covenant renewal festival, (5) circumcision, and

(6) the appearance of the heavenly messenger (1973: 102–4). J. A. Wilcoxen provided an even more expansive cultic interpretation, in which he detected a liturgy in Josh 1–6, where the entry into the land and the destruction of Jericho each take seven days, with the crossing of the Jordan River representing the center point of the ritual (1968a).

Many interpreters critically evaluate the reconstruction of the Gilgal cult as the background for the story of the crossing of the Jordan despite the fact that the narrative incorporates liturgical motifs. Even though Noth (1971b: 33) assumed the important role of the Gilgal cult in the tribal period of Israel, he questioned a seasonal ritual of crossing the Jordan, as proposed by Kraus. K.-D. Schunck doubted that the ark was ever part of an early ritual at Gilgal (1963: 63). Keller emphasized the literary problems in Josh 3–4 as an obstacle to the recovery of any original ritual (1956: 86). The problem of recovering an early ritual continues in the presentation of the two festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread as a single festival in Josh 5:10–12, since the combination is likely a late development in the history of the Israelite cult. The archaeological research on the origin of Israel as indigenous to Syria-Palestine presents even more profound challenges to the reconstruction of an ancient ritual at Gilgal, especially one that celebrates the nonindigenous origin of the people. Finkelstein and Silberman conclude that the account of Israel crossing the Jordan River is literature about national identity, not ritual (2001: 92–96). S. L. Sanders concurs, stating that Josh 3:1–5:12, with its mythic themes of salvation, points to "a narrative about ritual" (2004: 124).

Comments

3:1–6. PREPARATION AT SHITTIM

The literary structure consists of two speeches in vv. 2–6a that are framed by travel in vv. 1 and 6b. The speeches include one by the scribes to the Israelites (vv. 2–4) and a second by Joshua to the people and the priests (vv. 5–6a).

The focus on travel in vv. 1 and 6b progresses from the journey of the people (v. 1) to the procession of the ark (v. 6b). Both motifs recall events from the wilderness journey of the Pentateuch. The travel of the people from Shittim to the Jordan is reminiscent of the wilderness itinerary notices, which describe the movement of the Israelites from one oasis to another in Exodus and Numbers (G. I. Davies, 1983). The notice of the departure with the verb *nāsa',* "to journey," and the preposition *min,* "from," describes the exit of the Israelites from Rameses (Exod 12:37), Elim (Exod 16:1), the wilderness of Sin (Exod 17:1), the wilderness of Sinai (Num 10:12), and Hazeroth (Num 12:16). The notice of arrival with the verb *bô',* "to enter," also appears in the wilderness itineraries at Marah (Exod 15:23), Elim (Exod 15:27), and the wilderness of Sin (Exod 16:1). The parallels identify the journey from Shittim to the Jordan with the larger story of the journey from Egypt to the promised land, before the author departs from the wilderness imagery by stating that the Israelites only spend the night (Hebrew, *lîn*) on the eastern side of the Jordan (Coats, 1972).

Verse 6b shifts the focus of travel from the people to the procession of the ark, which is the central theme in Josh 3:1–5:12. The image of the ark processing before the people also ties the opening scene to the wilderness journey, where the ark is described once as leading the people in their journey to the promised land: "When the ark set out, Moses would say, 'Arise O Yahweh, let your enemies be scattered, and your foes

flee before you.' And whenever it came to rest, he would say, 'Return O Yahweh of the ten thousand thousands of Israel'" (Num 10:35–36). The poem represents a military interpretation of the ark that conflicts with the Priestly (Exod 25:10–22) and Deuteronomistic (Deut 10:1–5) interpretations but is crucial to the author of Joshua. The central role of the ark is reinforced by the multiple references to it in vv. 1–6. Three times the "ark of the covenant" is specifically named in vv. 3 and 6, while it is referred to an additional four times in vv. 3–4. The title "ark of the covenant" indicates the preference of the author of Joshua for the aniconic interpretation of the ark in Deuteronomy, even while departing from it with the emphasis on war. The author traces the procession of the "ark of the covenant" from the east side of the Jordan (1:3, 6) through the river (3:8, 11, 14, 17; 4:7, 9) to the war against Jericho (6:6, 8), until it finally comes to rest at Ebal and Gerizim (8:33). The imagery of a procession mirrors the ark's role in the poem of Num 10:35–36. Other titles for the ark fill out the narrative, such as the "ark," "ark of God," and "ark of Yahweh." But it is noteworthy that there is only one reference to the Priestly "ark of the testimony" (4:16), with its more iconic interpretation of a lavishly constructed chest decorated with gold and cherubim. Even though the author of Joshua shares the more sacramental view of the ark from the Priestly literature, as is evident in the speeches of vv. 2–5a, the religious outlook throughout the book is strictly aniconic (see the more detailed interpretation of the ark in the "Introduction").

The speeches by the scribes (vv. 2–4) and Joshua (vv. 5–6a) provide interpretation of the sacramental character of the ark as representing the power of Yahweh in war. The content of the two speeches indicates that the story of the ark crossing the Jordan is intended to be an account of theophany, like the appearance of Yahweh on Mount Sinai in Exodus or at Mount Horeb in Deuteronomy. The literary ties to Exod 19 are especially strong. The genre of theophany is signaled in the opening instruction of the scribes to the people: "When you see the ark." The content of their instruction explains how the ark will process, who will carry it, how the people will follow, what the required distance is between the people and the sacred object, and finally the purpose of the event as revelation: "so that you may know the way in which you must go." Many of these motifs also appear in the story of revelation in Exod 19, including a three-day preparation for theophany (19:11, 15, 16), the central role of sight (19:4, 16), the careful stationing of the people in relationship to the sacred (19:13b, 17), and the need to maintain a safe distance between the sacred and the profane (19:12–13a, 21). The parallels to Exod 19 continue in the instruction of Joshua in vv. 5–6a that the people sanctify themselves in preparation for the procession of the ark across the Jordan River (19:10, 14) and the singling out of the priests to perform a central role (19:22, 24). The parallels indicate the intention of the author to combine the aniconic description of the ark in Deuteronomy with a more sacramental interpretation of its power by using many motifs from the account of theophany in Exodus. The purpose of revelation is the same in Exodus and in Joshua, namely, to bring the Israelites to the knowledge of God (see for example Exod 29:46 and Josh 3:4).

J. Jeremias identifies two parts in the original genre of theophany in the Hebrew Bible: the approach of God, and the reaction of nature (1965: 107–11). The Song of Deborah in Judg 5:4–5 provides an illustration, when Yahweh approaches from the desert region of Seir, and the divine appearance prompts the elements of nature to tremble and quake: "Yahweh, when you went out from Seir, when you marched from

the region of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens poured, the clouds indeed poured water. The mountains quaked before Yahweh, the One of Sinai, before Yahweh, the God of Israel." The original form changes in the accounts of the appearance of Yahweh on Mount Sinai in Exodus and at Mount Horeb in Deuteronomy through a process of demythologizing in which the reaction of nature is lost (Cross, 1973: 165). In its place, Jeremias notes that the appearance of Yahweh on Sinai is accompanied by the storm imagery of thunder and lightning, while the people, rather than nature, tremble: "On the morning of the third day there was thundering and lightning, as well as a thick cloud on the mountain, and a blast of a trumpet so loud that all the people who were in the camp trembled" (Exod 19:16). The author of Joshua combines the reinterpretation of theophany in the Pentateuch with the original form, perhaps to emphasize a more archaic version of divine appearance through the procession of the ark. The result is that the theophany of Yahweh calls forth a reaction from both nature and humans in the book of Joshua: the Jordan River stops its flow in response to the procession of the ark (3:7–17), and the nations tremble in reaction (5:1). The idealization of an archaic form of religion will continue throughout the procession of the ark in the book of Joshua. The Israelite reaction to the theophany of the ark is to circumcise with uncut stone knives that are untainted by technology (5:2–9); the royal city-state of Jericho is destroyed by the procession of the ark and returned to a more natural state of rubble when its walls fall (Josh 6); all manufactured objects are given to the Deity (Josh 7); and the ideal form of worship takes place before the ark on "an altar of whole stones upon which iron has not struck" (8:31).

The speech of the scribes in vv. 2–4 includes a series of motifs that assist in interpreting the sacramental role of the ark as the location for the appearance of God. This speech fulfills the original instruction of Joshua in Josh 1:11 that they prepare the people to cross the Jordan River after a three-day period. Interpreters note that this reference conflicts with the chronology in the story of Rahab (see Josh 2, "Composition"). The genre of a theophany, however, suggests that the reference to the three-day preparation may be intended to represent the time of revelation, rather than simply designating the chronology of the story (e.g., Gen 22:4; Exod 19:11, 16; also 2 Kgs 20:18; Hos 6:2; see C. Barth, 1968). The theme of theophany is reinforced with the emphasis that the Israelites must see the ark, which Levitical priests present as a cultic object, while processing before the people. The holiness of the ark, moreover, requires that the people process a distance of two thousand cubits behind it. The distance is puzzling, given the emphasis on seeing the ark and its role in leading the people through unknown terrain. Two thousand cubits is well over half a mile (about three thousand feet), meaning that the ark is out of sight of the people. The distance suggests that the writer is commenting on the power of the ark through the use of the number, but the symbolism is difficult to determine. The instruction ends when the scribes indicate that the purpose of theophany is to reveal knowledge to the people by using the recognition formula from Priestly tradition (see the "Comments" on Josh 3:10).

The scribes are singled out as a group fives times in Joshua (1:11; 3:2–4; 8:33; 23:2; 24:1), suggesting their importance to the author. However, the limited and uneven distribution of the references to the scribes in the Hebrew Bible makes an interpretation of them difficult. They appear for the first time as Israelite leaders during the slave labor of Pharaoh (Exod 5). The seventy elders in Num 11 who receive the charismatic

spirit of Moses are described once as "scribes," which is likely a later addition to the story (11:16); but the insertion indicates that an editor viewed their authority as charismatic. References to the group are absent in Priestly literature. The scribes are more prominent in Deuteronomy and Chronicles. In Deuteronomy they are singled out as a leadership group (1:15; 16:18) who take on a special role in performing covenant ceremonies (29:10), reading the law (31:28), and determining exemptions from war (20:5, 8, 9); they do not appear to function as military commanders (*śārîm,* 1:15; 20:9). In Chronicles the scribes are identified with Levites (2 Chr 19:11), who function as leaders in the holy war, if 2 Chr 19:11 is read as an introduction to the war against the Moabites and Ammonites in 2 Chr 20, which is led by the Levites of Asaph (2 Chr 20:19–23). The scribes in Joshua overlap in function more with those in Deuteronomy than in Chronicles. They lead worship at Ebal and Gerizim (8:33), and they appear in the closing discourses of Joshua (23:2; 24:1). They also depart from the portrait in Deuteronomy by preparing the people for the theophany of the ark (Josh 1:11; 3:2–4), which is unique to the book of Joshua.

The speech of Joshua in vv. 5–6a includes three motifs that further define the nature of theophany in the procession of the ark: (1) the need for sanctification, (2) revelation as a wonder, and (3) the imagery of crossing.

Sanctification

Joshua instructs the people to undergo a process of sanctification in v. 5. The theme of holiness (*qādaš*) is nearly absent from the book of Joshua, with the author exploring it more extensively through the motif of the ban (*ḥāram;* see the "Introduction"). The motif of holiness is limited to five occurrences in the book: (1) two times to describe the sanctification of the people in the camp (3:5; 7:13), (2) two times to describe cities (5:15; 20:7), and (3) once to describe the sanctuary of Yahweh (24:26). Twice the people are commanded to sanctify themselves in the camp: first to prepare for the theophany of God in the ark's crossing of the Jordan (3:5), and a second time to discern the source of pollution in the camp after the sin of Achan, where the ark also plays a role (7:13). The need to sanctify the people to follow the ark, even at a distance of more than half a mile, underscores its sacramental character in Joshua. The two references to the sanctification of the people within the camp also suggest that the campsite retains a degree of holiness, most likely because it is the location of the ark. The parallel to the holiness of the war camp in Deut 23:9–14 is noteworthy. Cities are twice described as holy: first, the holiness of the ground of Jericho is the rationale for its extermination under the ban (5:15); and second, the construction of the religious cities of refuge also requires sanctification (20:7). Finally, a sanctuary of Yahweh (*miqdāš*) is noted at the end of the book of Joshua (24:26). Holiness, therefore, is associated with the camp, the city-states that must be sacrificed to the Deity under the ban and replaced by religious cities, and a sanctuary.

Wonders

Joshua predicts that the imminent appearance of God on the next day (*māḥār*) will be evident in "wonders" (*niplā'ôt*). The use of "tomorrow" to designate an imminent appearance of divine power is an expected trope in the Hebrew Bible. Examples include the demonstration of divine power in the plague cycle (Exod 8:10, 23, 29; 9:5, 18;

10:4), the appearance of God at Sinai (Exod 19:10), and the meat that rains down in the wilderness (Num 11:18). The use of the time-word "tomorrow" to signify a theophany cautions once again against an interpretation that focuses only on the chronology of the opening chapters of Joshua. The content of the revelation is a "wonder." The root *pl'* designates something "different or curious" (*HALOT* 18729). When used in the Niphal form, it signifies something performed by God. The vow to praise in the Psalms is frequently the result of an experience of rescue or salvation that the psalmist describes as a "wonderful deed" or a "marvelous thing" (e.g., Pss 9:1; 26:7; 40:5; 71:17; 72:18; 98:1). Occasionally the psalmist refers to events from the story of salvation as being marvelous works of old (e.g., Pss 77:11; 78:12; 105:5; 106:7, 22), but the motif is infrequent in the Pentateuch. It occurs once in Genesis (18:4) to describe the pregnancy of Sarah and three times in Exodus (3:20; 15:11; 34:10) in reference to the experience of salvation. The term is absent altogether from the book of Deuteronomy. Thus the use of this motif to describe the theophany of God in the ark is somewhat unexpected in the book of Joshua. It may be that the author is relating the ark's crossing of the Jordan to the Song of the Sea, where the refrain in Exod 15:11 praises the incomparability of Yahweh with the same motif: "Who is like you, majestic in holiness, awesome in splendor, doing wonders?" Psalm 114 adds some support for this interpretation, since it praises the power of Yahweh over sea and river, although it does not describe the event as a "wonder."

Crossing

The act of "crossing over" has a range of meanings in the Hebrew Bible, two of which are war and revelation. Both play a role in the procession of the ark in the book of Joshua. The meaning of war is evident in Numbers and Deuteronomy. The act of spying on Canaan to prepare for conquest is described as "crossing over" into the land (Num 14:7). Moses repeatedly refers to the conquest as crossing into the land to occupy it: "Yahweh charged me at that time to teach you statutes and ordinances for you to observe in the land that you are about to cross into and occupy" (Deut 4:14; see also 2:4, 24; 3:18; 4:26; 11:8). But theophany is also described as a divine "crossing" before someone, as in the promise to Moses in Exod 33–34 that the Deity would cross before him in revealing the divine "goodness" (33:19). The promise is fulfilled when Yahweh crosses before Moses in a theophany that reveals new meaning to the divine name: "Yahweh crossed before him and proclaimed, 'Yahweh, Yahweh, a God merciful and gracious'" (Exod 34:6). The author of Joshua combines the imagery of revelation and war in the description of the ark crossing the Jordan. The motif occurs four times in vv. 1–6 to signal the invasion of the promised land, which is also accompanied by theophany. The motif continues throughout the entire scene. Joshua proclaims to the people, "The ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth is crossing before you into the Jordan" (3:11; see also 4:11). The tribal leaders (4:5), the eastern tribes (4:12), the Israelite people as a whole (3:4, 14, 16, 17 [twice]; 4:1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 23 [twice]), and even the memorial stones (4:3, 8) follow the ark by crossing over the Jordan on dry ground. Joshua weaves together the importance of war and revelation when he states: "By this you will know that El, the living, is in your midst. And he is dispossessing before you the Canaanites" (3:10). H. F. Fuhs rightly notes, "The crossing of the Jordan is an act of quasi-worship" (1999: 419).

3:7–17. ENTRY OF THE ARK INTO THE JORDAN AND THE STOPPING OF THE WATER

The scene of the ark entering the Jordan and the water being stopped has three parts: (1) the divine instruction to Joshua about the entry of the ark into the Jordan River (vv. 7–8), (2) Joshua's speech to the people about the meaning of the theophany that will occur when the priests enter the water with the ark (vv. 9–13), and (3) the description of the event (vv. 14–17). Three disruptions in the sequence of events raise questions about the history of composition: (1) the people are described as completing the act of crossing the Jordan at the close of the scene (3:14), even though the crossing is narrated again in subsequent scenes (e.g., 4:8, 10, 19); (2) Joshua unexpectedly chooses twelve men (3:12) in the middle of a speech about the meaning of the theophany (3:9–13); and (3) the report of the stopping of the water of the Jordan includes editorial comments on the seasonal flow of the river (3:15b). The first problem has more to do with the narrative strategy of the author than with the history of composition. The scenes tend to overlap in chronological sequence, as Polzin notes (1980: 94–95), even though each scene maintains a distinct point of view on the crossing of the Jordan. The focus in Josh 3:7–17 is on the entry of the ark into the Jordan and the theophany that accompanies the event. This perspective is indicated in the opening divine speech to Joshua: "When you enter the edge of the water of the Jordan, in the Jordan you will stand" (v. 8). Joshua's choice of twelve men is more puzzling (3:12), since it interrupts a speech about the meaning of theophany (3:9–13). The selection of twelve men is likely the result of editing, perhaps displacement from the following scene, but the question of literary function lingers. The shift in location may be intended to anticipate the following scene, as Polzin notes (1980: 98). The editorial addition of the seasonal flow of the Jordan (v. 15b) is more understandable, since it clarifies what would be unfamiliar to the readers of the editor.

The goal of the scene is to describe the theophany that is associated with the ark as it enters the Jordan River. The theme of revelation is evident from the motif of recognition that repeats three times (3:4, 7, 10). W. Zimmerli described the motif of recognition as consisting of an introduction, "so that" (*lĕmaʿan; bĕzōʾt*); the verb "to know" (*yāda*ʿ); and the causal particle "that" (*kî*), which results in the clause "so that you may know that" (1982: 36–39). The motif builds in intensity in the three occurrences until it culminates with the theophany in the river. It is introduced in a shortened version within the instruction of the scribes to Israel to follow the ark "so that [*lĕmaʿan*] [they] might know [*yāda*ʿ] the way" (3:4). The motif repeats in the divine instruction to Joshua, when the Deity reveals that his exaltation will result in the people knowing (*yāda*ʿ) that (*kî*) "as I was with Moses, I am with you" (3:7). The motif culminates when Joshua clarifies the content of the theophany of God: "By this [*bĕzōʾt*] you will know [*yāda*ʿ] that [*kî*] El, the living, is in your midst" (3:10). Zimmerli clarifies that the motif of recognition focuses attention on concrete public actions that challenge humans to acknowledge God. The demand for divine recognition is often directed at Israel in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 29:46) and in Ezekiel (e.g., 11:10, 12), which is also the case in the three instances in Josh 3. The polemical nature of the motif often extends beyond Israel, however, to include the nations at large (e.g., Ezek 25:5, 7, 11). Z. Zevit (1975) notes the didactic and polemic functions of the motif in the Priestly

version of the plagues, where Pharaoh and the Egyptians are repeatedly confronted with signs of divine power in creation that demand recognition, including the insight that there is no God like Yahweh (Exod 7:17), that Yahweh dwells in the midst of the land (Exod 8:18), and that the land is Yahweh's (Exod 9:29). The demand for the recognition of God at the Jordan River is similar. It too is tied to a theology of creation that demands that Yahweh be recognized not only by Israel, but also by the nations. Joshua proclaims that "the ark of the covenant of *the Lord of all the earth* is crossing before" Israel (3:11), and this instills fear in the nations (5:1).

Joshua declares the content of the revelation of God in Josh 3:10–11 with the epithet "El, the living" (*'ēl ḥay*), who is "the Lord of all the earth" (*'ădôn kŏl-hā'āreṣ*). The name for the Deity in the book of Joshua is Yahweh. The speech of Joshua in vv. 9–13 illustrates the prominent role of the divine name Yahweh as the identification of the Deity. Joshua begins the speech by commanding the Israelites to listen to the "words of Yahweh" (3:9), and he concludes the speech by identifying the "ark of Yahweh" (3:13). The theophany, however, uses more general and universal language to reveal Yahweh including, "El," "life," "Lord," and "all the earth," which is reminiscent of Rahab's speech in Josh 2:9–11 when she too declares that Yahweh is "God in heaven above and on the earth below." The translation "El, the living," suggests an identification of Yahweh with the high god El, which occurs in a range of literature in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., El-Elyon in Gen 14:22, El-Olam in Gen 21:33, El-Berit in Judg 9:46, and El-Roi in Gen 16:13). The word invokes an international character in referring to a deity in the ancient Near East. It often represents the highest god, the founding god, or the creator god. The aim of the author of Joshua, therefore, in describing the content of theophany as "El, the living," underscores the universal power of Yahweh, not simply over Israel, but over the nations. This is reinforced when the scope of Yahweh's rule includes "all the earth" (see also the "Introduction").

The closest parallels in the Hebrew Bible to the epithet "El, the living," reinforce the emphasis of the author on the universal power of Yahweh, especially in postexilic literature. The aniconic description of revelation as "the voice of the living God" (*qôl 'ĕlōhîm ḥayyîm*) in Deut 5:26 is a late editorial description of theophany. It emphasizes Israel's uniqueness by comparing the Israelites' experience of revelation to that of humanity at large, here described as "all flesh," which Mayes points out is "a late expression, used frequently by the priestly writer" (1979: 173). The aniconic emphasis in Deuteronomy may also be present in the use of the epithet in Josh 3:10. Knauf writes, "A 'living God' is the opposite of the biblical polemic against man-made idols (cf. Isa 46:6–7; Pss 115:4–7; 135:15–7)" (2008: 59). The universal scope of the phrase "living God" is reinforced in the tendency of biblical authors to use the epithet when non-Israelites refer to Yahweh, such as the Philistines (1 Sam 17:26, 36) or the Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 19:4, 19 = Isa 37:4). The Aramaic decree of Darius in Dan 6:27–28 contains many shared motifs with the theophany in Joshua, including the epithet "El, the living" (Josh 3:10, *'ēl ḥay;* Dan 6:27, *'ĕlāhā' ḥayyā'*), the description of revelation as a wonder or miracle (Josh 3:5, *niplā'ôt;* Dan 6:28, *timhîn*), and the universal scope of God's power or rule (Josh 3:11, 13; Dan 6:26–27). Noth long ago recognized the universal scope of divine rule in the description of "El, the living," as "the Lord of all the earth" (Josh 3:11, 13). Micah 4:13 describes the execution of the ban (*ḥāram*) on the nations as a sacrifice to "the Lord of all the earth" (*la'ădôn kŏl-hā'āreṣ*). Zechariah's visions of two olive trees

standing by "the Lord of all the earth" (4:14) and the chariots processing before "the Lord of all the earth" (6:5) continue the same universal emphasis in late prophetic tradition (Noth, 1971b: 35).

4:1–14. HALTING OF THE ARK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE JORDAN AND THE TWELVE STONES

The scene of the ark halting in the Jordan and the twelve stones has three parts: (1) it begins with the divine command to Joshua, which introduces the theme of the twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan (4:1–3); (2) Joshua is then instructed about the meaning of the stones (4:4–7); and (3) the episode concludes with the narration of events (4:8–14), in which there are snapshots of action by Israel (v. 8), Joshua (v. 9), the priests (vv. 10–11), the two and one-half tribes that dwell east of the Jordan (vv. 12–13), and Yahweh (v. 14). The point of view in the scene is the location of the ark in the middle of the Jordan River. The emphasis on the "middle" of the river is maintained through repetition. The motif occurs five times: it is introduced by Yahweh (4:3) and repeated by Joshua (4:5), and then the narrator returns to the motif to underscore the location of the Israelites (4:8), Joshua (4:9), and the priests with the ark (4:10) in the middle of the Jordan. The location is emphasized even further through the motif of the stones in the middle of the Jordan, which signify the power of God in the ark. They too are referred to five times: Yahweh instructs Joshua to gather stones from the middle of the Jordan (4:3), which Joshua repeats to the Israelites (4:5) before interpreting the meaning of the stones as a sign of theophany (4:6–7). The narrative returns two more times to the motif of the stones to underscore that both Israel (4:8) and Joshua (4:9) fulfill the divine command in different ways.

Interpreters note a series of problems in narrative logic that suggests a history of composition. Two related problems stand out: (1) Even though the focus is on the ark in the middle of the Jordan, the Israelites are repeatedly described as completing the crossing of the Jordan (4:1, 8, 11); and (2) Joshua's placement of twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan (4:9) is unexpected, since it lacks divine instruction and creates a doublet in which both Israel (4:8) and Joshua (4:9) fulfill the divine command. The opening reference to the Israelites having completed the crossing (4:1) indicates that the original focus of the scene is on the ark in the middle of the Jordan, not the people. This is reinforced when Joshua's instruction about the meaning of the stones (4:4–7) is located in the middle of the Jordan. In this version of the scene, the Israelites reenter the river in Josh 4:8 after the teaching of Joshua to transport the stones to the camp as Yahweh commanded.

The focus on the ark in the middle of the Jordan in Josh 4:1, 4–7, 8 is disrupted by two additions: (1) Joshua 4:10b–11 accentuates the Israelite crossing of the Jordan: "And the people moved in haste and they crossed. And when all the people had finished crossing . . ." The motif of crossing in haste ties the story of the crossing to the exodus, where the motif of haste also characterizes the Israelite departure from Egypt (Exod 12:23, 29). (2) Joshua 4:9 introduces a separate memorial of twelve stones, when Joshua unexpectedly places stones in the middle of the river (4:9), thus supplementing the divine command that the stones be placed in the Israelite camp. The two motifs likely accompany the insertion of the second catechism in Josh 4:21–24, in which an

editor seeks to anchor the book of Joshua in the narrative context of the Pentateuch. The Israelite crossing in Josh 4:10b–11 prepares the reader for the new setting of Gilgal for the second catechism (4:20), while the placement of the memorial stones in the middle of the Jordan (4:9) separates and subordinates the original instruction (4:4–7) to the new teaching at Gilgal (4:21–24), where the focus is broadened to include the experience of the people crossing the Jordan as a parallel event to the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod 14). The result of the editing is that there are two memorials and two teachings about the stones in the present form of the text: one in the middle of the Jordan, which ends with Joshua placing stones in the middle of the river (4:4–9), and another at Gilgal, where the Israelites erect yet another twelve stones (4:20–24).

Standing Stones

The erection of stones is the central motif of the divine instruction to Joshua (4:3). T. N. D. Mettinger notes that standing stones are associated with aniconic cultic representation throughout the ancient Near East and are described with a variety of terms, including *maṣṣēbâ, stele,* and *obelisk* (1995: 34–35). The divine command that Joshua take "stones" (*'ăbānîm*) from the river is noteworthy. The author avoids the term *maṣṣēbôt* to describe the erected stones. *Maṣṣēbôt* have a positive function in the stories of Jacob, where they mark northern cultic sites (e.g., Gen 28:18, 22; 31:13, 35), the grave of Rachel (Gen 35:20), and treaties (Gen 31:51). But *maṣṣēbôt* are criticized for the most part in the Hebrew Bible as representing foreign gods (2 Kgs 10:27), the evil of kings (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:2; Hos 3:4; 10:1–2), and the danger of iconic worship (e.g., Lev 26:1; Deut 12:3). The limitation of cultic representation in Joshua to stones likely represents a rejection of iconic worship that is associated with kings. But the stones may also signal the divine claim on the land through conquest. A. Cooper and B. R. Goldstein (1993) reinforce this meaning when they note that the erection of standing stones upon entry into a territory signals possession of the land (e.g., Gen 12:1–9; 28:10–22; 31:1–32:3; 33:18–20; 35:1–20; Exod 23:20–24:11; Deut 27). S. Olyan's interpretation of the altar law in Exod 20:24–26 provides additional insight into the meaning of natural stones gathered from a riverbed (1996). He notes that stones devoid of manufacturing idealize nature and a more rural form of life, while also representing a polemic against the high culture of kings, technology, and city-states.

First Catechism

The author provides an interpretation of the stones through the instruction of Joshua in Josh 4:4–7 to the twelve leaders in the middle of the Jordan. The instruction is fashioned as a question-and-answer catechism between a child and an adult. Soggin has clarified that the exchange is not about a child's curiosity but represents a cultic ritual (1960). The aim, according to B. O. Long, is to provide an etiology for the standing stones by interpreting their symbolic meaning (1968: 83–84). The literary horizon for the interpretation is focused narrowly on the Jordan, as the location of the teaching is in the middle of the river (4:3, 4, 8). The stones signify that "the waters of the Jordan [*mêmê harrardēn*] were cut off [*nikrĕtû*] before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (v. 7). This language is unique to the book of Joshua. It is not repeated as one of the motifs of the Israelite salvation at the Red Sea in the book of Exodus. The non-P account of the exodus describes the salvation at the Red Sea as the drying up of the water (Exod

14:16, 21, 22, 29), while the Priestly version introduces the motif of splitting the sea (Exod 14:16, 21). Neither tradition describes the sea as being "cut off," nor does it occur in Deuteronomy. The isolation of the motif from the conflict at the Red Sea in the story of the exodus suggests that the author does not intend the "cutting off" of the Jordan to be read as a continuous narrative with that story. Instead, the author introduces the motif to demonstrate the wonder of divine power in the ark that Joshua predicted (3:5). The Niphal form of the verb means "to exterminate, wipe out, or eliminate" a family genealogy (Ruth 4:10) or an enemy (1 Sam 20:16). The return of the motif in the Hiphil form of the verb to describe the defeat of the nations in Joshua's farewell speech reinforces this interpretation: "All the nations that I have already cut off [*hikrattî*] from the Jordan to the Great Sea in the west" (Josh 23:4). The use of this motif is likely intended to accentuate the theme of war in the procession of the ark. It may also be related to the act of circumcision in Josh 5:2–9 (see below).

The stones function as a permanent memorial (*zikārôn*) that is intended to prompt Israel's memory of the crossing of the Jordan through intergenerational teaching. This motif recalls the non-P stories of the instruction on unleavened bread (Exod 13:9) and the war against Amalek (Exod 17:14) in the Pentateuch. In each case a memorial is aimed at prompting the memory of the Israelites. The motif is concentrated, however, in the Priestly literature (e.g., Passover, Exod 12:14; stones in the Ephod, Exod 28:12; 39:7; atonement money, Exod 30:16; the trumpets, Num 10:10), where the focus is on divine memory as opposed to the function of the stones in Joshua.

Characters in the Crossing

The divine instruction to Joshua in vv. 1–3 establishes an "all-Israel" focus to the ritual of the stones, when twelve men are singled out to represent the twelve tribes. This all-Israel focus indicates that the intended audience of the book of Joshua is the entire people, conceived initially as a *gôy,* "nation," and then as *'am,* "people," in Josh 4:1–2. The term "nation" usually refers to the indigenous nations that must be destroyed (e.g., Josh 23:3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13). Five times, however, the Israelites are described as a "nation": once in the poem about the sun standing still until the "nation" took vengeance (10:13), twice to describe the "nation" crossing the Jordan (3:17; 4:1), and twice to describe those who are circumcised (5:6, 8). The preferred term to describe the Israelites is *'am,* "people." It occurs more than fifty times in the book of Joshua and forty times in the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8. In the episode of the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3:1–5:12, the Israelites are identified as the "people" fifteen times (3:3, 5, 6 [twice], 14 [twice], 16; 4:2, 10 [twice], 11, 19; 5:4, 5 [twice]). Thus the limited references to Israel as a "nation" and the concentration in the story of the crossing of the Jordan are noteworthy, but the meaning is not clear.

The snapshot of the characters crossing the Jordan may provide a clue to the author's intent in describing the Israelites as a "nation." The author identifies the Israelites (v. 8), Joshua (vv. 9, 14), the priests (vv. 10–11), and the eastern tribes (vv. 12–13). The priests are singled out as those who carry the ark, and Joshua is singled out as the exalted leader who unifies Israel: "They saw him as they saw Moses" (4:14). The separation of the Israelites (vv. 10–11) from the eastern tribes (vv. 12–13) provides the strongest clue for interpreting the reference to "nation" in the crossing of the Jordan. The term "people" occurs three times in vv. 10–11 to describe the Israelite crossing,

as compared with the crossing of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh in vv. 12–13, who are not described as *'am* and are separated out as the vanguard of the "Israelites." The two groups may represent the distinction between those who live west of the Jordan and the tribes who dwell outside of this territory, perhaps signifying Diaspora Jews (L. Latvus, 1998a: 56). The two groups form the "nation," which is bonded by the experience of theophany in the crossing of the Jordan (3:17; 4:1) and circumcision (5:6, 8).

4:15–5:1. EXIT OF THE ARK FROM THE JORDAN AND THE RETURN OF THE WATER

The scene of the exit of the ark from the Jordan and the return of the water has two parts: the ark exiting the Jordan (4:15–19), and Joshua instructing the Israelites on the meaning of the stones at Gilgal with a second catechism (4:20–5:1). The divine speech in vv. 15–16 provides the point of view for interpreting the scene: "Command the priests carrying the ark of the testimony that they should come up [*'ālâ*] from the Jordan." The verb *'ālâ,* "to go up," has not been used up to this point in the story, yet in this scene it occurs four times: in the divine command (vv. 15–16), in the speech of Joshua (v. 17), in the narrative of the event (v. 18), and in the date (v. 19). The image of ascending from the Jordan is focused less on exiting the river than on entering the land and taking possession of it. J. Wijngaards clarifies this point (1965: 98–101). He has identified a formula of land possession in the story of the exodus, in which the divine promise to Moses "to bring up [Hiphil of *'ālâ*] Israel from the land" (Exod 3:8) is about acquiring Canaan, not leaving Egypt (see also Exod 32:1, 4; 33:12; Num 16:13, etc.). The formula appears in Josh 24:17, where the Deity is the subject of the causative form of the verb: "Yahweh our God brought us and our ancestors up from the land of Egypt." Although the formula is absent in Josh 4:15–5:1, the concentration of the verb "to go up" at this juncture of the crossing of the Jordan suggests the same meaning of land possession, especially when we note that the scene concludes with the reaction of the indigenous nations (5:1).

The account of the Israelite entry into the land lacks the dislocations in narrative logic that characterize earlier sections of the crossing of the Jordan. Yet there are indications of a history of composition throughout this section that creates direct literary ties to the Pentateuch. The identification "ark of testimony" in the divine speech (vv. 15–16) conflicts with the ideology of the author and contrasts to all other descriptions of the ark in the book. Earlier interpretation has clarified that the author of Joshua incorporates the sacramental and oracular significance of the ark from Priestly tradition but prefers the aniconic cultic representation of the ark. The iconoclastic ideology of Joshua raises the question of whether the author would ever identify the ark with the iconic cultic object from the Priestly tabernacle, even though the composition of the book of Joshua is post-Priestly. Thus the one reference to the "ark of the testimony" may be a later addition. But for what purpose? The additional insertion of the date of the Israelites' arrival at Gilgal in Josh 4:19 to Month 1, Day 10 may provide a clue. The date in Josh 4:19 corresponds to the Priestly calendrical system that is fashioned from the Babylonian calendar, in which Month 1 would correspond to March/April. Thus both the identification of the "ark of the testimony" (4:16) and the date (4:19) of the arrival

at Gilgal may function to anchor the book of Joshua contextually with the Pentateuch by creating direct literary links to a Priestly itinerary.

Chronology

The strategy of the editor is clarified somewhat by a comparison with the Priestly chronology in the Pentateuch, where references to Month 1 mark significant transitions in salvation history. The table illustrates the distribution of the six references to Month 1 that emerge when the Priestly chronology in the Pentateuch is combined with the book of Joshua.

I. The Prehistory of the Israelite Nation	
A. Preflood (Gen 1:1–6:8)	
Creation (1:26–27)	Year 1
B. Postflood (Gen 6:9–50:26)	
End of the Flood (Gen 8:13)	Month 1, Day 1
II. The History of the Israelite Nation	
A. Exodus (Exod 1:1–15:21)	
Passover (12:1)	Month 1, Day 10
	Month 1, Day 14
B. Postexodus (Exod 15:22–Josh 5:12)	
1. First Generation	
Tabernacle (Exod 40:1–2, 17)	Month 1, Day 1
Passover (Num 9:1)	Month 1, Day 14
Death of Miriam (Num 20:1)	Month 1
2. Second Generation	
Crossing the Jordan (Josh 4:19)	Month 1, Day 10
Passover (Josh 5:10)	Month 1, Day 14

The table shows that the story of salvation is structured liturgically in two parts in the Priestly chronology by means of references to Month 1. The two parts include the universal story of humanity in Gen 1–11 and the history of Israel in Exodus–Joshua. The history of humanity separates between creation (Gen 1:26–27), or the world of Adam (5:1), and the postflood world of Noah that begins on Month 1, Day 1, when he is 601 years old (8:13). The history of Israel also distinguishes between the exodus (Exod 1:1–15:21) and the postexodus history of Israel (Exod 15:22–Josh 5:12), which is divided further into two generations. Passover on Month 1, Day 14 marks the exodus (Exod 12:1). The experience of the two generations of Israelites after the exodus is also organized by references to Month 1. Month 1 marks the establishment of the tabernacle cult (Exod 40:1–2, 7) and the celebration of Passover (Num 9:1) for the first generation who die in the wilderness. The death of this generation is also marked by Month 1 in the Priestly chronology, when the first of the leaders of the exodus dies: "The Israelites, the whole congregation came into the wilderness of Zin in Month 1 and the people stayed in Kadesh. Miriam died there and was buried there" (Num 20:1). The death of Miriam initiates the death process of the other leaders of the exodus, Aaron (Num 20:22–29) and Moses (Num 27:12–14; Deut 34).

The author of the chronology in Joshua also uses Month 1 to mark the crossing of the Jordan by the second generation (4:19) and the celebration of Passover (5:10),

creating a parallel between the experience of the first generation and the depiction of the second generation in the book of Joshua. The structure indicates that one aim of the editor is to coordinate the book of Joshua with the Priestly chronology in the Pentateuch, in fashioning either a literary Hexateuch or an Enneateuch. The emphasis on the Priestly chronology may also account for the inclusion of the Priestly "ark of the testimony" in Josh 4:16.

Second Catechism

The second catechism in Josh 4:20–24 further contextualizes the book of Joshua with the Pentateuch by introducing a series of reinterpretations of the original catechism in Josh 4:4–7, where the stones were a sign of the power of the ark to cut off the waters of the Jordan. The setting for the teaching changes from the middle of the river to Gilgal: "And these twelve stones, which they took from the Jordan, Joshua raised up at Gilgal" (v. 20). The intended audience shifts from the twelve men to the entire Israelite nation: "And he [Joshua] spoke to the Israelites" (v. 21). The question and answer is no longer directed to the immediate audience, but to future generations: "When your children ask their fathers tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones?'" (v. 21). These changes support a new interpretation of the stones as symbolizing the experience of the second generation of Israelites: "For Yahweh your God dried up the water of the Jordan from before you until you crossed (v. 23a)" The reinterpretation fashions a parallel between the experience of the first generation at the Red Sea and of the second generation at the Jordan River: "as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea" (v. 23b). The parallel is reinforced by the shared motif that Yahweh dried up (*yābaš*) both the Red Sea and the Jordan River, allowing the Israelites to pass through on dry ground (*yăbbāššâ*): "which he [Yahweh] dried up from before us until we crossed" (see Exod 14:16, 22, 29; 15:19; Josh 4:22, 23). The reinterpretation broadens the literary horizon of the crossing of the Jordan from its original function as a rite of passage within the book of Joshua to an event within the larger story of salvation history, thus further contextualizing the book of Joshua with the Pentateuch. Joshua 4:24 also expands the meaning of the Israelite crossing to include the acknowledgment of Yahweh by all the nations: "so that all the people of the land may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong." J. K. Hoffmeier demonstrates the militaristic imagery associated with the Deity's "strong hand" in the ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible (1986: 380–86). It is prominent in the story of the exodus (e.g., Exod 3:19; 13:3, 9, 14, 16) and in Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 3:24; 4:34; 5:15; 6:21; 7:8; 9:26). The external focus on the nations is carried through in Josh 5:1, where the crossing of the Jordan concludes with their reaction of fear to Yahweh's display of power in drying up the Jordan River.

5:2–12. RITUALS AT GILGAL

The scene at Gilgal explores cultic rituals that are associated with the crossing of the Jordan. The section has three parts of unequal length: (1) an extended account of the ritual of circumcision (5:2–9), (2) the Israelites' observance of Passover and eating of unleavened bread (5:10–11), and (3) the cessation of manna (5:12).

Circumcision

Sasson traces the origin of circumcision in the ancient Near East to the third millennium BCE (1966). He concludes that the practice originates among Semites from the northwest moving south to Egypt. The geographical distribution of the practice shows that circumcision was likely always performed by the ancient Israelites as a cultural norm. The pejorative description of the Philistines as *'ārēl,* "uncircumcised" (e.g., Judg 14:3; 15:18), reinforces the conclusion and suggests that circumcision represents the practice of the majority culture in preexilic Israelite society and that the Philistines represent a minority in Syria-Palestine.

Circumcision takes on new importance in the exile when Jews are confronted by cultures that do not observe the practice, transforming what was a normative custom into a religious ritual of a minority (A. Blaschke, 1998; den Hertog, 1998; Bieberstein, 1995: 190–1, 420). The new cultural situation intensifies the significance of circumcision as a central means of establishing religious identity in postexilic Judaism. This is the context of the Priestly teaching in the Pentateuch, for example, where the story of Abraham's circumcision of Isaac and Ishmael is elevated to the central ritual of identification for entering the covenant with the deity El Shaddai (Gen 17). Failure to perform circumcision violates the covenant and results in the person being "cut off" (*kārat*) from the community (Gen 17:14). The Priestly teaching also includes religious law about infant circumcision on the eighth day (Lev 12:3), and it makes circumcision a prerequisite for participation in the Passover (Exod 12:43–49). S. Cohen argues that the elevation of circumcision to signify the separation of Jews from Gentiles is intensified under the Greeks, who actively oppose the ritual (2001). The resulting conflict is narrated in the books of the Maccabees, which tell the story of the revolt against Antiochus IV Epiphanes for outlawing many Jewish religious practices, including circumcision (1 Mac 1:48, 60–61; 2 Mac 6:10).

The circumcision of the Israelite males in Josh 5:2–9 is the most edited episode in the story of the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3:1–5:12. The reason is likely the growing importance of circumcision in postexilic Judaism and the continuing debate over its meaning well into the Hellenistic period. Comparison of the MT and the LXX versions illustrates the importance of the ritual and the divergent interpretations of its meaning in the postexilic period. The scope of the revisions in the versions also shows that the present form of the story of circumcision in Josh 5:2–9 is multivalent. At least four interpretations of the meaning of circumcision are reflected in the history of composition: (1) the version of the story in the book of Joshua (5:2–3, 8), (2) the reinterpretation of the story by at least one editor (5:5, 9), (3) the MT version, and (4) the LXX version of Josh 5:2–9.

1. *Circumcision and the Stone Knives.* The original form of the account of circumcision is obscured by the overlay of interpretation in the present form of the MT and the LXX. The outline of the story, however, is evident in Josh 5:2–3, 8, as noted, for example, by Fritz (1994: 57–58). The reason for excluding Josh 5:4–7 from the original form of the story is that this section is filled with additions that, according to Noth, seek to clarify the rationale for circumcision (1971b: 39). The folk etiology of Gilgal in Josh 5:9 also appears to be a later addition to accentuate the location of Gilgal (see below). B. S. Childs concludes from a form-critical study of etiologies that Josh 5:9

is not the original ending to the story (1963: 285). Noth speculates that the original ending may have been displaced by the etiology in v. 9 (1971b: 25). The original story of circumcision includes the divine command to Joshua (v. 2), the fulfillment of the command (v. 3), and the recovery of the people from the ritual in the camp (v. 8). The central motif of this version is the performance of the ritual with "swords of stone." Van der Meer rightly notes that the reference is intended "to give the narrative an archaic character" (2004: 292). The emphasis on an archaic ritual fits the perspective of the author; it reinforces the aniconism of the book of Joshua and the polemic against the kings and royal cities that populate the promised land. K. Möhlenbrink also notes "a polemic against the use of 'modern' material in this ancient rite" (1938: 262).

Editing is also seen in Josh 5:2–3, 8. In v. 2 the ritual is described as the "second" (*šēnît*) circumcision of the Israelite males: "Make for yourself swords of stone and again circumcise the Israelites a second time." Van der Meer argues that the motif of a "second time" means the reinstatement of a lost, ancient rite, rather than the description of a second act of circumcision on the males (2004: 311). He bases this conclusion on the archaic imagery of the passage. Nelson agrees: "It is a 'second time' in the sense of being a reimposition of the rite after it had lapsed after the 'first time'" (1997a: 77). The interpretation of Holmes (1914: 30–31), Sasson (1966), and Auld (1998a: 14) that the word *šēnît* means a "second" circumcision of the Israelite males is the stronger reading, however. This is the clear meaning of the word in other contexts. The divine messenger appears to Abraham (Gen 22:15) and Elijah (1 Kgs 19:7) a "second time." The priests examine skin disease a "second time" (Lev 13). The alarm is sounded a "second time" (Num 10:6). The word of Yahweh comes to Jonah a "second time" (Jonah 3:1). In the same manner, the Deity commands the circumcision of the Israelite males a "second time" (Josh 5:2). This motif is likely a later addition to the MT version; it is absent in the LXX. The discovery by Ulrich that the Qumran manuscript 4QJosh[a] also lacks space to include the word *šēnît* further reinforces the absence of this motif in the original form of the text (1994: 99; 1995a: 147).

The original version of the crossing of the Jordan River includes a brief account of the circumcision of the Israelite males in Josh 5:2–3, 8 without any reference to the need for a "second" circumcision. The larger context of the crossing of the Jordan is important for interpretation. The focus of the crossing is on the ark, rather than on the Israelite people. Joshua describes the crossing of the ark as a "wonder" (3:5). It signifies the presence of "El, the living" (3:10). The stones that memorialize the power of God in the ark signify the "cutting off" of the waters of the Jordan (4:7). The story progresses to the account of circumcision in Josh 5:2–3, 8 as an archaic ritual performed with primitive knives. This motif is reminiscent of the circumcision that Zipporah performs with the same knife (Exod 4:24–26), where the ritual of "cutting off the foreskin" (Exod 4:25) even mirrors the action of the ark cutting off the waters of the Jordan River (Josh 4:7).

The meaning of the Israelites' circumcision in Josh 5:2–3, 8 probably derives from the story of Zipporah, where the ritual creates a bond with the Deity through marriage or covenant imagery ("you are a bridegroom of blood to me"), while also functioning in an apotropaic manner by averting the divine attack ("so he [the Deity] let him alone"). The circumcision of Zipporah, moreover, is tied to the death of the Egyptian firstborn and the story of Passover in Exodus (4:21–23), where the blood of the Passover victim

also functions in an apotropaic manner (12:7, 13, 21–27). The same imagery may be functioning in Joshua. The ritual of circumcision likely signifies the bond between Yahweh and Israel. There may be apotropaic imagery in the separation of the Israelite people from the indigenous nations. Circumcision is the way of crossing the boundary that separates Jew and Gentile (Cohen, 2001: 138). This separation could be interpreted as a means of protection from the imminent holy war that Yahweh will unleash on the land, especially since it is followed by Passover in Josh 5:10–12.

2. *Circumcision and Gilgal.* The editor underscores the location of the story of circumcision at Gilgal with the addition of an etiology in Josh 5:9: "'Today I have rolled away the reproach of Egypt from you.' And he called the name of that place Gilgal, until this day." The etiology is a folk etymology based on the root *gll,* "to roll," which now interprets the process of circumcision as the removal of the "reproach of Egypt" at Gilgal. If the "reproach of Egypt" signifies the slave status of the Israelites during the exodus, it fits uneasily with the preceding story of circumcision in Josh 5:2–3, 8 and may function more as an introduction to the observance of Passover (see the "Notes"). But the "reproach of Egypt" could also be commentary on the uncircumcised state of the Israelites in Egypt (*pace* van der Meer, 2004: 311). This interpretation would relate the account of circumcision at the Jordan River to the story of salvation in the Pentateuch, with the result that the circumcision at Gilgal becomes part of a sequence of events that begins in Egypt with the exodus and culminates in the promised land at Gilgal with the removal of the "reproach of Egypt."

The same process of contextualizing the story of the crossing of the Jordan is also evident in the insertion of the date of Month 1, Day 10 in Josh 4:19, where the reference to Gilgal first appears in the book of Joshua in the form of an itinerary notice: "The people came up from the Jordan [on the tenth day of the first month] and they camped at Gilgal." The commentary on Josh 4:15–5:1 showed that the reference to Month 1 in Josh 4:19 creates a parallel between the experience of the first and second generations in the Priestly dating system, indicating that the aim of the editor is to contextualize the book of Joshua with the Priestly chronology in the Pentateuch. The reference to Gilgal serves the same purpose, but the focus changes from the Priestly chronology to the itinerary notices that structure the wilderness journey (Coats, 1972; G. I. Davies, 1983). The inclusion of the itinerary notice in Josh 4:19 identifies Gilgal as the goal of the entire wilderness journey, where travel notices mark the progression of the Israelites from Egypt to the promised land.

The dating of Israel's arrival at Gilgal to Month 1, Day 14 may also add to the rite's apotropaic function. Noth rightly argues that the arrival at Gilgal on Month 1, Day 10 in Josh 4:19 is part of the same system of dating that also marks the observance of the Passover on Day 14 in Josh 5:10 (1971b: 39), thus relating Josh 4:19 and 5:10 to specific dates within the same editorial process. The relating of Days 10–14 in Josh 4:19 and 5:10 also appears in the Priestly account of Passover in Exod 12:2, where the victim for the Passover sacrifice is selected on Day 10 in order to be prepared for slaughter on Day 14. The parallel suggests that the editor may be refining the apotropaic function of circumcision by comparing it to the preparation of the Passover victim. G. Vermes (1958) and D. Flusser and S. Safrai (1980) provide support for this interpretation by noting that the apotropaic function of circumcision in later Judaism is based on an analogy to the blood of the Passover victim.

3. *Circumcision a Second Time.* The MT represents a distinct interpretation of circumcision in the description of the rite (5:2) and in the rationale for the ritual (5:4–7), which conflict with each other. The rationale for circumcision in the MT is based on an interpretation of the exodus and the wilderness journey in vv. 4–7 which departs from that in the Pentateuch (see the "Notes"). The MT fashions a story of the exodus and the wilderness journey in which all Israelite males leaving Egypt are circumcised. There is Priestly law about circumcision (Exod 12:43–49), but no such story of circumcision occurs in either Exodus or Deuteronomy. The emphasis in the MT is on the universal application of circumcision. Five times the MT uses the word *kōl,* "all," to describe the circumcision of the Israelite males who came out of Egypt: "all" the males (v. 4), "all" were circumcised (v. 5), "all" born in the wilderness were not circumcised (v. 5), and "all" of the first generation perished (v. 6). Joshua circumcised the entire second generation of males for the first time (v. 7). Yet the rite of circumcision in the MT is performed a "second time" on the Israelite males with the primitive stone knives in v. 2: "At that time Yahweh said to Joshua, 'Make for yourself swords of stone and again circumcise the Israelites a second time [*šēnît*].'" Thus the ritual in v. 2 does not conform to the rationale in vv. 4–7, since it assumes that at least some males were circumcised but a second circumcision was needed to meet a particular requirement in the postexilic period. The requirement is so important in the MT that it is stated at the expense of narrative logic. This "second" circumcision removes the "reproach of Egypt" (v. 9), according to the MT version.

Sasson has noted "a basic difference between the Israelites and the Egyptians in the surgical practice [of circumcision]" (1966: 473–76). The Israelites, he notes, remove the foreskin, while the Egyptians merely cut it to expose the head of the penis. The MT version of a second circumcision in Josh 5:2–9 may be directed at the different customs of circumcision and the requirement that the rite conform to particular procedures. This is the conclusion of Sasson, who interprets the reference to "second" in v. 2 of the MT as "an injunction for those who have accepted an Egyptian circumcision to 'improve' on the ritual by undergoing a thorough removal of the foreskin" (1966: 474). Similar requirements are evident in postbiblical Jewish tradition. The Mishnah, for example, lists conditions such as remaining foreskin or the covering of the corona that require a second circumcision (m. Šabb. 19:2). The continuation of the practice into the medieval period is evident in Rashi, who writes, "Our rabbis said that a 'second time' refers to the tearing off which was not demanded of our father Abraham" (*Commentary on Joshua* 5). The requirement in the MT that circumcision conform to specific cultural standards underscores the exclusive ideology of its editors. The rite of circumcision is too general and thus requires clarification. Entry into the promised land and participation in Passover in the MT is restricted to those who meet the specific requirements of circumcision and thus remove the "reproach of Egypt." Moreover, the universal focus on "all" Israelite males in the rationale underscores the inflexibility of the MT on this teaching.

4. *Circumcision as Purification.* The LXX represents an interpretation of circumcision in Josh 5:2–9 that is different from the one in the MT. The motif of a second circumcision is absent. Manufactured knives are used in the rite rather than the archaic stone knives (v. 2). The rite is performed in the "sitting" position (v. 2). The function of circumcision is "purification" (v. 3). The rationale for circumcision in Josh 5:4–7 is that

the "majority of the warriors coming out of the land of Egypt were uncircumcised," and their children remained uncircumcised.

The interpretation of circumcision as a rite of purification performed in the sitting position recalls the Egyptian custom, where the ritual is performed in the sitting position on priests or higher-class individuals, but not on all people. Herodotus (*Hist.* 2.1–4) says that the Egyptians and Ethiopians performed circumcision. Priests performed the rite, often on larger groups (A. Blaschke, 1998: 43–44). The Egyptian practice of sitting while performing circumcision is evident in wall reliefs (*ANEP* 629). The apparent modeling of Egyptian circumcision in the LXX reverses the separatist ideology of the MT. Philo represents this perspective in *De specialibus legibus,* when he argues that circumcision promotes purity, cleanliness, a vital life associated with the heart, and fertility. The ideal representatives of these qualities, according to Philo, are the Egyptian priests who are circumcised (*Spec.* 1:1). Removing the "reproach of Egypt" in this case is assimilating into this quality of purity, not separating from it with the "second" circumcision.

Passover, Unleavened Bread, and the Cessation of Manna

The crossing of the Jordan concludes with the cultic rituals in Josh 5:10–12, in which the focus is on the Israelites in general; Joshua does not assume a leadership role. Joshua 5:10 simply states that the "Israelites" observe the cultic rituals. The MT emphasizes that the rituals take place at Gilgal, in contrast to the LXX, which lacks the explicit reference to the setting. The emphasis on the setting of Gilgal in the MT returns in the war at Gibeon and the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (Josh 10), when the camp is mentioned twice in the MT (10:15, 43), even though it disrupts the setting. The celebration of Passover is explicit in v. 10: "They [Israel] kept the Passover." The phrase presupposes the Priestly teaching in the Pentateuch (e.g., Num 9:2, 5). The late composition of the book of Joshua allows for the celebration of the festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread to be part of the original book and not a later addition.

The interpretation of the ritual practice in v. 11 is difficult because the phrase "unleavened bread and roasted grain" (*maṣṣôt wĕqālûy*) is unique to this passage and the larger context of the verse is about the first fruits of the land: "And they [Israel] ate from the produce of the land on the day after Passover, unleavened bread and roasted grain." The description of eating unleavened bread (*maṣṣôt*) and roasted grain (*qālûy*) in combination with Passover suggests the merging of the two festivals, Passover and Unleavened Bread, into a single festival as is evident in the Priestly account of the observance of Passover during the exodus (Exod 12:1–20) and in the Priestly calendar (Lev 23:4–8). The addition of "roasted grain" is likely intended to tie the celebration to the first fruits of the land. The Priestly cultic calendar in Lev 23 even uses the word "roasted grain" (*qālûy*) in the instruction on fruit fruits (23:14). Thus the reference is not simply "to the typical bread for a journey that . . . a wandering people would be accustomed [to]" (Butler, 1983: 60). Rather, it is a more precise description of the Priestly interpretation of Passover/Unleavened Bread. The author, moreover, is in conversation with the Priestly cultic calendar in Lev 23. Van der Meer (2004: 320) rightly concludes: "It can hardly be coincidental that these two terms ('unleavened bread' and 'roasted grain') occur together within the wider context of a Passover festival (Josh 5:10b; Lev 23:4–5),

which is held at the entry of the promised land (Josh 3–5; Lev 23:10) and is connected with the (first) consumption of the products of the land (Josh 5:11–12; Lev 23:10–14)."

The more precise dating of the festivals to the arrival at Gilgal on Month 1, Day 10 (4:19); the celebration of Passover on Day 14 "at evening" (5:10); the eating of first fruits "on the day after Passover" (5:11); and the ceasing of manna "on the next day" anchor the passage even more firmly in the Priestly teaching on Passover and first fruits in Lev 23:10–14 (Fishbane, 1985: 145–51), as an inner-biblical exegesis to clarify that the "date after Passover" was the fifteenth day of Nisan.

The influence of Priestly literature continues in the closing temporal phrase in v. 11: "on this very day" (*be'eṣem hayyôm hazzeh*). S. J. de Vries (1975: 139–51) notes the importance of this phrase in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch to underscore the significance of the flood (e.g., Gen 7:13), circumcision (Gen 17:23, 26), the festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:17), and the celebration of first fruits in the land (Lev 23:21), which is enacted in Josh 5:10–11, allowing for the cessation of manna that was first introduced at the outset of the wilderness journey (Exod 16). Wagenaar (2000) rightly notes that the conclusion to the story of manna in Exod 16:35 and the reference to the cessation of manna in Josh 5:12 are related, regardless of whether they were written by the same (Wagenaar) or different (Noth) authors. Each text emphasizes the act of the Israelites eating manna in the wilderness until they arrive at the land of Canaan. Within the literary design of the book of Joshua, the cessation of manna underscores the procession of the ark into the promised land. The reference to the "plains of Jericho" points the reader ahead to the next destination in the procession of the ark as it journeys to Ebal and Gerizim.

Destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The destruction of Jericho is the second stage in the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim (see the "Introduction"). The first episode is the crossing of the Jordan in Josh 3:1–5:12, where the power of "El, the living," is revealed as the ark cuts off the waters of the river. The procession of the ark around Jericho is also intended to reveal the power of Yahweh, only this time the revelation is of the divine warrior, who miraculously destroys the city walls. The new theme is indicated in the opening scene in Josh 5:13–15, where the setting changes from the Jordan River to the city of Jericho, when the prince of the army of Yahweh appears to Joshua to introduce the theme of war. As in the crossing of the Jordan River, the ark plays the key role in destroying the strategic city that guards the entrance into the promised land.

The central plot of the episode is the procession of the ark around the city for seven days. D. E. Fleming writes: "When Jericho is encircled with the ark, the city is enclosed in a ring of Yahweh's power and doomed to fall before it" (1999: 218). Thus, the nine references to the ark focus on its power as a holy war object; its holy character requires that it be transported by priests (6:6, 12). In addition, seven more priests with seven trumpets (6:6, 8, 13) and military men (6:7, 9, 13) accompany the ark as it processes around Jericho (6:11). The revelation of divine power in this episode, as noted above, is the miraculous destruction of Jericho, when its walls spontaneously fall on the seventh day of the procession. The collapse of the fortified walls allows the people to execute the ban on the citizens of Jericho and its manufactured objects of gold, silver, bronze, and iron. The iconoclastic story advances the author's polemical view of royal cities and the monarchs of city-states. The author drives this point home with a concluding curse on any future city-builder (6:26). In this way Yahweh's holy war against Jericho, waged through the procession of the ark, functions as a paradigm for the conquest of the entire land; it symbolizes the fate of all city-states in the promised land.

The procession of the ark and the fall of Jericho in Joshua 5:13–6:27 may be separated into four unequal parts. The first section (5:13–6:5) establishes the mystical character of the story as an event of revelation, when the prince of the army of Yahweh encounters Joshua (5:13–15). The introduction shows that the imminent war against Jericho is intended to be a theophany of the divine warrior. The theme of holy war is clarified through a sequence of exchanges between Joshua and the prince of the army of Yahweh, in which Joshua becomes enlightened on the nature of holy war (5:13–15) and receives instructions on how to wage it through proper ritual procedures (6:1–5). The second section (6:6–10) contains Joshua's instructions to the priests and the people about the procession of the ark around Jericho. The third section (6:11–26) describes Yahweh's holy war against Jericho in three stages: (1) the ark is processed over six days (vv. 11–14); (2) Jericho is destroyed on day seven (vv. 15–20); and (3) the people execute the ban against Jericho (vv. 21–26). The fourth section (6:27) concludes by idealizing Joshua. Joshua 5:13–6:27 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Theophany and Instruction on Holy War (5:13–6:5)
    A. Encounter with the Divine Warrior (5:13–14a)
        (1) Joshua's Speech (v. 13b)
        (2) Commander's Speech (v. 14a)
    B. Jericho as Holy Ground (5:14b–15)
        (1) Joshua's Speech (v. 14b)
        (2) Commander's Speech (v. 15)
    C. Instruction for Holy War (6:1–5)
2. Joshua Instructs the Priests and the People (6:6–10)
3. Procession of the Ark and the Destruction of the City of Jericho (6:11–26)
    A. Day 1 (v. 11)
    B. Days 2–6 (vv. 12–14)
    C. Day 7 (vv. 15–26)
        (1) Procession Around Jericho (vv. 15–16a)
            Instruction on the Ban (vv. 16b-19)
        (2) Destruction of the Walls of Jericho (v. 20)
            Execution of the Ban (vv. 21–25)
        (3) Curse on City-Builders (v. 26)
4. Idealization of Joshua (6:27)

Translation

5:13–6:5. THEOPHANY AND INSTRUCTION ON HOLY WAR

5 [13]And when Joshua was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes and he saw. And right before him a man was standing and his sword was drawn in his hand. And Joshua approached him and said to him, "Are you for us or for our adversaries?"

[14]And he said, "No, for I am the prince of the army of Yahweh, I have now come."

And Joshua fell on his face toward the earth and he worshiped him. And he said to him, "What does my lord say to his servant?"

[15]Then the prince of the army of Yahweh said to Joshua, "Remove your sandal from your foot, because the place upon which you are standing, it is holy."

And Joshua did so.

6 [1]But Jericho was closed up tight before the Israelites. No one was going out or entering.

[2]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "See, I have given Jericho and its king, the mighty warriors, into your hand. [3]And you will go around the city, all the men of war circling the city one time. Thus you will do six days. [4]And seven priests will lift up seven rams' horns before the ark. And on the seventh day you will go around the city seven times and the priests will blow the horns. [5]And when there is a blast of the ram's horn, when you hear the sound of the horn, all the people will shout a great shout, and the wall of the city beneath it will fall. Then the people will go up each straight ahead."

6:6–10. JOSHUA INSTRUCTS THE PRIESTS AND THE PEOPLE

6 [6]And Joshua son of Nun called to the priests saying to them, "Lift up the ark of the covenant and seven priests shall lift up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh."

[7]And they said to the people, "Cross over and surround the city. But those ready for fighting will cross over before the ark of Yahweh."

[8]And as Joshua commanded the people, seven priests lifting up seven rams' horns before Yahweh crossed over and they blew the horns, while the ark of the covenant of Yahweh was going behind them. [9]And those ready for fighting were going before the priests, who blew the horns, and the rearguard was going after the ark. There was marching and the blowing of horns.

[10]But Joshua commanded the people saying, "Do not shout! Do not let your voice be heard! Let not a word go forth from your mouth until the day I say to you, 'Shout!' Then you must shout."

6:11–26. PROCESSION OF THE ARK AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF JERICHO

6 [11]And the ark of Yahweh went around the city in a circle one time. And they entered the camp and they spent the night in the camp.

[12]And Joshua rose early in the morning and the priests lifted up the ark of Yahweh. [13]But seven priests were lifting up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh. And they were going, marching and blowing the horns. And those ready for fighting were going before them. And the rearguard was going after the ark of Yahweh, going and blowing the horns. [14]And they went around the city on the second day one time. And they returned to the camp. Thus they did six days. [15]And on the seventh day, they rose early to go up at dawn and they went around the city as was their custom seven times. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times. [16]And on the seventh time the priests blew the horns.

And Joshua said to the people, "Shout, for Yahweh has given you the city. [17]The city is devoted to destruction to Yahweh, it and all that is in it. Only Rahab the prosti-

tute shall live, she and all who are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers whom we sent. [18]You, however, must keep away from the things devoted to destruction, lest you become devoted to destruction and you take from the devoted thing, and you designate the Israelite camp to be devoted to destruction, and you make it taboo. [19]But all silver and gold and vessels of bronze and silver are holy to Yahweh. It goes into the treasury of Yahweh."

[20]So the people shouted and they sounded the trumpets. And when the people heard the sound of the horn, the people raised a great cry. And the wall collapsed. Then the people went up toward the city, each straight ahead. And they took the city.

[21]And they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all that was in the city, man and woman, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkey.

[22]But to the two men who spied out the city, Joshua said, "Enter the house of the woman prostitute and bring out from there the woman and all who are with her as you swore to her."

[23]The young men, who were spies, entered and brought out Rahab, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all who were with her. All her family they brought out and gave them rest outside of the camp of Israel. [24]But the city they burned in fire and all that was in it. Only the silver, the gold, and the vessels of bronze and iron they gave to the treasury of the house of Yahweh. [25]But Rahab the prostitute, the house of her father, and all who belonged to her Joshua let live in the midst of Israel until this day, for she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

[26]Joshua swore at that time saying,

"Cursed is the man before Yahweh who raises up and builds this city, Jericho.
At the cost of his firstborn he will lay its foundation.
At the cost of his youngest he will set its gates."

6:27. IDEALIZATION OF JOSHUA

6 [27]And Yahweh was with Joshua. And his fame was in all the land.

Notes

The MT and the LXX loosely share the four-part outline of Josh 5:13–6:27 but diverge in the details to such a degree that the LXX may actually represent a distinct structure. For example, after Joshua's encounter with the commander of Yahweh in the city of Jericho (5:13–15), the MT provides divine instructions to Joshua about the role of the priests in the ritual procession of the ark around Jericho, in the same setting of Jericho (6:1–5). The LXX contains the story of Joshua's encounter with the divine being in Jericho (5:13–15), but it lacks the divine instructions about the role of the priests (6:1–5). The contrasts in structure continue into the account of the ark's procession. The MT is structured as a story of divine command (6:1–5) and fulfillment (6:6–20). The LXX emphasizes instead a story whose plot unfolds in the progression of the narrative. The LXX also includes the fulfillment of Joshua's curse on the city in Josh 6:21–27 with the additional story of Ozan, who rebuilds Jericho at the cost of his two sons. The MT lacks this story, leaving the curse on Jericho unfulfilled and thus in effect for all time.

The differences between the MT and the LXX led L. Mazor to reconstruct a complex textual history, in which the LXX account of Josh 6:6–20 is later than the MT, while the LXX version of the curse on the city in Josh 6:21–27 is older. First, she focused on the different role of the priests in the MT and the LXX versions of Josh 6:6–20 (1995: 49–57). She identified the clarification of the role of the priests in the LXX, that they are to blow the trumpets (vv. 9, 13, 20), as a nomistic correction to the MT that is meant to bring the story into conformity with the Priestly legislation in Num 10:8–9. Second, Mazor reversed the textual relationship between the MT and the LXX in the account of Joshua's curse on the city in Josh 6:21–27, where the shorter version of the LXX with its absence of any reference to Jericho is likely to represent the older formula of the curse (1988: 11–18). Mazor's research suggests that the differences between the MT and the LXX reflect ideological and theological issues in the formation of the distinct textual traditions. Van der Meer has recently disagreed, arguing that the shortened Greek version of Josh 6:2–25 reflects the attempt of the translator to harmonize different redactional strands in the MT (2009: 19–28). I note the points of debate in the "Notes." See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

5:13 *in Jericho.* The MT *bîrîḥô* and the LXX *en ierichō* place Joshua within the city. Interpreters have also read the preposition *bĕ* as indicating that Joshua was in the vicinity of Jericho. There are two reasons for the uneasiness over the clear sense of the text. The first arises from the content of the passage, where the location of Joshua is described as "holy ground." The problem is already noted by Origen and Jewish commentators; they conclude that Jericho could not possibly be the location of the holy ground, since it is the location of the enemy (Moatti-Fine 1996: 121; Auld 2005: 131). But the designation of Jericho as holy is the rationale for the execution of the ban against cities in the book of Joshua; it makes their extermination a sacrifice to Yahweh and the ban against booty absolute. The second problem is verisimilitude, since the placement of Joshua within the city of Jericho violates a realistic understanding of the narrative. Noth suggested that the original story may have taken place in Jericho but that the present literary context demands a setting "in the environment of Jericho" (1971b: 35). Soggin translates "in the region of Jericho" or "on the outskirts of Jericho" (1972: 77), and Nelson, "by Jericho" (1997a: 73). This objection ignores the fantastic nature of the book of Joshua in general and of this episode in particular. Joshua is transported momentarily within Jericho for the divine theophany about holy war. It is the second time that Israelites are placed in the city, the first being the spies in Josh 2. The theophany to Joshua has a proleptic function in the book of Joshua, since it anticipates the destruction of Jericho as a divine act of holy war.

5:14 *And he said, "No, for I am the prince of the army of Yahweh."* The MT includes the abrupt statement "No," *lō'.* The Greek adds *autōi,* "to him," resulting in the translation, "But he said to him." The Greek may be reading the Hebrew *lō'* ("no") as *lô* ("to him") from its *Vorlage.* The Greek also lacks the causal conjunction *kî,* "because," while rendering the Hebrew *ṣĕbā',* "host," as "power," *dynameōs:* "But he said to him, 'I am the commander of power of the Lord. Now I have come.'"

"What does my lord say to his servant?" The LXX accentuates the slave imagery, translating, "Slave master [*despota*] what do you command your domestic slave [*tōi sōi oiketēi*]?" This motif returns in the LXX as a description of the Gibeonites (see the "Notes" to Josh 9:11).

5:15 *And Joshua did so.* The clause is absent in the LXX.

6:1–5 The MT and the LXX differ in content in this section. The divine command in the MT outlines the role of the priests and the ritual details of the weeklong procession. The focus on the priests and their proper ritual procession provides the outline for the subsequent events of the chapter in the MT version. The divine instructions in the LXX focus on the proper position of the people. The priests require no instruction, nor does the Deity describe the ritual process by which Jericho will be destroyed. The contrast between the MT and the LXX is illustrated in the table.

MT	*LXX*
[1]But Jericho was closed up tight before the Israelites. No one was going out or entering.	[1]And Iericho was enclosed and fortified and no one was going out of it or entering in.
[2]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "See, I have given Jericho and its king, the mighty warriors, into your hand. [3]And you will go around the city, all the men of war circling the city one time. Thus you will do six days. [4]And seven priests will lift up seven rams' horns before the ark. And on the seventh day you will go around the city seven times and the priests will blow the horns.	[2]And the Lord said to Iesous, "Look, I am giving over Iericho into your control and its king in it, powerful ones in strength. [3]But you place the warriors around it in a circle.
[5]And when there is a blast of the ram's horn, when you hear the sound of the horn, all the people will shout a great shout, and the wall of the city beneath it will fall. Then the people will go up each straight ahead."	[5]And it will be when you sound the trumpet, let all the people shout at the same time. And when they shout, the walls of the city will fall automatically. And all the people will enter, rushing each straight ahead into the city."

The MT of vv. 3–5 contains a five-part instruction to Joshua:

1. Warriors must process around the city for six days along with seven priests, who blow seven rams' horns before the ark (vv. 3–4a); the LXX lacks the theme of the priests.
2. On the seventh day the procession repeats seven times, with the priests blowing the horns, likely signifying a Jubilee (v. 4b)—a theme that is not evident in the LXX.
3. Horns sound, and all the people shout (v. 5a).
4. The walls of Jericho fall (v. 5b*a*).
5. People advance into the city, moving straight ahead (v. 5b*b*).

The LXX separates the divine instructions to Joshua into four parts:

1. Warriors must be placed around the city (v. 3).
2. Trumpets sound, and the people shout (v. 5a).
3. The walls of Jericho fall (v. 5b).
4. All the people move into the city, rushing straight ahead (v. 5c).

6:1 *was closed up tight.* The Hebrew repeats the verb *sāgar,* "to shut up," in the Qal and Pual forms of the feminine participle. Noth suggests a fixed expression meaning that

the way was blocked from entry or exit (1971b: 34). The LXX captures the idiom with distinctive participles, *sugkekleismenē,* "was enclosed," and *ōchyrōmenē,* "was fortified."

6:2 *See, I have given Jericho and its king . . . into your hand.* The perfect tense of the verb in the MT, *nātatî,* makes the divine announcement about the future a completed event, much like the *perfectum propheticum* (*GKC* 106n). The LXX shifts the tense to the present, "I am giving" (*paradidōmi*). The contrast in verb tense conforms to the distinctive narrative forms of the MT and the LXX, in which the MT focuses on divine prediction as a completed action, while the LXX is historical narrative.

the mighty warriors. The phrase in the MT lacks clear syntactical function, since it is not introduced by a conjunction. The LXX provides no assistance, since it includes and expands the phrase *dynatous ontas en ischui,* "powerful ones in strength." The Greek *dynatous* provides a contrast to the commander of the Lord in Josh 5:14, who is *dynameōs kyriou,* "power of the Lord."

6:3 *And you will go around the city, all the men of war circling the city one time. Thus you will do six days.* The LXX departs from the MT, replacing the ritual procession with the distribution of the soldiers around the city: "But you place the warriors around it in a circle."

6:4 *rams' horns.* The translation reflects the Hebrew phrase *šôpĕrôt hayyôbēlîm.* The Hebrew *yôbēl* can mean a ram's horn (Exod 19:13; Josh 6:5), but it more often signifies the Jubilee Year of Release (e.g., Lev 25:13, 28, 40; 27:18, 21). The *šôpār* also signifies a horn (e.g., Judg 3:27; 6:34; Jer 4:5). The terms *šôpār* and *yôbēl* are combined only in this story (Josh 6:4, 6, 8, 13). The LXX uses the singular term *salpigx,* "trumpet," in v. 5 and lacks the procession of the seven priests marching before the ark. In the LXX, the Deity gives a general command that the trumpet be blown, without specifying who would play the instrument: *kai estai hōs an salpisēte tē salpingi,* "And it will be when you sound the trumpet." This phrase will require clarification in the LXX version of Josh 6:6–20 (vv. 9, 13, 20).

6:5 *and when there is a blast of the ram's horn.* The LXX lacks the clause. The Hebrew *qeren,* "animal horn," designates only a musical instrument in this text.

6:6–20 *The procession around Jericho.* The MT and the LXX diverge both in the instruction to the priests and the people (vv. 6–10) and in the account of the event (vv. 11–20).

MT	*LXX*
[6]And Joshua son of Nun called to the priests saying to them, "Lift up the ark of the covenant and seven priests shall lift up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh."	[6]And Iesous the son of Nuae went to the priests.
[7]And they [the priests] said to the people, "Cross over and surround the city. But those ready for fighting will cross over before the ark of Yahweh."	[7]And he said to them [the priests] saying, "Command the people to go around and encircle the city. And let the warriors pass by armed before the Lord,
[8]And as Joshua commanded the people, seven priests lifting up seven rams' horns before Yahweh crossed over	[8]and seven priests holding seven holy trumpets pass by in the same manner before the Lord, signaling vigorously. And

and they blew the horns, while the ark of the covenant of Yahweh was going behind them. [9]And those ready for fighting were going before the priests, who blew the horns, and the rearguard was going after the ark. There was marching and the blowing of horns.

[10]But Joshua commanded the people saying, "Do not shout! Do not let your voice be heard! Let not a word go forth from your mouth until the day I say to you, 'Shout!' Then you must shout."

[11]And the ark of Yahweh went around the city in a circle one time. And they entered the camp and they spent the night in the camp.

[12]And Joshua rose early in the morning and the priests lifted up the ark of Yahweh. [13]But seven priests were lifting up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh. And they were going, marching and blowing the horns. And those ready for fighting were going before them. And the rearguard was going after the ark of Yahweh, going and blowing the horns. [14]And they went around the city on the second day one time. And they returned to the camp. Thus they did six days.

[15]And on the seventh day, they rose early to go up at dawn and they went around the city as was their custom seven times. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times. [16]And on the seventh time the priests blew the horns.

And Joshua said to the people, "Shout, for Yahweh has given you the city. [17]The city is devoted to destruction to Yahweh, it and all that is in it. Only Rabah the prostitute shall live, she and all who are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers whom we sent. [18]You, however, must keep away from the things devoted to destruction, lest you become devoted to destruction

let the ark of the covenant of the Lord follow.

[9]But let the warriors pass by in front and the priests at the rear behind the ark of the covenant of the Lord walking and blowing a trumpet."

[10]To the people Iesous commanded saying, "Do not shout and do not let anyone hear your voice until the day that he himself announces to shout, and then you will shout."

[11]And when the ark of the covenant of God went around the city, immediately it [or Iesous] went back to the camp and it [or Iesous] spent the night there.

[12]And on the second day Iesous arose early and the priests took up the ark of the covenant of the Lord. [13]And seven priests carrying the seven trumpets passed by before the Lord. And after this the warriors entered and the rest of the crowd behind the ark of the covenant of the Lord. And the priests sounded the trumpets. And all the rest of the crowd encircled the city close by [14]and went back again to the camp. Thus he did for six days.

[15]And on the seventh day they rose at dawn and went around the city six times.

[16]And on the seventh circuit the priests blew the trumpets.

And Iesous said to the sons of Israel, "Shout, for the Lord has given you the city. [17]And the city will be anathema, it and all that is in it to the Lord Sabaoth. Raab the prostitute, however, you must keep alive, she and whatever is in her house.

[18]But you, guard yourselves carefully from the things that are anathema, so that you yourselves do not covet and take from

and you take from the devoted thing,
and you designate the Israelite camp
to be devoted to destruction, and you
make it taboo. [19]But all silver and gold
and vessels of bronze and silver are holy
to Yahweh. It goes into the treasury of
Yahweh."

[20]So the people shouted and they
sounded the trumpets. And when the
people heard the sound of the horn,
the people raised a great cry. And the
wall collapsed. Then the people went
up toward the city, each straight ahead.
And they took the city.

the things that are anathema and make
the camp of the sons of Israel anathema
and you destroy us. [19]And all the silver or
gold or bronze or iron will be holy to the
Lord. It will be carried into the treasury of
the Lord."

[20]And the priests sounded the
trumpets. As soon as the people heard
the sound of the trumpets, all the people
cried out loudly at the same time in a great
and strong cry. And the entire wall fell all
around. And all the people went up into
the city.

The MT maintains a clear separation between Joshua, the priests, and the people in the instruction for waging war in vv. 6–10. Only Joshua receives the revelation of the ritual procedures for destroying Jericho (vv. 1–5). As a result the priests require separate liturgical instruction concerning the ark and the seven rams' horns (v. 6). Once the priests receive their instruction from Joshua, they in turn address the people about their role in the procession, which includes the need for warriors to follow the ark and the remaining people to surround the city (v. 7). The ritual procession begins immediately—apparently in the camp (vv. 8–9)—to provide the setting for Joshua's instruction to the people on how they will wage war by shouting (v. 10). The address of Joshua to the people during the procession indicates that the people are not part of the ritual of the ark, the priests, and the warriors. This is also evident in their absence during the weeklong procession in vv. 11–16a.

The LXX presents a different account of the events in vv. 6–20. The separation between characters breaks down in the LXX version. The ritual procedures for conquering Jericho require no special revelation to Joshua, nor are the priests separated out for special instruction. Instead, Joshua's opening speech to the priests in vv. 6–9 functions as indirect instruction for the people, not the priests: "And he [Joshua] said to them [the priests] saying, 'Command the people.'" The content of the instruction includes all of the ritual procedures concerning the ark, the priests, the trumpets, the warriors, and the people in an abbreviated form. Only after all the priests and people are informed of the rituals does Joshua instruct the people on how they will wage war by shouting (v. 10). The inclusion of the people in the ritual procession is underscored in v. 13, when the narrator states, "the rest of the crowd [entered] behind the ark of the covenant of the Lord." The inclusion of the people in the ritual process requires a clarification on the role of the priests and the blowing of the trumpets in vv. 9, 13, 20.

6:6 *Lift up the ark of the covenant and seven priests shall lift up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh.* Joshua's instruction to the priests about the ritual procedures is absent in the LXX.

6:7 *And they said to the people.* The plural form of the verb *wayōʾmĕrû* indicates that the priests are giving the instruction to the people in the MT. Joshua is the speaker in the LXX, where he instructs the priests to address the people.

But those ready for fighting will cross over before the ark of Yahweh. The ark is absent in the LXX so that the warriors cross in front of the Lord (*kyrios*).

6:8–9 *And as Joshua commanded the people, seven priests lifting up seven rams' horns before Yahweh crossed over and they blew the horns, while the ark of the covenant of Yahweh was going behind them.* The third-person narrative in the MT, which describes the procession of the seven priests, seven trumpets, and the ark, provides the setting for Joshua's address to the people in v. 10. In the LXX, Joshua presents the information (vv. 7–8a), followed with a short narrative conclusion (v. 8b).

6:8 *seven rams' horns.* The LXX adds that the trumpets are holy (*hiereis*). See below for discussion.

6:9 *There was marching and the blowing of horns.* The clause is ambiguous in the MT. It is either describing the entire procession, in which there is marching and the priests are blowing the horns, or it is limited to the unidentified rearguard, which is marching and blowing the horns. The LXX clarifies the ambiguity by identifying the rearguard as the priests, *hoi hiereis.* Mazor (1995: 48–54) describes the identification of the priests as a nomistic correction in the LXX to bring the story into conformity with the Priestly legislation in Num 10:8–9 on waging war with the trumpets: "The sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow the trumpets." She identifies the same nomistic correction in the identification of the priests in vv. 13 and 20, as well as the designation of the trumpets as holy in v. 8. The argument is limited in scope to the description of the procession in vv. 6–20 and does not include the larger context of vv. 1–5, which in the MT contains the divine instruction to Joshua that the seven priests must blow the seven rams' horns. The divine instruction in vv. 1–5 removes much of the ambiguity of vv. 6–20 in the MT. The absence of the divine instruction to Joshua in the LXX may also account for the more specific identification of the priests.

6:10 *Do not shout!* The Hebrew *rw'*, "shout," occurs in this verse and in 6:5 (*yārîʿû*) and 6:20 (*wayyārîʿû*). Den Hertog suspects a word play with *yĕrîḥô,* "Jericho" (1992).

Let not a word go forth from your mouth until the day I say to you, "Shout!" Then you must shout. In the MT Joshua provides the command to shout, reinforcing the structure of divine command (vv. 1–5) and fulfillment (vv. 6–20). In the LXX the Deity will command the people directly in some form of a theophany when they should shout: "Do not shout and do not let anyone hear your voice until the day that he himself [*autos*] announces to shout, and then you will shout." But note that it is actually Joshua who commands the people in v. 16.

6:11 *the ark of Yahweh went around . . . and they entered.* In the MT the verbs do not correspond in number. The subject of the first verb in the MT is the ark of Yahweh, while the description of the return is in the plural (*wayyābōʾû*), suggesting the return of the procession of priests and warriors. It may be possible also to translate "Joshua" as the subject: "and he [Joshua] made the ark go around." If Joshua is interpreted as the subject, it may be to accentuate his character, as noted by Nelson (1997a: 87) and Butler (1983: 66). The translation of the ark as the subject follows the LXX: "And the ark of the covenant of God went around [*perielthousa*]." The description of the ark as "of God" is unusual in the LXX. The description of the ark in the LXX continues the singular form of the verb to describe the return to the camp (*apēlthen*). The verb *ekoimēthē,* "it fell asleep there," likely means "it spent the night there."

6:12 *And Joshua rose early in the morning and the priests lifted up the ark of Yahweh.* The LXX adds "on the second day," which appears later in the MT at v. 14.

6:13 The MT and the LXX differ in the order of the march and the procedure of the ritual. The order of the march in the LXX is (1) the seven priests/seven trumpets, (2) the ark, (3) the warriors, and (4) the remaining crowd. The order of the march in the MT is (1) the warriors, (2) the seven priests/seven rams' horns, (3) the ark, and (4) the rearguard. The most striking difference is the focus in the LXX on the people, who are mentioned twice in the verse (the remaining crowd, *ochlos,* marches behind the ark, and they circle the city). The people are absent in the MT.

And the rearguard was going after the ark of Yahweh, going and blowing the horns. The LXX identifies those playing the trumpets as the priests (*hoi hiereis*), in contrast to the ambiguous reference to the rearguard in the MT. See the "Notes" to v. 9.

6:15 *they went around the city as was their custom seven times. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times.* The LXX separates six processions around the city (*hexakis,* v. 15) from the seventh (*hebdomē,* v. 16).

6:17 *The city is devoted to destruction to Yahweh, it and all that is in it.* The Hebrew *ḥerem,* "to devote to destruction," is translated in the LXX as *anathema,* which indicates something that both is dedicated as a votive offering and is cursed (BDAG no. 5505). For discussion of the Hebrew *ḥerem,* see the "Introduction."

to Yahweh. The LXX adds the epithet "Lord Sabaoth," *kyriō sabaōth.*

because she hid the messengers whom we sent. The clause is absent in the LXX of v. 17 but appears in v. 25.

6:18 *keep away from the things devoted to destruction.* The Hebrew *šimrû min-haḥērem, šāmar* with *min* means "keep yourself from" (Soggin, 1972: 82). The LXX captures the spatial quality of the command: "guard yourselves carefully from the things that are anathema," *phylaxasthe sphodra apo tou anathematos.*

lest you become devoted to destruction. The MT uses the verb *taḥărîmû* to underscore the contagion of the objects devoted to destruction, which requires that the people maintain distance from them ("keep away from the things devoted to destruction"). The LXX internalizes and psychologizes the warning as a matter of pondering, *enthumēthentes,* or perhaps better, "coveting" the things devoted to destruction. Boling and Wright unnecessarily suggest a corruption in the MT from *taḥărîmû,* "devoted to destruction," to *tahămîdû,* "covet" (1982: 203).

and you make it taboo. The MT *'ākar* conveys a sense of disorder and confusion between the sacred and the profane that leads to destruction, often as the result of breaking oaths (1 Kgs 18:17) or making foolish oaths (1 Sam 14:29; Judg 11:35). The verb provides a prelude to the story of Achan in Josh 7 (see esp. the place-name Valley of Achor, 7:26). The LXX translates as *ektripsēte hēmas,* "you destroy us."

6:19 *all silver and gold and vessels of bronze and silver.* The LXX does not mention "vessels."

holy to Yahweh. The Hebrew *qōdeš hû' layhwh* is translated in the LXX as *hagion estai tōi kyriōi.* The holy status of the booty is tied to the designation of Jericho as holy (5:14). The holy status of Jericho and the booty is the rationale for the execution of the ban.

treasury of Yahweh. The Hebrew *'ôṣar* designates storerooms (Num 13:12), the treasury of palaces (1 Kgs 14:26), the treasury of a temple (1 Kgs 7:51), or even a more

metaphorical meaning in which heaven becomes the cosmic treasure house of Yahweh (Deut 28:12; 32:34). The Greek *thesauron* carries the same range of meanings.

6:20 *So the people shouted and they sounded the trumpets. And when the people heard the sound of the horn, the people raised a great cry.* The opening sentence in the MT is out of chronological order and redundant when read with the following material. The sentence is absent in the LXX, and the priests are clearly identified as sounding the trumpets. See the "Notes" to v. 9. Auld rightly notes that the people are emphasized in the LXX: "All three instances of 'all' are Gk [Greek] pluses, together with the people shouting 'together'; and the 'yell' is not only 'great' as in [the] MT but 'powerful' as well" (2005: 138).

And the wall collapsed. The NRSV translates the Hebrew *taḥtêhā* as "the wall fell down flat." The LXX translates, "And the entire wall fell all around."

6:21–27 *The destruction of Jericho, the curse on the city, and the idealization of Joshua.* The MT and the LXX diverge in the conclusion of the narrative.

MT

[21]And they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all that was in the city, man and woman, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkey.

[22]But to the two men who spied out the city, Joshua said, "Enter the house of the woman prostitute and bring out from there the woman and all who are with her as you swore to her."

[23]The young men, who were spies, entered and brought out Rahab, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all who were with her. All her family they brought out and gave them rest outside of the camp of Israel. [24]But the city they burned in fire and all that was in it. Only the silver, the gold, and the vessels of bronze and iron they gave to the treasury of the house of Yahweh. [25]But Rahab the prostitute, the house of her father, and all who belonged to her Joshua let live in the midst of Israel until this day, for she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

[26]Joshua swore at that time saying,

"Cursed is the man before
Yahweh who raises up and
builds this city, Jericho.

LXX

[21]And Iesous devoted to destruction with a broad sword all that was in the city, from man to woman, from young to old, and from calf to beast of burden.

[22]And Iesous said to the two young men who spied, "Go in to the house of the woman and bring her out from there and whatever is with her."

[23]And the two young men who spied out the city went into the house of the woman, and they brought out Raab the prostitute and her father, her mother, her brothers, and all who were with her and her clan. And they set her outside of the camp. [24]But the city was burnt in fire with all that was in it. Only silver, gold, bronze, and iron they gave to be brought into the treasury of the Lord. [25]And Raab the prostitute and the entire house of her father Iesous let live and she settled in Israel until this very day, because she hid the spies whom Iesous sent to spy out Iericho.

[26]And Iesous swore on that day before the Lord saying,

"Cursed is the man who will
build that city.

At the cost of his firstborn he will lay its foundation. At the cost of his youngest he will set its gates."	At the cost of his firstborn he will lay the foundation. At the cost of his youngest he will set its gates." And thus Ozan did, who was from Baithel. At the cost of Abiron the firstborn, he laid its foundation, and at the cost of the youngest; although being saved, he set its gates.
[27]And Yahweh was with Joshua. And his fame was in all the land.	[27]And the Lord was with Iesous and his name was in all the land.

The MT and the LXX have the same two-part structure, in which a statement about the destruction of Jericho is followed by speeches in which Joshua provides commentary on the events:

1. Annihilation of the people (v. 21)
   Speech by Joshua: Immunity of Rahab (v. 22)
2. Destruction of the city (vv. 23–25)
   Speech by Joshua: Curse on the city (v. 26)

The narrative summaries of the annihilation of the people and the destruction of the city are for the most part similar in the MT and the LXX. The speeches by Joshua, however, are different, indicating that the two versions represent distinct interpretations of the destruction of Jericho. The comparison of Joshua's two speeches clarifies contrasting points of view in the MT and the LXX with regard to non-Israelites, city-states, and urban life.

Joshua's first speech in v. 22 concerns the rescue of Rahab. In the MT version of this speech, Joshua instructs the spies to rescue her because she fulfilled the conditions of her oath. He punctuates his instructions with the words "as you swore to her." The oath in the MT indicates that Rahab fulfilled the condition of secrecy in the MT version of Josh 2, where the promise of rescue was also conditional. In the LXX version, the conditional nature of Rahab's rescue is absent from Joshua's instruction. The absence of the condition corresponds to the LXX version of Josh 2, where there also were no conditions on Rahab's rescue. The contrast continues the distinct points of view with regard to non-Israelites that were developed in the MT and the LXX versions of the story of Rahab, in which the MT exhibits a more exclusive perspective than the LXX.

Joshua's second speech in v. 26 concerns the curse on city-states and urban life. His curse on the city is significantly different in the MT and the LXX. In the MT the curse is unfulfilled and open-ended. As a result it functions as a prophetic statement that remains in effect for all time. Thus, in the MT, city-builders are permanently condemned, while in the LXX, the curse is followed by its fulfillment: "And thus Ozan did, who was from Baithel. At the cost of Abiron the firstborn, he laid its foundation. And at the cost of the youngest; although being saved, he set its gates." The fulfillment of Joshua's curse in the LXX anchors the story in the past as history and thus eliminates its restriction on the present reader of Josh 6. The shift in perspective from prophecy to history suggests

that the LXX does not share the MT's absolute condemnation of city-states, a point of view that was already evident in the distinctive interpretations of circumcision in the LXX of Josh 5.

6:21 *And they devoted to destruction.* The LXX makes Joshua the subject of the action.

6:22 *the two men.* The LXX continues the description of Josh 2 by describing the spies as "young men" (*neaniskoi*).

as you swore to her. The motif of the oath links the passage to Josh 2:17 in the MT. Butler notes that the motif in the MT underscores the structure of command and fulfillment (1983: 66). The absence of the clause in the LXX is not the result of haplography, as Boling and Wright suggest (1982: 204); rather, it is related to a different interpretation of the exchange between Rahab and the spies in Josh 2. Only the MT emphasizes the role of Rahab as a trickster, who forces the spies into the oath of rescue.

6:23 *The young men.* The MT *hannĕʿārîm* agrees with the LXX *neaniskoi,* in contrast to v. 22.

entered. The LXX expands the MT with the words, "the two young men who spied out the city went into the house of the woman."

6:24 *the house of Yahweh.* The reference to the "house of Yahweh" is surprising in the book of Joshua, since the book envisions cultic worship that is limited to standing stones and avoids any description of a "house" or a "temple." The LXX lacks reference to the "house" of Yahweh, indicating only the "treasury of the Lord." Soggin's suggestion that the reference to the temple may indicate a structure at Gilgal or even Jerusalem is unlikely (1972: 82).

6:26 *Joshua swore at that time* The LXX adds that Joshua swore "before the Lord," *enantion kyriou.* The motif of swearing an oath ties the conclusion of the destruction of Jericho to the story of Rahab and the spies, where the motif was also prominent (2:15–21).

Cursed is the man before Yahweh. The LXX lacks the phrase "before Yahweh" within the curse statement of Joshua, *epikataratos ho anthropos,* "cursed is the man," as does the Qumran document 4QTest, *ʾrwr hʾyš.* Mazor identifies the LXX and its *Vorlage* as representing a shorter and older formula of the curse, "which echoes the more ancient belief that the curses have a power of their own" (see also Deut 27:15; 1 Sam 14:24, 28; Jer 11:3; 20:15). The longer form in the MT (see also 1 Sam 17:43; 26:19; 2 Kgs 2:24), which includes the phrase "before Yahweh," "expresses the belief that the operative power of the curse comes from God" (1988: 4 n. 6). The difference in form may also be for rhetorical reasons, since the curse on the city in the MT, with the direct reference to Yahweh, remains in effect for all time, as opposed to the LXX, where the curse is restricted to the past because it is fulfilled in history.

who raises up and builds. The LXX and 4QTest lack the verb "to raise up."

this city, Jericho. Only the MT identifies the city as Jericho. The LXX and 4QTest leave the identification of the city ambiguous. Some interpreters conclude that this is the more original form of the text. Boling and Wright suggest that the reference to Jericho originally may have been a marginal note (1982: 204), which over time was introduced into the text of the MT. Such a textual development is possible, but it is also important to note that the destruction of Jericho functions as the paradigmatic story of

the annihilation of cities and urban life in the book of Joshua and thus is likely intended to apply to all cities.

At the cost of his firstborn . . . At the cost of his youngest. The content of the curse is directed to the sons of the builder. The MT repeats the preposition *bĕ,* which is most likely functioning to indicate the price that can be rendered, "at the risk or peril of" (Williams, 1976: 246); *bibkōrô,* "at the risk/peril/cost of his firstborn"; and *ûbiṣ'îrô,* "at the risk/peril/cost of his youngest." The negative context of the curse formula is reflected in the common translation "at the cost of his firstborn" and "at the cost of his youngest," which I am also using (e.g., NRSV; NJPS; NIV; H. N. Rösel, 2011: 92; Nelson, 1997a: 86). The LXX translates the Hebrew with the preposition *en* in the dative: *en tōi prōtotokōi autou* and *en tōi elachistōi,* which likely carries the same instrumental meaning as the Hebrew (BDF 219). Thus, the NETS translates, "At the cost of his firstborn he shall found it, and at the cost of his youngest."

LXX 6:26b *thus Ozan did. . . . At the cost of Abiron, the firstborn, he laid its foundation. And at the cost of the youngest; although being saved, he set its gates.* The LXX adds the fulfillment of Joshua's curse, changing the opened-ended and future orientation of the MT into a past, historical event. The addition repeats the syntax of v. 26a, using the preposition *en* in the dative, *en tōi Abirōn tōi prōtotokōi* and *en tōi elachistōi,* thus indicating the same meaning of cost in reference to the sons. I interpret the circumstantial participle *diasōthenti* as a concession in reference to the builder, Ozan, who is not killed and completes the construction of the gates. But compare Mazor, who interprets the participle as a reference to the youngest son: "And at the cost of his younger child, who had survived (*diasōthenti*), he set up her gates" (1988: 7).

The addition in the LXX of Josh 6:26b repeats in 1 Kgs 16:34, although differences between Joshua and Kings, such as the naming of the builder, Hiel, and his younger son, Segub, and the explicit mention of Jericho raise questions about the literary direction of the repetition. The differences lead Mazor to conclude that the version in Joshua is not dependent on the Greek version of Kings (1988: 7–9). Noort, on the other hand, argues that the origin of the curse is in 1 Kgs 16:34, where the naming of the characters, Hiel, Abiron, and Segub, and the city of Jericho are necessary "but superfluous in Joshua 6.26 because it is very clear which city is cursed" (2007a: 111).

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Noort provides a point of departure for the study of the composition of Josh 5:13–6:27 by summarizing a series of questions about the age of the story and its authorship that continue to confront interpreters. There is debate whether the story reflects an ancient etiology about the walls of Jericho, and, if so, when it may have been incorporated into the literary development of the book of Joshua. The composition of the narrative raises still further questions because of the absence of ties to the Pentateuch. The ritual details in the narrative point to a possible cultic background of the story, but interpreters debate whether the ark is an original motif or a later addition. The motifs of the horns and the priests raise additional questions about the influence of later redactors on the procession around Jericho. Noort concludes that "the questions 'how old' and 'when was it added' influence the interpretation of the ark, Joshua, Rahab, the narra-

tive form of the ban, and the six and seven day sequence to the present structure of the story" (1998a: 172). These problems make any recovery of the history of composition tentative.

Wellhausen had already reached the same tentative conclusion about composition in the nineteenth century, when he conceded that his identification of two source versions of the story remained "fuzzy" (1899: 123). Steuernagel quoted Wellhausen with sympathy at the outset of his study (1923: 226), but he added the important point that the differences between the MT and the LXX confirm a history of composition that necessitates a more comprehensive examination, however hypothetical the results may be (1923: 226). The following review of scholarship on composition follows the past solutions to Josh 3:1–5:12, with scholars divided between those who identify two parallel accounts of the destruction of Jericho and those who argue for one narrative that has undergone supplementation.

Wellhausen's analysis of Josh 5:13–6:27 highlights central problems of composition that continue to influence interpreters using the source-critical methodology. First, he separates the theophany in Josh 5:13–15 from the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6, even though both stories share the same setting (1899: 123–25). Wellhausen concluded that the theophany was originally tied to a high place at Gilgal and only later was included in the JE narrative where it is associated with Jericho. The setting of Jericho detaches the theophany from the preceding rituals at Gilgal, so that it now appears out of place. Second, Wellhausen concluded that the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6 is made up of two narratives that are combined in a chaotic fashion. The result is a mixture of singular and plural references to the people (6:20) and the confused description of the procession in which horns provide the signal for attack, even though priests are also continually blowing them (6:11–14). The combination, according to Wellhausen, creates a narrative that lacks logic (1899: 124). Third, the present form of the text includes two accounts of the procession around Jericho. One source lacks the motifs of the ark, the priests, and the trumpets. In this version Joshua receives a divine command (part of 6:3–4); he instructs the people to march in silence (6:10); the people process in silence for six days (6:11 [minus the ark], 14); and on the seventh day Joshua commands the people to shout, take the city, but spare Rahab (6:15a, 16b, 17–19), which they do (some form of 6:20a). The motif of the ban is also anchored in this story (6:17a, 19, 21, 24). This version is tied to the narratives of both Rahab and Achan. The second version includes the motifs of the ark, the priests, and the horns. In this version the priests are instructed to lead the procession (part of 6:3–4); there is a procession with the ark, the priests, the horns, and the leaders (6:6; parts of 7–9; 12–13); the priests blow the horns (6:16a); and the city of Jericho falls to the people (6:20b).

Subsequent source critics have refined the study of Wellhausen, without departing from his basic analysis. Steuernagel, for example, identified E and D^2 sources that separate in focusing on the people and the priests in the procession around the city (1923: 226–28). The E account follows the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) and includes the instructions of Joshua to the people that they process in silence (6:10–12a), the procession (5:14a*b*–15a*a*), the command to shout (6:16b; perhaps with the proclamation of the ban in vv. 1 and 7a–18), the fall of the city (6:20a), and the rescue of Rahab (6:22–23). The D^2 source focuses more on the collapse of the walls and the procession of the ark with priests and horns (6:1–3a*a,* 5, 7a, 8a*b,* 9ab*a,* 12b–13, 15a*b,* 16a, 20b, 21, 24); it does not

include the references to Rahab. A redactor combines the separate narratives (6:6a, 8b, 17a, 19, 25, 26).

Otto provided yet another variation in the identification of two sources—one that focuses on the people (Source A) and another on the priests (Source B). Source A includes the account of theophany (5:13–15) and the destruction of Jericho (Josh 6), but the two stories are separated in subject matter, with the theophany providing a conclusion to the rituals at Gilgal, rather than an introduction to the destruction of Jericho (1975: 63–65). Source A is a story of Jericho's destruction by the people, who process in silence with the ark until Joshua commands them on day seven to shout. In this version the walls do not miraculously fall down. The central themes are the destruction of Jericho by the people, the ban, and the rescue of Rahab (6:1, 2, 3a, 7*a*ba, 10a*bg*b, 11, 14, 15a, 16b, 17, 18, 19, 20a*ab*b*g,* 21–25). Source B includes the procession of the ark with seven priests and seven horns for a period of seven days, the walls of Jericho collapsing, and Joshua being idealized (6:4ab*b,* 5a*bg*b, 6, 7bb, 12, 13*, 15b*b,* 16a, 20a*gd*ba*b,* 27). These narratives are interwoven by redaction (6:3b, 4b*a,* 5a*a,* 8, 9, 13*, 15ba*b,* 26).

The summary of source-critical solutions is only a sampling of a broader body of research (e.g., Eissfeldt, 1922: 210–14; Holzinger, 1901: 15–19), yet it allows for three general conclusions. First, the authors tend to separate the theophany in Josh 5:13–15 from the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6. There is a preference for the setting of Gilgal for the theophany in Josh 5:13–15 based on assumptions of its original cultic function (Wellhausen), the appearance of the messenger at Gilgal in Judg 2:1–5 (Steuernagel), or the close literary tie between the cultic celebration at Gilgal in Josh 5:10–12 and the theophany of Josh 5:13–15 (Otto). Wellhausen and Otto separate the theophany (Josh 5:13–15) altogether from the destruction of Jericho (Josh 6), while Steuernagel leaves open a link between the theophany of war and the subsequent destruction of Jericho in the E source (1923: 228).

Second, the elaborate details of the procession around Jericho are the focus for identifying different sources as opposed to changes in the plot structure of the story. Wellhausen established this paradigm in separating the procession of the people from that of the priests. Steuernagel and Otto follow the same practice although they distribute the details of the procession differently and thus identify somewhat different sources.

Third, the focus on the procession makes the identification of two complete narratives difficult, since the plot does not appear to change in any significant way. This is evident in the overly complex analysis that is required of v. 20, where source critics are forced to identify two accounts of the destruction of Jericho in this single verse. The problem of identifying two complete narratives raises the question of whether the overlay of details concerning the procession around Jericho is the result of literary supplementation to a narrative rather than the combination of independent sources.

Noth changed the paradigm for recovering the history of the composition of Josh 5:13–6:27 by identifying a single story that underwent revision over time. Several features of his analysis are important for subsequent interpreters. First, Noth anchored the history of composition in local etiologies, not narrative sources. He identified three etiologies tied to Jericho—the story of Rahab (Josh 2, 6), the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15), and the walls of Jericho (Josh 6)—that a pre-Deuteronomistic collector combined into a single narrative (1971b: 21–27). The history of composition, therefore,

concerns the growth of a single narrative, rather than the combination of two separate sources. The process occurs early in the history of Israel. The etiologies are ancient stories associated with the northern tribe of Benjamin, and the original collection of the stories takes place already in the late tenth or ninth century BCE.

Second, even though the etiologies share the setting of Jericho, the collector severs a literary relationship between the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) and the destruction of Jericho (Josh 6). As a result, the theophany is preserved as a literary fragment in the book of Joshua unconnected to the story of the destruction of Jericho, which acquires its own introduction in Josh 6:1 and undergoes a separate history of composition (1971b: 39). Thus, Noth would agree with Wellhausen that Josh 5:13–6:27 is not a literary unit.

Third, the history of composition emerges from a core story preserved in Josh 6:14–27 that recounts the destruction of Jericho (1971b: 9, 40–43). The pre-Deuteronomistic version of this story does not include the ark or the priests in the procession. The appearance of these motifs in Josh 6:2–13 is a sign of later Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic additions. The pre-Deuteronomistic version is an account of the silent march of the people around Jericho for six days (6:1–3, 4a*b,* 5 [minus "when you hear the sound of the horn"], 7a, 8a, 10); the miraculous destruction of the walls on day seven (6:14, 15 [minus "as was the custom"], 16a*a,* b, 17, 19, 20b); the execution of the ban on Jericho (6:21–24); and the rescue of Rahab (6:25). This story undergoes revision by Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic editors. Noth identified the Deuteronomist primarily from the references to the "ark" (6:4aa*b*), the "ark of the covenant" (6:8a*b*b), or the "ark of Yahweh" (6:12b, 13a) and the curse on the city (6:26), with its inner-biblical reference to 1 Kgs 16:34. Noth's identification of the Deuteronomist is surprisingly minimal given the importance of this author for the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis. Fleming adds that Noth does not clearly explain why the reference to priests carrying the ark is distinctively Deuteronomistic (1999: 213), nor does he adequately clarify the process of composition, especially in discerning the difference between pre-, post-, and Deuteronomistic authors. This is particularly evident in Josh 6:6–13, where the references to the ark are closely interwoven with the prominent role of the priests and the horns, which Noth assigns at different times to Deuteronomistic (1981b: 37) and post-Deuteronomistic (1971b: 11) authors.

The ambiguity of Noth's analysis raises lingering questions about the original form of the story, its antiquity, and the degree to which the history of composition can be recovered. These questions have prompted many interpreters to refine Noth's research on composition while maintaining the basic presupposition that the destruction of Jericho is one narrative that has undergone a history of redaction. Schwienhorst (1986), Fritz (1994), and Bieberstein (1995) illustrate the range of solutions in recent redaction-critical research.

Schwienhorst abandons Noth's assumptions about original local etiologies and the cultic background of the story (1986: 9–22). Instead, he traces the growth of the narrative from an eighth-century BCE composition. This narrative includes the identification of Jericho (6:1), the divine command for the people to attack at the sound of the horn (6:2a, 3a*a,* 5a*a,* a*b*–b), and the assault on the city (6:20b*a*–b). The story has no connection to the theophany in Josh 5:13–15 (1986: 39–72). The original narrative is expanded and reinterpreted seven times from the seventh through the first centuries

BCE (1986: 73–142). The reinterpretations include JE's expansion of the divine command about the time sequence of six and seven days, warriors, and the ark (6:3a*b*–b, 4a*b,* 11, 12a, 14a*b*–b, 15a). Three Deuteronomistic redactions focus on the ark, the ban, and the war shout (DtrH; 6:1a*b,* 2a*g,* 6a, 7a*b,* 10a*ab,* 12b, 16a*a*b, 17a, 20a*a,* 21a, 27); the destruction of the city (DtrP; 6:7a*a,* 7b, 18, 22, 23a*ab*); and qualifications on the ban (DtrN; 6:17b, 25). A Priestly editor clarifies that Rahab and her family remain separate from the Israelites (6:7a*a,* 18, 22, 23a*ab*); an additional editor, who shares the perspective of Chronicles, comments on the horns and stipulates that precious metals are the property of the temple (6:2b, 4, 16a*b,* 19, 20a*b,* 23a*b,* 24b); and a final editor accentuates the function of the horns in war as in the Qumran War Scroll (1QM).

Fritz also abandons the quest to recover ancient etiologies or even pre-Deuteronomistic tradition (1994: 63–79). He associates an original form of Josh 5:13–6:27 with Deuteronomistic tradition, thus locating the composition later in the history of Israel than Schwienhorst. This narrative may have included a portion of Joshua's encounter with the prince of the army of Yahweh (5:13–14a), but the subsequent addition of Josh 5:14b–15 by a later Deuteronomistic editor (RedD) severed the link by emphasizing instead the relationship between the theophanies of Joshua and Moses (Exod 3:5). The ark is absent in the original version of the destruction of Jericho, but it does include the divine prediction of the city's destruction after seven days along with the instructions for the people to shout (6:1–2, 3*, 4a*a,* 5), Joshua's instruction to the people (6:7a), the fall of the walls (6:20b), the execution of the ban (6:21), and the rescue of Rahab (6:22–24a). The story is expanded, with more details about the ban (6:17–19, 24b) and the fate of Rahab (6:25), before undergoing a series of later revisions, including the insertion of the curse on the city in the late sixth century BCE (6:26), the addition of the ark by the later Deuteronomistic editor (RedD; 6:7, 11), and the inclusion of the priests and the horns by an editor who shared the perspective of the author of Chronicles (6:4a*ab,* 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16a, 20a*b*).

Bieberstein disagrees with the tendency of scholars to eliminate the ark from the original narrative, as in the reconstructions of Schwienhorst and Fritz (1995: 235–39). He identifies the crossing of the Jordan and the destruction of Jericho as an original narrative of holy war that was likely composed after the fall of the northern kingdom (722 BCE). Bieberstein is unsure, however, about the function of the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) within this narrative (1995: 224, 413–18). The destruction of Jericho includes the divine command to circle the city with the ark until the people shout on day seven (6:1–3, 4b–5); to process for seven days (6:11, 14–15); and to signal the attack with horns, the shout, and the collapse of the wall (6:20b, 21). A late monarchic editor emphasizes holy war, the cult, and the priests (6:4b, 6–9, 12–13, 16a). A Deuteronomistic editor (DtrP) adds the curse against the city (6:26). Other postexilic editors add the etiological motif of Rahab (R_a, 6:17–18, 25); the limitation of metals to the possession of the temple, as in the book of Chronicles (R_{chr}, 6:19, 24); and the idealization of Joshua (6:27).

COMPOSITION OF JOSH 5:13–6:27

The redaction-critical research of Noth showed that Josh 5:13–6:27 does not contain parallel accounts of the destruction of Jericho but is a single story that has under-

gone revision through time. Subsequent research, however, has not supported Noth's assumptions about the etiological origin or the antiquity of the account of Jericho's destruction. It points instead to an original narrative that undergoes revision into the Hellenistic period. Such late editorial revisions to the story are supported by the significant differences between the MT and the LXX in the role of the priests within the procession of the ark. Yet the central role of the ark in both the MT and the LXX lends support to Bieberstein's conclusion that it was always prominent in the narrative. Nelson reaches the same conclusion in reconstructing an earlier version of the story than the MT, one which he describes as the OG, or Old Greek Text—the earliest recoverable Greek translation (1997a: 83–85). He writes that even though the "processional aspects of surrounding Jericho are much less explicit" in the OG, it includes the procession of the ark in Josh 6:9, 11, 13 (1997a: 87, 92). I build on the conclusion of Bieberstein and Nelson. But the history of research also indicates two lingering questions regarding the composition of Josh 5:13–6:27: (1) the literary relationship between the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) and the destruction of Jericho (6:1–27), and (2) the overlay of liturgical details in the procession of the ark around Jericho.

The literary relationship between the theophany to Joshua and the destruction of Jericho is a continuing problem in the research on composition. The texts clearly share the same setting of Jericho. Joshua 5:13 begins by placing Joshua in Jericho ("and when Joshua was in Jericho"), while Josh 6:1 states that the city was fortified and sealed off from the Israelites ("but Jericho was closed up tight before the Israelites"). The shared setting is unambiguous, which suggests that the section is not a single composition by one author. The clearest indication of a history of composition is the separate introductions to the theophany (5:13) and to the destruction of Jericho (6:1). W. Schneider notes that the introduction to the theophany of Joshua represents one of the most common literary devices by which Hebrew narratives begin in medias res (1993: 64–70). Narratives of this type use the verb *wayhî,* "and it happened," to signal a new setting or character. In Josh 5:13 the opening sentence illustrates this form of a narrative introduction by placing Joshua in Jericho: "and it happened (once) when Joshua was in Jericho" (1993: 67). The nominal sentence in Josh 6:1 represents a second way in which narratives begin. This type of introduction is more abrupt, as though the curtain of the stage is lifted and the action simply begins. Schneider characterizes this technique as *Vorhang Auf! Spot An!* In this type of narrative introduction, the story is inaugurated with a nominal sentence followed by participles as in Josh 6:1, where the destruction of Jericho begins the sentence *wîrîḥô,* "and/but Jericho," followed by the description that it was *sōgeret ûmĕsūggeret,* "closed up tight" (1993: 70–75). The research of Schneider challenges the conclusion of S. L. Hall that "one would hardly expect a coherent pericope to begin in such a manner" as in Josh 6:1 (2010: 80). On the contrary, the description of Jericho in Josh 6:1 is an independent introduction that indicates the original story of the destruction of Jericho (6:1–27), which separates it from the preceding story of theophany (5:13–15) as Noth realized (1971b: 40).

The two introductions in Josh 5:13 and 6:1 indicate that the literary unit of Josh 5:13–6:27 is the result of a history of composition. The original version of the destruction of Jericho includes some form of Josh 6:1–27. It begins, as Schneider has noted, with the author simply lifting the curtain in Josh 6:1 to focus the reader on Jericho as the stage for the plot of the narrative: "But Jericho was closed up tight before the

Israelites. No one was going out or entering." The introduction repeats the description of Jericho from Josh 2, where twice the city gates are also described as being "closed," *sāgar,* to signify the control of people entering and exiting (2:5, 7). The repetition of this motif in Josh 6:1 reinforces the earlier description of the city as well-guarded and fortified. And, like Josh 2, the introduction of Josh 6:1 also relates the fortification of Jericho to the control of people entering and exiting the city: "No one was going out or entering" (6:1b). The intertextual links indicate that the literary horizon of this version of the story is the book of Joshua. The procession of the ark around Jericho in Josh 6: 1–27 is part of the story of the spies and Rahab in Josh 2, which frames the account of the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3:1–5:12.

The original version of the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6:1–27 shares the literary style of the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3:1–5:12. The divine instruction to Joshua plays a key role in both stories; in each the Deity predicts the outcome of events and provides Joshua with specific instructions to achieve the goal, whether crossing the river or destroying the city. In the divine speech in Josh 3:1–5:12, the Deity predicts the outcome of events to Joshua (3:7–8) and provides specific instructions concerning the procession across the Jordan (4:1–3, 15–16). In Josh 6:2–5 the same pattern emerges: The Deity also predicts the fall of Jericho, while providing specific directions regarding the procession around the city. The plot, moreover, also unfolds in the same way in the two narratives. In each case, Joshua conveys the divine instructions to the priests and the people (3:9–13; 6:6–10), the events take place as the Deity predicts (3:14–17; 6:11–26), and Joshua is idealized (4:14; 6:27). The similar literary function of the divine speeches and the plot suggests that the composition is by the same author.

The theophany to Joshua in Josh 5:13–15 is a new introduction to the destruction of Jericho by a separate author. The literary unit does not share the language or literary style of Josh 6:1–27. Joshua 5:13–15 introduces a distinct form of divine communication into the book of Joshua, which G. Savran describes as the "type-scene" of theophany (2005: 5–30). It is evident from the comparison of the crossing of the Jordan (3:1–5:12) and the destruction of Jericho (6:1–27) that the instruction of the Deity to Joshua is an important literary strategy in the book of Joshua; it creates narratives that progress from divine command to fulfillment. The literary device occurs throughout the book. The divine commands center on the identity of Joshua (1:1–9), the ritual procedures for the procession of the ark (3:7–8; 4:1–3; 4:15–16), the maintenance of purity in the camp (7:10–13), circumcision (5:2, 9), the instructions for waging war (6:2–5; 8:1–2, 18; 10:8; 11:6), the division of the land (13:1–6), and the proper placement of religious cities (20:1–6). The story of the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6:1–27 conforms to this pattern of divine command and fulfillment; it too begins with divine instruction to Joshua about the ritual procedures to wage holy war (6:2–5), which are then carried out in the subsequent story (6:6–26).

The theophany to Joshua in Josh 5:13–15 departs from the structure of divine command and fulfillment to focus on the special relationship between Joshua and Yahweh through the sudden visitation of "the prince of the army of Yahweh." The theophany is not simply an additional divine command to Joshua. Rather, it is an isolated and solitary experience of Joshua with the divine in which the appearance itself is the central focus. The visual encounter sets the stage for a deeper level of communication between the Deity and Joshua that leads to a transformation in character. This is made evident

in the unfolding conversation between the divine being and Joshua and the resulting act of worship. All of the distinctive features in Josh 5:13–15 are important to the type-scene of the theophany (Savran, 2005: 79–80). They identify Josh 5:13–15 as representing a distinct literary genre from all other divine speeches in the book.

The differences between the theophany to Joshua in Jericho (5:13–15) and the narrative of the destruction of Jericho (6:1–27) suggest that a later author has added a more introspective story about a private theophany to Joshua as a new introduction to the more public account of Jericho's destruction. The intention of the author of Josh 5:13–15 comes into clearer view from an interpretation of the changes in structure that the new introduction imposes on the story of the destruction of Jericho. The author of Josh 5:13–15 reshapes the plot of the city's destruction from a linear story of divine command and fulfillment (6:1–27) to a more circular or repetitive story, in which the private experience of the hero in Jericho (5:13–15) is repeated by the entire nation (6:1–27). Savran identifies this movement from private to public experience as an important feature of the type-scene of theophany; he characterizes the process as externalization (2005: 148–89).

The theophany of Joshua in Josh 5:13–15 also changes the literary context for interpreting the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6:1–27. The private encounter between Joshua and the divine emissary (5:13) coupled with the command that he remove his sandals because of holy ground (5:15) extends the literary horizon of Jericho's destruction from the book of Joshua to the Pentateuch, where Moses undergoes a similar theophany (Exod 3:1–6). Moses too encounters the divine in a solitary experience on the divine mountain (Exod 3:2), which also requires that he remove his sandals because the ground is holy (Exod 3:5). The inner-biblical relationship indicates that the author of Josh 5:13–6:27 is modeling the leadership of Joshua at Jericho on that of Moses in Egypt. Both characters undergo a transformation through a solitary experience of the divine (Moses in Exod 3:1–6; Joshua in Josh 5:13–15) that influences their role as public leaders (Moses in Exod 3:7–4:17; Joshua in Josh 6:1–27).

The influence of Josh 5:13–15 on 6:1–27 is often overlooked because of the assumption that the theophany is a fragmentary text without clear function in its present literary context. This has led to two different solutions: (1) Josh 5:13–15 is the conclusion to the ritual ceremonies at Gilgal despite the different setting of Jericho (e.g., Wellhausen, 1899: 124; Hawk, 2000: 85); and (2) the episode is only a literary fragment that lacks the expected explanation for the statement of the divine messenger, "now I have come" (e.g., Boling and Wright, 1982: 198). The later interpretation is the stronger literary argument. The exchange between the divine messenger and Joshua does indeed break off prematurely, as is evident from a comparison with similar texts in which the phrase "now I have come" is followed by an explanation, whether the character in the story is human (2 Sam 14:15) or divine (Dan 9:22).

The fragmentary character of Josh 5:13–15 is not the result of the loss of traditional material, as is often assumed (Nelson, 1997a: 82; P. D. Miller, 1973: 128). The reason for the truncated form of Josh 5:13–15 is that the literary unit is a redaction, which the author intends to be read as the new introduction to the destruction of Jericho in Josh 6:1–27 and thus connected to the divine instructions in Josh 6:2–5. The addition of Josh 5:13–15 subordinates the original introduction of Josh 6:1 to a parenthetical statement about Jericho, which fits uneasily in its present narrative context (cf. S. L.

Hall, 2010: 80; or R. S. Hess, 1996a: 128). The aim of the author, however, is that the private theophany to Joshua in Josh 5:13–15 is completed with the divine instruction in Josh 6:2–5 about how Joshua should undertake the public assault on Jericho. This strategy creates a theophany, which progresses from a private experience (5:13–15) to its public implications (6:1–5), as in the theophany to Moses. The inner-biblical links in motifs (divine messenger, sandals, holy ground) and in literary design (private experience of theophany to public commission) indicate that the author of Josh 5:13–15 is restructuring and contextualizing the destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27) with the story of Moses in the Pentateuch (Exod 3:1–4:17).

The distinctive form of the divine speech in Josh 5:13–15 and its purpose in providing a new introduction to the destruction of Jericho show that the theophany is a later addition that has changed both the plot structure and the literary horizon of the original story in Josh 6:1–27.

Nearly all interpreters agree that the procession of the ark around Jericho has undergone a history of composition. The selective review of scholarship summarized above illustrates the common solution of reducing an original narrative of the city's destruction to Joshua and the people, without the ark or the priests playing a role. Even those who would include more details in the original story, such as Wilcoxen (1968a: 49), recognize problems in the interaction of the priests with horns, the war shout of the people, and the rearguard in the procession. H. Seidel focuses more narrowly on the different horns and those who play them as yet another possible window in the history of composition (1977). In addition to the ambiguity surrounding the priests and the horns, some problems of duplication also run throughout the story, including the blast of the horns (6:16, 20) and the destruction of the city (6:21, 24). The variety of solutions has prompted literary critics to play down (R. B. Robinson, 1993) or even reject (S. L. Hall, 2010: 91–111) a history of composition. Van der Meer (2009) has recently simplified the history of composition into two stages, in which an original version of the story includes the ark, but not the priests (6:2–3, 5, 7, 10–11, 14–15, 16b–17, 20b–24a, 25), and is revised by Priestly writers who insert themselves into the story (6:4, 6, 8–9, 12–13, 16a, 18–20a, 24b). I follow van der Meer in general, with the modification that the priests also play a role in the original version of the story in carrying the ark in the procession.

Comparison of the MT and the LXX confirms a history of composition well into the Hellenistic period. The most significant differences between the versions concerns the procession around Jericho and the role of the priests. The priests are absent in the divine command to Joshua in the LXX (6:2–3, 5) but prominent in the MT (6:4). The order of the procession is also different in the two versions, with the LXX describing three groups (warriors, priests carrying the ark, and priests with trumpets at the rear) and the MT four (warriors, priest with trumpets, priests carrying the ark, and a rearguard). The ark, on the other hand, plays a central role in both the MT and the LXX versions of the story. The LXX refers to the ark five times and always as the "ark of the covenant" (Josh 6:8, 9, 11, 12, 13), while the MT refers to the ark nine times with a variety of terms, including the "ark" (6:4, 9), the "ark of Yahweh" (6:7, 11, 12 [twice], 13), and the "ark of the covenant" (6:6, 8). Despite their differences, each version places the ark at the center of the procession from the instruction of Joshua (6:6–10), through the procession on day one (6:11) and the six subsequent days (6:12–14), with the priests

carrying it (6:12). Although neither the MT nor the LXX provides a clear window into the original version of the destruction of Jericho, the similarities and differences suggest that the ark is part of the original narrative and that editors have changed the role of the priests in the history of composition.

In the "Comments" I identify two postpentateuchal stages of composition. The original narrative includes (1) the divine instruction to Joshua (6:1–3, 4b, 5a*b*b), (2) Joshua's instruction to the priests and people (6:6a, 7, 8a*a, ab**b, 9–10), (3) the procession around Jericho (6:11–12, 13a*b*b, 14–15), (4) the instruction on the ban (6:16–19), (5) the fall of the city walls (6:20), (6) the execution of the ban on the city (6:21–26), and (7) the idealization of Joshua (6:27). The reinterpretation of the destruction of Jericho incorporates into the narrative (1) the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15), (2) the addition to the procession of seven priests with seven rams' horns (*šôpĕrîm hayyôbĕlîm*) (6:4a, 6b, 8a*b**, 13a), and (3) the signal horn for the collapse of the walls of Jericho as the "blast of the ram's horn" (*bimšōk bĕqeren hayyôbēl*) (6:5a*a*).

DIVINE WARRIOR

The theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) and the destruction of Jericho (6:1–27) are interpreted as representing the institution of holy war and the tradition of the divine warrior in the earliest cultic rituals of Israel. The research of G. von Rad provides important background for this interpretation. He argued that the institution of holy war represents political and military activity from the cultic institutions of tribal Israel (1991: 39–134). F. M. Cross agreed but extended the research on holy war to include the tradition of Yahweh as the divine warrior, which he argued represents the earliest images of the Deity in ancient Israel (1973: 91–111). Cross concluded that the divine warrior is likely the central representation of the Deity in an ancient epic from the tribal period and that portions are preserved in the Hebrew Bible in such victory hymns as Exod 15, Deut 33, Judg 5, Hab 3, and Ps 68. These poems celebrate Yahweh as a warrior god, which is stated in Exod 15:3 with the exclamation, "Yahweh is a warrior." G. E. Wright agreed and added that the institution of holy war included a liturgy of ritual conquest in which the ark plays a central role, of which Ps 24:7–10 may be an example (1982: 28–32). Cross concludes that an interpretation of Ps 24:7–10 as a liturgy about the procession of the ark into the sanctuary "assumes a Canaanite myth-and-ritual pattern standing behind the Israelite rite reflected in the psalm" (1973: 93). The theophany to Joshua and the procession of the ark around Jericho in Josh 5:13–6:27 derive from this cultic tradition of holy war (Wright, 1982: 27, 72).

The Canaanite myth-and-ritual pattern to which Cross refers is the mythology of Baal's conflict with chaotic Sea (*KTU* 1.2–1.4), which progresses in the following manner: (1) the conflict between Baal and Sea over kingship in the setting of the council of the gods, (2) Baal's rebuke of the divine council, (3) the war and victory of Baal over Sea, and (4) the appearance of Baal in glory to the assembly of the gods (1973: 93). The pattern indicates that the genre of theophany, such as that of the prince of the army of Yahweh who appears to Joshua in Josh 5:13–15, is also rooted in the tradition of the divine warrior, since Baal manifests himself as the storm god after his victory over Sea (1973: 147–63). The original account of Yahweh as the divine warrior in the early epic of the exodus and the conquest follows the same pattern as the mythic cycle of Baal,

and it also combines the cultic institution of holy war with the genre of the theophany of the divine warrior. Therefore, it is not surprising that the earliest occurrences of the genre of theophany appear in the ancient poems of the divine warrior, where the same storm imagery from the Baal myth also appears (e.g., Exod 15; Deut 33:2f, 26–27; Hab 3:3–15; Ps 68:8–9, 18), indicating the close relationship between theophany and war in ancient cultic practice. Other motifs from the Canaanite mythology in the Israelite tradition of the divine warrior include the divine assembly, the heavenly hosts, and divine messengers (Cross, 1973: 147–63).

The story of the conquest in the book of Joshua is removed from the early epic tradition of Yahweh as the divine warrior, but it "preserves the flavor and even some details about the institution of Holy War" (Wright, 1982: 29). The theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) and the miraculous destruction of Jericho (6:1–27) are prime examples of the tradition of the divine warrior. Cross provides illustrations, noting that the motifs of the divine assembly, the heavenly hosts, and the divine messengers appear in Josh 5:13–15 when "at the beginning of the conquest proper, Joshua was confronted by the *śar ṣĕbā' yhwh,* 'the general of the (heavenly) army of Yahweh,' Joshua's cosmic counterpart" (1973: 70). P. D. Miller Jr. expanded the interpretation, stating that the theophany in Josh 5:13–15 is an ancient text that likely originates in a specific cultic locale; its central content is the holy war of the conquest; the prince of the army of Yahweh links the heavenly army with Israel's earliest holy wars; and the message of the divine being is that the conquest is a sacral action in which the Israelite army would be led by Yahweh's divine army (1973: 128–31). Joshua 6, according to Miller, represents a later idealized tradition of holy war, yet it too emphasizes the central role of the divine warrior and the important role of the people in participating through the war shout and the execution of the ban (1973: 150, 159).

The research underscores the themes of holy war and the divine warrior in Josh 5: 13–6:27 and the dependence of these themes on ancient Near Eastern literature. The antiquity and the cultic setting of the divine warrior, however, are increasingly questioned. F. Stolz (1972: 21–25) rejected the assumption of von Rad (1991: 39–134) that holy war is part of the tribal cult or that it shapes Israelite worship practice. He argued instead that it represents literary and theological reflection on war, as opposed to cultic practice (see also Smend, 1970: 13–25). The same criticism emerges in the evaluation of the genre of theophany. Savran writes that the quest for the origins of the genre in the ancient poetry of the divine warrior has led to forced interpretations, in which the militaristic imagery of the storm god is overly emphasized, as in fact it is nearly absent in most theophany narratives (2005: 1). As mentioned above, he favors the literary category of "type-scene" rather than genre to characterize a theophany as a story of sudden divine appearance that signals change in a character, where the focus is the experience of revelation itself. These stories, he concludes, are not tied to an *Urform* but develop intertextually (2005: 5–30). The emerging research on the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) and the procession of the ark in the destruction of Jericho (6:1–27) points away from a cultic background for interpretation.

The theme of the divine warrior in Josh 5:13–6:27 becomes even more prominent when research is restricted to a literary study. The conclusion of Savran, for example, that the type-scenes of theophany lack militaristic imagery serves to accentuate its presence in Josh 5:13–15, since it is unexpected. The appearance of the prince of the army of

Yahweh with sword drawn is explicitly militaristic and thus clearly meant to be a theophany of the divine warrior. Van Seters (1990: 10–11), following M. Rose (1981: 59–64), adds to the militaristic focus of the text when he notes that the combination of the theophany (5:13–15) and the divine instruction (6:1–5) to Joshua models a vision report to King Ashurbanipal at the outset of his campaign against Elam, in which the goddess Ishtar first appears with bow, quiver, and sword and then delivers the message, "Wait with the attack; for wherever you intend to go, I am ready to go" (*ANET* 606). The parallels indicate literary borrowing from the tradition of war visions in the construction of Josh 5:13–6:5. Fleming reinforces this conclusion in the interpretation of the seven-day procession around Jericho in Josh 6:6–20. When comparing this procession with the Ugaritic story of Keret, he concludes, "seven-day intervals belong to the sacred time of a military campaign undertaken by divine command" (1999: 212–13). The parallel suggests a "narration of a popular heritage infused with Yahweh's mighty acts, not narrowly defined cultic practice" (1999: 213). Bieberstein builds on this conclusion by shifting the focus from ancient Near Eastern literature to the Hebrew Bible. In his comparison of Josh 5:13–15 with the theophany to Moses (Exod 3) and with the more militaristic appearances of the divine messenger with drawn sword to Balaam (Num 23: 22) and David (1 Chr 21:1), he too concludes that the composition of Josh 5:13–15 and the present form of Josh 5:13–6:27 do not represent local cultic tradition, but are instead more general literary compositions that could be written as late as the Hellenistic period (1995: 413–18). I return to the intertextual study of the theophany to Joshua and other accounts of theophany in the "Comments."

Comments

5:13–6:5. THEOPHANY AND INSTRUCTION ON HOLY WAR

Joshua undergoes three phases of enlightenment in his experience of theophany, which unfolds through a question-and-answer format. In the first two Joshua questions the divine figure, which prompts a response that reveals the nature of holy war. The third phase contains only a divine speech to Joshua that clarifies the ritual process of waging war. The three-part structure includes (1) the initial encounter between Joshua and the divine warrior (vv. 13–14a), (2) the identification of Jericho as holy ground (vv. 14b–15), and (3) the instructions for waging holy war (6:1–5).

Encounter with the Divine Warrior

The theophany to Joshua begins in Josh 5:13–14a as a mystical encounter with a divine being in the city of Jericho: "And when Joshua was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes and he saw" (see the "Notes"). What Joshua sees is a "man" (Hebrew, *'iš;* Greek, *anthropon*) with a drawn sword in his hand. The identification of the divine being as a "man" recalls Jacob's night struggle at the Jabbok River, where a divine being is also described as a "man" in a story that signals transformation (Gen 32:24). But the parallels end at this point. The image of a drawn sword (*wĕḥarbô šĕlûpâ*) represents a warrior and thus moves the encounter of Joshua in a different direction from the Jacob story. The sword as a symbol of war is central to the theophany and common throughout the Hebrew Bible. Joab, for example, reports the census of warriors to David as including "eight

hundred thousand soldiers able to draw the sword" (2 Sam 24:9). The act of drawing a sword, moreover, indicates the intention of killing someone, as in Saul's words to his armor bearer, "Draw your sword and kill me" (1 Sam 9:54). Thus Joshua's vision is of a man in a military stance prepared to attack him with a sword—an image that more or less mirrors himself. This is the second reference to swords in the book of Joshua. The first was the "swords of stone" (*ḥarbôt ṣūrîm*)—the primitive swords that Joshua uses to circumcise the Israelites (Josh 5:2–3). The transition from the swords of stone to the drawn sword signals a change in theme from the ritual of the identity of the Israelites to the execution of war against the "other." The sword as a symbol of executing the ban in war is prominent in the book from this point forward (e.g., Josh 6:21; 8:24; 10:28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39; 11:10, 11, 12, 14). The initial statement of Joshua reinforces the war imagery: "Are you for us or for our adversaries?" The question provides insight into his perspective on war, which is to reduce the world to two options: friend or foe.

The central aim of a theophany is often to change the worldview of a character by enlightening the person through mysteries that exceed everyday perception. The theophany of Joshua is no exception. The response of the man with the drawn sword in v. 14a begins the process of reframing Joshua's perspective on war by rejecting the framework of his question, which is limited to human conflict that divides all people into friend or foe. The negative particle, "No," that begins the response is puzzling when viewed within the framework of Joshua's question. To which part of the question does the negation apply—to the friend or to the foe? The ambiguity indicates that the negation is not meant to answer Joshua's question at all; rather, it is the rejection of the question itself and with it Joshua's perspective of reducing war to "friend or foe." In its place, the warrior imposes a larger divine reality with the identification, "For I am the prince of the army of Yahweh." The identification introduces holiness into war, which Joshua's question excluded. The identification clarifies that the man with the drawn sword is a divine warrior, who represents God in war, not humans, and thus sides with neither friend nor foe.

The self-identification of the divine warrior is a literary creation that borrows from a range of motifs in the Hebrew Bible. The appearance of a divine mediator recalls the tradition of the "messenger of Yahweh" (*mala'k yhwh* or *mala'k hā'ĕlōhîm*). The messenger appears in the theophanies to Moses (Exod 3:1) and Gideon (Judg 6:11–12), which are similar in many ways to that in the story of Joshua. The messenger of Yahweh also represents the Deity in the conquest of the promised land (e.g., Exod 23:20, 23; Judg 2:1–5), which again corresponds to the setting of the war against Jericho. The messenger even appears with a drawn sword to threaten Balaam (Num 22:31) and David after his census of the nation (1 Chr 21:16). All of these themes loom in the background of the theophany to Joshua, but they do not exhaust the symbolic representation of the divine warrior. The title "prince of the army of Yahweh" includes more specific military imagery that is also important to the book of Joshua. The term "prince of the army" is used frequently to describe military commanders or generals, including Phicol (Gen 21:22–23), Sisera (Judg 4:7), Shobach (2 Sam 10:6), Abner (1 Sam 17:55), and Joab (1 Kgs 11:15). Divine beings, such as the angel Michael, the "great prince" (Dan 10:21; 12:1), can also have the title. The phrase "prince of the army" may even refer to the Deity (Dan 8:11). The combination of images underscores the central role of the Deity as a divine warrior in the book of Joshua.

Jericho as Holy Ground

The revelation to Joshua continues in a second round of question and answer in vv. 14b–15. Joshua's initial insight into the divine realm of holy war prompts an act of worship, which leads to a new question that springs from his larger worldview: "What does my lord say to his servant?" The answer probes further into the nature of holy war by clarifying the sacred status of the "foe" in Jericho: "Remove your sandal from your foot, because the place [*māqôm*] upon which you are standing, it is holy." Fritz explains that the removal of sandals may represent a rite of self-abasement and perhaps even the mystical way in which humans enter the spirit world barefoot (1994: 65). Commentators recognize, furthermore, that the command is a repetition from the theophany to Moses, where the messenger of Yahweh also states, "Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place [*māqôm*] in which you are standing is holy ground [*'admat qōdeš*]" (Exod 3:5). Despite the clear parallel, the meaning of the repetition is debated. Most would agree with S. L. Hall that the shared experience of theophany idealizes Joshua as the successor of Moses (2010: 88–90). But does the author intend more from the repetition?

The combination of the Hebrew *māqôm,* "place," and *qōdeš,* "holy," usually indicates a sanctuary, as in the description of the tabernacle in Priestly literature (e.g., Exod 29:31; Lev 6:9) or the temple in Ezekiel (e.g., Ezek 42:13). On this basis, E. J. Hamlin concludes that the revelation to Joshua is about a specific cultic site, where he encounters the divine in the vicinity of Jericho (1983: 41). Knauf expands the identification of a holy place to be the entire promised land, as is implied, for example, in Jer 2:7 (2008: 67). Boling and Wright move in a different direction, suggesting that the reference to "place" underscores the significance of the religious experience of holiness and that a more specific location plays no role in the story (1982: 72, 198). The rejection of a specific cultic site by Jericho would appear to be correct, but the motif of "place" in Hebrew represents location, not abstract experience. The identification of the land as the location of holiness may be possible, but it lacks support in the text and in the book of Joshua, where the land is never declared to be holy. The setting of Jericho, however, makes the identification of the holy place explicit; it is the city. In this case, the revelation to Joshua is that God claims the city and in so doing makes it a holy site. The identification immediately raises the question of how a Canaanite city-state could be identified as a "holy place" in the Hebrew Bible, since it could not be a cultic place of worship to Yahweh. It could, however, acquire a holy status if it were placed under the ban as a sacrifice to Yahweh. This is the intended meaning of the author.

The parallel revelations of a "holy place" to Moses and Joshua explore the two sides of holiness in the Hebrew Bible, as a divine power that can either purge or destroy. The ark illustrates this two-sided quality: It has the power to purge Israelites in the ritual of atonement (Lev 16), but it can also kill upon contact, as in the case of Uzzah (1 Sam 6:6–11). The theophanies of Moses and Joshua explore the same dynamic. The holy place revealed to Moses identifies the Mountain of God where the Israelites eventually undergo ritual purification through worship, while the divine claim on Jericho as a holy place is the basis for the execution of the ban. Comparison of the two theophanies illustrates their distinct perspectives on holiness. The repetition in Exod 3:5 and Josh 3:15 is not exact. In the theophany to Moses, the messenger of Yahweh commands him to remove his sandals because the place (*māqôm*) on which he

stands is "holy ground" (*'admat-qōdeš*). "Holy ground" refers to the sacred character of the Mountain of God (*har hā'ĕlōhîm*) upon which Moses has unwittingly trespassed while herding his flock (Exod 3:1). The cosmic mountain, which provides the cultic background of the theophany of Moses, returns in the story of the exodus and wilderness journey to become the setting for the tabernacle sanctuary (Exod 19–40) and the purification of the Israelite people (Leviticus). The setting of the cosmic mountain is replaced in the theophany of Joshua by the city of Jericho, which is described simply as "holy" (*qōdeš hû'*). The absence of the motif of "holy ground" moves the theophany away from a cultic interpretation of the Israelite sanctuary or even the promised land as in Zech 2:16 (Eng. 12), where "holy ground" (*'admat-hāqqōdeš*) is expanded from the sanctuary to include the land. The holy status of Jericho signals the divine claim on the city through the execution of the ban. Jericho's holy status is the second stage of Joshua's enlightenment in holy war; it shows that the destruction of the enemy is not a battle between friend and foe, but a sacrifice to Yahweh.

Instruction for Holy War

The cycle of questions and answers on the nature of holy war (5:13–15) gives way to a divine speech on how Joshua should wage war against Jericho (6:1–5). Thus, what was the introduction to the destruction of Jericho in an earlier version of the story (6:1–5) becomes the culmination of the theophany to Joshua in the present form of the text (5:13–6:5). The merging of the distinct compositions is still evident in the original introduction to Jericho's destruction in Josh 6:1 and in the change of speaker from the "prince of the army of Yahweh" in Josh 5:13–15 to "Yahweh" in Josh 6:2. The two compositions also continue into the divine instructions. The original instruction is a seven-day procession that culminates with the priests blowing the "horns" (*šôpĕrôt*), the people shouting, and the walls of Jericho falling (6:1–3, 4b, 5a*b*b). The author of Josh 5:13–15 reinterprets the destruction of Jericho as a theophany with two additions: (1) the motif of seven priests who blow seven instruments, described as "rams' horns" (*šôpĕrôt hayyôbĕlîm*) in Josh 6:4a, 5a*a,* and (2) the signal for the collapse of the city's walls at the blast of the "ram's horn" (*bimšōk bĕqeren hayyôbēl*) in Josh 6:5a*b.*

The original version of the divine instruction includes five motifs: (1) the procession around Jericho one time for six days (6:3), (2) the procession around Jericho seven times on day seven (6:4a*b*), (3) the priests blowing the *šôpĕrôt* horns (6:4b), (4) the people hearing the sound of the *šôper* horn (*qôl haššôpār*) and shouting (6:5a*b*), and (5) the walls of Jericho collapsing (6:5b). Although the ark is not specifically included in the instructions, its central role in the fulfillment of the divine commands indicates its function in the original narrative (e.g., MT, 6:6; LXX, 6:8). Two motifs in particular provide insight into the meaning of this version of the story: the seven-day structure of the procession and the *šôpĕrôt* horns.

The seven-day cycle is prominent in ancient Near Eastern literature and in the Hebrew Bible. Fleming (1999: 212–13) identifies the seven-day procession as a motif of war in the Ugaritic story of Keret. He recognizes the same theme in the seven-day procession around Jericho and suggests that the period of seven days may be the conventional way of describing siege warfare in the ancient Near East (1999: 226). The motif also appears in the war between Ahab and Ben-Hadad, where the Deity again plays a prominent role in the Israelite victory: "They encamped opposite one another seven

days. Then on the seventh day the battle began" (1 Kgs 20:29). This battle, moreover, also results in the collapse of a wall that kills twenty-seven thousand men. The blowing of the horns in Josh 6:4b, 20b to signal the attack on Jericho further reinforces the theme of war. A prominent function of the horns is their role in signaling the beginning (e.g., 1 Sam 13:3; 2 Sam 20:1) and the end (e.g., 2 Sam 2:28; 18:16) of war. Gideon's instruction provides an example where the blowing of the horns is also accompanied by the war shout: "When I blow the trumpet, I and all who are with me, then you also blow the trumpets around the whole camp, and shout, 'For Yahweh and for Gideon'" (Judg 7:18; see also Neh 4:14 [Eng. 2]). The pattern of seven, the processing in war, and the blowing of horns is also prominent in the Qumran War Scroll (e.g., 1QM V 16; VI 1, 4; VIII 1–9; IX 3; XVI 3, 7, 8). And the pattern of seven appears throughout the narrative in Joshua beyond the theme of processing around the city. Noort, for example, recognizes the importance of the number seven in the seven speeches in the narrative (1996: 274). Van der Meer notes further the occurrence in the story of the key motifs "to encircle" and "to shout" seven times (2009: 30).

The motifs of seven days and the blowing of the horn may have an even broader meaning in the destruction of Jericho; it may also be functioning inner-biblically with the Priestly teaching on Jubilee in Lev 25, as noted by Hawk (2000: 94). The point of contact between the Jubilee and the destruction of Jericho is the use of seven times seven, or forty-nine. The Jubilee is the seventh year times seven years (Lev 25:8), while the destruction of Jericho is on the seventh day after the people process seven times (Josh 6:4b). The number forty-nine is signaled in each case with the sound of the horn (Lev 25:9; Josh 6:4b). In the legislation of the Jubilee, the sound of the horn occurs on the Day of Atonement (Lev 25:9), when it signals the return of the land to its natural state (Lev 25:11) and the giving back of lost property to the original owners (Lev 25:10). The Jubilee redemption of land does not apply to property in cities: "A house that is in a walled city . . . shall not be released in the jubilee" (Lev 25:30). Only unwalled property "may be redeemed, and . . . released in the jubilee" (Lev 25:31). The Jubilee law provides important background for interpreting the destruction of the walls of Jericho. The collapse of the walls after seven circumambulations of the city on the seventh day allows for the enactment of the Jubilee law on the city. The case of Jericho functions as a paradigm in the book of Joshua for war against all the cities of the promised land. The divine action of eliminating the walled cities allows for the return of the promised land to its natural state as is required on the Jubilee, while the execution of the ban gives the cities back to God.

The author of the theophany to Joshua (5:13–15) reinterprets the destruction of Jericho as a theophany to the people. The reinterpretation is accomplished with the addition of two motifs to the ritual procession around Jericho: (1) Seven priests blow seven instruments, described as rams' horns (Josh 6:4a, 5a*a*), and (2) the "blast of the ram's horn" (6:5a*b*) signals the collapse of the walls of Jericho. The addition of seven priests blowing seven rams' horns reinforces the background of the law of Jubilee from Lev 25. An even more explicit tie to Lev 25 is the creation of the unique musical instrument, the ram's horn, from the word "jubilee" (*yôbēl*). This instrument appears only in the additions to the procession around Jericho (6:4a, 5a*a,* 8, 13) and nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. It is a literary creation to reinforce the interpretation of the collapse of Jericho's walls as the enactment of the Jubilee law.

The author also reinterprets the collapse of the walls as a theophany with the addition of the temporal clause in Josh 6:5a*b:* "And when there is a blast of the ram's horn." The use of *qeren,* "animal horn," with *yôbēl,* "jubilee," is used to designate a musical instrument only in this text, suggesting once again a literary creation for the purpose of reinterpretation, rather than the use of a traditional liturgical instrument. In this addition, the *yôbēl* is a clarification of the "sound of the horn" (*qôl hašôpār;* 6:5a*b*) that signaled the destruction of Jericho in the original version of the story. The *yôbēl* reinforces the ties to the law of Jubilee in Lev 25. But it does more; it also repeats the signal for the theophany at Mount Sinai, when the Deity instructs Moses in Exod 19:13, saying, "When there is a blast of the ram's horn [*bimšôk hayyôbēl*], they [Israel] may go up on the mountain." Exodus 19:13 and Josh 6:5a*b* are the only places in the Hebrew Bible where the *yôbēl* horn appears, making the connection between the theophany to Israel at Mount Sinai and collapse of the walls of Jericho explicit. The repetition repeats and extends the experience of theophany from the wilderness into the promised land, creating a Jubilee of land possession.

6:6–10. JOSHUA INSTRUCTS THE PRIESTS AND THE PEOPLE

The structure of this section diverges in the MT and the LXX (see the "Notes"). In the LXX most of Joshua's instruction is to the priests in vv. 6–9 concerning the procession around Jericho; only in v. 10 does he direct the people in the procedures of the war shout. The MT represents a more complex version that includes three speeches: two by Joshua (to the priests in v. 6 and to the people in vv. 8–10) and one by the priests to the people (v. 7). Both versions include the addition of the seven priests with seven horns, although the motif occurs twice in the MT (vv. 6 and 8) and only once in the LXX (v. 8). The commentary follows the MT.

The first speech of Joshua is to the priests in v. 6, who are commanded to "lift up the ark of the covenant" (v. 6a). The editor expands the command to include the seven priests with seven trumpets of rams' horns in the procession (v. 6b). Nelson expresses the view of many interpreters that the motif of the priests blowing trumpets reflects the view of Num 10:1–9, where the meaning of the different trumpet signals is explained (1997a: 94). Both texts clearly target the role of priests in the cultic life of postexilic Judaism, but it is noteworthy that the musical instruments are different in the two texts. The signals for marching, camping, going to war, and observing festivals in Num 10 are performed in all cases with trumpets (*ḥăṣôṣĕrōt;* Num 10:2, 8, 9, 10). The same trumpets reappear in the Priestly account of war against the Midianites (Num 31:6). These trumpets are also used to dedicate the foundation of the Jerusalem temple in Ezra 3:10 and the walls of Jerusalem in Neh 12:35, 41. The authors of Joshua do not refer to this musical instrument in describing the destruction of Jericho's walls. Both the original version of the destruction of Jericho (6:5) and the addition (6:4) lack any reference to the trumpets, even though it is clear from the literary ties to the Jubilee law in Lev 25 that both of the authors of Josh 5:13–6:27 are familiar with Priestly literature from the Pentateuch. The contrast in musical instruments may provide yet another small window into the distinct ideology of Joshua, in which the destruction of city

walls represents a holy action, in contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah, where the *construction* of Jerusalem's walls is dedicated to Yahweh. The destruction of the city walls may account for the literary creation of the horns rather than the traditional trumpets.

The priests prepare the people for the procession of the ark in v. 7 with language that repeats from the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3:1–5:12. Twice the motif of "crossing over" (*'ābar*) is used in relation to the city and the ark. The people are commanded to "cross over and surround the city," and the warriors must also "cross over before the ark of Yahweh." The commentary on Josh 3:1–6 underscores two meanings of the motif that are interwoven into the procession of the crossing of the Jordan: war and revelation. Both meanings continue in the destruction of Jericho. Crossing over before the ark underscores the revelatory quality of the holy war against Jericho, while the actions of crossing and surrounding the city signify the siege of Jericho as a ritual event (Fleming, 1999: 218). R. B. Robinson (1993: 322) reinforces the conclusion, noting that the militaristic word "to surround" (*sābab*) can also describe a procession (e.g., Pss 26:6; 48:13).

The speech of Joshua in vv. 8–10 is awkward. The problem is that the present form of the procession in vv. 8a*b*–9 is overloaded with information, especially regarding the role of the seven priests with seven horns, which has caused the introduction (v. 8a*a*) and the speech (v. 10) of Joshua to be detached from each other. The central point of Joshua's speech to the people in v. 10 is the command that the people not cry out in the procession around Jericho until his signal. The noteworthy feature of Joshua's command is its content. It is not really a command for silence; rather, it is a command that the people "not cry out" (*lō' tārî'û*), which receives two additional clarifications: (1) that their voice is not heard (*wĕlō'-tašmî'û 'et-qôlĕkem*) and (2) that not a single word "go forth from your mouth" (*wĕlō'-yēṣē' mippîkem dābār*). The command "to cry out" (*rw'*) occurs nearly equally in two contexts: as a war shout (e.g., Judg 7:21; 15:14; Hos 5:8) and as cultic praise (e.g., Pss 41:2; 66:1). Both meanings may be functioning in the story, since the aim of the command is directed to the culmination of the shout in v. 20, which accompanies the collapse of the walls of Jericho, as noted by Fleming (1999: 218). This shout could certainly be interpreted as both a war whoop and praise to Yahweh for the miraculous defeat of the city. This is the interpretation of Butler, who describes the shout during the collapse of the city walls as a "cultic moment" (1983: 69). The closest parallel to the command of Joshua in v. 10, however, in Isa 15:4, emphasizing the setting of war, when the defeat of Moab is described with both the motifs of "crying out" and of "letting one's voice be heard" to describe terror in the face of defeat. For the emphasis on terror in war, see A. Malamat (1983: 20) and F.-M. Abel (1949: 325–26).

6:11–26. PROCESSION OF THE ARK AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF JERICHO

The destruction of Jericho takes place over a seven-day period, which is structured into three parts by days: (1) day 1 establishes the theme of the story by introducing the procession of the ark of Yahweh between the two settings of the camp and the city (v. 11); (2) days 2–6 shift the focus from the conflict between camp and city to describe the details of the procession of the ark (vv. 12–14); and (3) day 7 describes the triumph of

the camp over the city through the collapse of the city walls, the execution of the ban on the urban residents, and the concluding curse on any future building of the walled city (vv. 15–26).

Camp Versus the City

The first day of the holy war against Jericho (6:11) introduces the central motifs of the plot: the ark of Yahweh, the camp (*maḥăneh*), and the city (*'îr*): "And the ark of Yahweh went around the city in a circle one time. And they entered the camp and they spent the night in the camp." The verse is structured in such a way that the "camp" and the "city" are set against each other, with the ark of Yahweh moving between the two poles—laying siege to the city while resting in the camp. The LXX describes the ark as sleeping in the camp. The camp appears three times before the siege of Jericho, as the setting for the preparation of the conquest (1:11) and the crossing of the Jordan (3:2), and as the location for purifying the people in the rite of circumcision (5:8). The camp takes on a more prominent role in Joshua 6, where it is twice contrasted to the city (6:11, 14). The camp is also quarantined from the manufactured objects in Jericho that become booty after the destruction of the city (6:18), and it is restricted from being a residence for Rahab (6:23). The polarity of camp and city accentuates a central theme in the book of Joshua between rural and urban that is manifested in a religious conflict between aniconic worship, on the one hand, and the manufactured images and metal objects that are associated with kings and city-states, on the other. The infiltration of such vessels into the camp is taboo (6:18). The destruction of the walls of Jericho and the execution of the ban on its urban citizens and manufactured objects are intended to be paradigmatic stories in the book of Joshua of the triumph of the camp over the city. H. N. Schneidau elaborates on the critique of the city: "The entry into the promised land is effected by the destruction of the world's oldest city, Jericho, which stands against the Hebrews as Troy to the Greeks, but not as a prize: all its riches are treated as unclean and infectious" (1976: 5–6). The conflict returns in the masquerade of the Gibeonites (9:6) and in Joshua's war against the northern kings in Josh 10, where the contrast between the camp at Gilgal and the kings is underscored four times (10:6, 15, 21, 43) (see the "Comments" on Josh 9:6).

The Destruction of Jericho and the Curse on City-Builders

The events surrounding the destruction of the walls of Jericho are tightly interwoven; they include the procession around the city seven times (vv. 15–16a), the shout and the collapse of the walls (v. 20), and the curse on any future builder of the city (v. 26). The procession in vv. 15–16a lacks the editing that was evident in the previous occurrences (6:4, 8, 13); it includes only the priests who blow the horns, without the larger entourage of seven priests with the seven horns. This may be intentional on the part of the editor, since the blowing of the horns in this procession signals the war shout in v. 20, as opposed to the more general processions on days 1–6. When vv. 15–16a and 20 are read together, it is clear that the war shout follows the blowing of the *šôpĕrôt* horns, after the command of Joshua in v. 16b:

1. And on the seventh time the priests blew the horns (v. 16a)
2. And Joshua said to the people, "Shout!" (v. 16b)
3. So the people shouted (v. 20a*a*)

The review of scholarship underscores that the syntax of v. 20 has puzzled interpreters at least from the time of Wellhausen (1899: 123). There is a shift within the verse from the singular to the plural in reference to the people, which is so deeply interwoven that it is likely more a matter of literary style than composition. More problematic is the internal repetition in v. 20, in which the people shout (v. 20a*a*) in response to the blowing of horns (v. 16ba) and the command by Joshua (v. 16b), and then the entire sequence repeats in v. 20a*b*b with the blowing of the horns, the people hearing it, shouting, the walls falling down, and the people advancing on the city. The general consensus among interpreters is that the verse contains either two versions of the collapse of the walls or is the result of editorial expansion. The larger context argues against both of these conclusions. The shout of the people in v. 20a*a* functions as a resumption of the main narrative after the long digression of Joshua's instruction about executing the ban in vv. 17–19. A similar technique occurs in the extended speech of Joshua in Josh 6:8–10. Once the plot is resumed with the reference to the war shout (v. 20a*a*), the author lingers in v. 20a*b*b to elaborate the sequence of events surrounding the collapse of the city walls, since this incident is at the center of the narrative and signals the Jubilee of the land.

The motif of the "wall" goes beyond the imagery of the Jubilee to include broader social, political, and religious meaning. L. Mumford shows the important role of the city, including its temple and wall, to be an expression of power associated with the monarch (1961: 65). The wall functions as a military device against the outside world; it "established a clean, formal contrast between town and country," so that "by its very form the city was an assertion of the collective will to dominate the land" (1961: 66). The prologue to the Gilgamesh Epic encapsulates the mythology of the city and its walls in celebrating the deeds of the hero-king, Gilgamesh, who founded Uruk:

> He restored the holy Eanna Temple and the massive
> wall of Uruk, which no city on earth can equal.
> See how its ramparts gleam like copper in the sun.
> Climb the stone staircase, more ancient than the mind can imagine,
> approach the Eanna Temple, sacred to Ishtar,
> a temple that no king has equaled in size or beauty,
> walk on the wall of Uruk, follow its course
> around the city, inspect its mighty foundations,
> examine its brickwork, how masterfully it is built.
> (trans. S. Mitchell, 2004: 69)

The same imagery of the walled city continues in the Hebrew Bible (J. D. W. Watts, 2001: 210–12). It represents "the embodiment of the divine presence and the king's reign, manifestations of the fundamental unity of god, king, and people" (M. Nissinen, 2001: 208). The power of Solomon, for example, is indicated by his ability to construct a wall around Jerusalem (1 Kgs 3:1). Kings sit (2 Sam 18:24) and walk (2 Kgs 6:26) on the city walls. The security of the divine presence in the city temple is tied to the fortification of Jerusalem's wall in Ps 48, whose language resembles the praise of Uruk in the prologue to the Gilgamesh Epic: "Walk about Zion, go all around it, count its towers, consider well its ramparts; go through its citadels, that you may tell the next generation that this is God" (Ps 48:13–15a*a*). Conversely, the breach of the city wall signals the defeat of kings in war. The theme is prominent in the Oracles Against the

Nations (Amos 1:14; Isa 25:12; Jer 50:15; 51:12, 44, 58). The destruction of Jerusalem is also described with the same imagery of sacking its walls (2 Kgs 25:4, 10; Jer 39:8; 52:7), hence the prayer: "Do good to Zion in your good pleasure; rebuild the walls of Jerusalem" (Ps 51:18). The book of Nehemiah is predicated on the lament, "You see the trouble we are in, how Jerusalem lies in ruins with its gates burned" (2:17), requiring the rebuilding (Neh 3–5) and consecration (Neh 12) of the walls of Jerusalem.

The author of Joshua does not share the social-political point of view that kings and city-states with fortified walls provide security; nor does the author share the religious conviction of Nehemiah that the presence of Yahweh in the land requires rebuilding and consecrating the walls of Jerusalem. The perspective of the author of Joshua is closer to that of 1 Kgs 9:15, where the construction of the walls of Jerusalem is equated with slave labor, or of Ezek 38:11, where life in a land of unwalled cities is idealized as quiet and safe, far removed from the warring of kings. The miraculous collapse of the walls of Jericho by the procession of the ark brings the author's sociopolitical and religious convictions together into one event. For this reason, the author lingers on the destruction of the city's walls in v. 20a*b*b—the image is paradigmatic for the entire book since it leads to rest from war in the land (Josh 11:23). Thus, the destruction of the city walls of Jericho is sealed with a curse in v. 26 directed at anyone who rebuilds the city. The meaning of the curse is somewhat ambiguous, but it appears to mean that the builder of the city will suffer the loss of children from undertaking the activity (see the "Notes").

S. Gevirtz (1963) notes Hittite texts in which cities are cursed after being destroyed, as well as examples from Greek battles reported in Strabo (*Geography* VI. XIII I 42), who describes the practice as an ancient custom. Gevirtz describes a pattern in which cities are sacked, burned, consecrated, and cursed (1963: 62). The destruction of Jericho follows the pattern, with the execution of the ban representing the consecration of the city. But Gevirtz's study provides few examples from comparative literature despite the reference to Strabo, while the cursing of Jericho is unique in the Hebrew Bible. It represents an extreme point of view that other authors do not share. The closest parallel is Deut 28, which describes foreign invasion as one of the curses for disobedience: "It [a nation] shall besiege you in all of your gates until your high and fortified walls, in which you trusted, come down throughout your land" (28:52). The author of Deuteronomy idealizes cities in the promised land and uses the curse as a threat of punishment for disobedience. The author of Joshua does not interpret the destruction of the city, whether Israelite or Canaanite, as a punishment for disobedience. All cities must simply be destroyed, as holy places that are given over to God as a sacrifice in the execution of the ban. Their destruction inaugurates the Jubilee, with the Israelites dwelling in a camp. The only cities allowed in the promised land in Joshua are for Levitical religious centers (Josh 21) and for judicial proceedings (Josh 20). The inclusion in the LXX version of 1 Kgs 16:34 into the story to fulfill the curse suggests that not even the Greek translator agrees with the extreme anti-city ideology of the author of the MT version of Joshua.

Execution of the Ban

The ban is woven into the story as command (vv. 16b–19) and fulfillment (vv. 21–25). Each section is divided into three parts: (1) the execution of the ban (vv. 17a and 21), (2) the sparing of Rahab (vv. 17b and 22–23), and (3) the giving of booty to the treasury

of Yahweh (vv. 19 and 24). The section narrating the fulfillment of the ban in vv. 21–25 extends beyond the command of Joshua in vv. 16b–19 to describe the exclusion of the clan of Rahab from the camp, even though they become residents in the promised land (v. 25). This motif emphasizes once again the central role of the camp in the story as a place of identity with exclusive boundaries that restrict non-Israelites from residency—even the clan of Rahab.

Rahab introduces the theme of the ban in the book of Joshua (2:10) in her confession to the spies, when she acknowledges the power of Yahweh in the execution of the ban against Sihon and Og. This insight and the rescue of the spies are the basis for her negotiation to be exempted from the absolute claims of the ban (2:12–21). The oath of rescue is fulfilled in Josh 6:17b, 22–23, bringing the theme of her survival in the promised land to its conclusion. The author states that she and her clan "live in the midst of Israel until this day."

Rahab is often paired with the Gibeonites, who also survive the absolute claims of the ban in Josh 9. The parallel includes the clan of Rahab and the Gibeonites as the only indigenous nations to survive the ban, and the quality of each as tricksters. The similarities invite further comparison, which accentuates the very different functions of Rahab and the Gibeonites in the book of Joshua. In the story of Rahab (Josh 2), the Israelites penetrate Jericho, where they encounter the prostitute. She functions as a trickster, but only in her relationship with the king of Jericho, not with the spies. In the role of trickster to the king, Rahab saves the spies and negotiates her exclusion from the ban. This is fulfilled in Josh 6 when she is spared from the execution of the ban on Jericho and lives permanently at rest in the promised land outside of the camp. The Gibeonites contrast to Rahab in nearly all aspects. They penetrate the camp of Israel, as compared with the reverse dynamic of the spies who penetrated the city: "They went to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal" (9:6). They trick Joshua and the Israelite elders by appearing to be nonurban nomads from a distant land (9:4–5), as opposed to Rahab, who tricked the king of Jericho in order to save the spies. The trick of the Gibeonites leads to an oath of exemption from the ban, where the securing of the oath is part of the trick (9:15), as compared with Rahab, where the oath is the result of having tricked the king of Jericho to save the spies. Although the Gibeonites survive the ban, they are cursed by Joshua for deceiving him (9:23) and become slaves of the temple, as opposed to Rahab, who dwells in peace outside of the Israelite camp. The contrasts illustrate the different fate of the indigenous people who survive the ban, while also underscoring once again the important role of the setting of the camp in contrast to the city.

The motif of the booty is also important in the execution of the ban on Jericho (6:19, 24) and points ahead to the sin of Achan in Josh 7. Joshua singles out the metals of gold, silver, and bronze and designates them as "holy to Yahweh" (*qōdeš hû' layhwh*), indicating that the manufactured objects from the city are sacred and also under the ban. These precious metals contrast to the uncut stone knives that Joshua used for circumcision (5:2). The metal objects must be given to the treasury of the house of Yahweh (6:24). The phrase "treasury of the house of Yahweh" (*'ôsar bêt-yhwh*) is surprising, since Yahweh has no house or temple in the narrative world of the book of Joshua, or at least in the story of the extermination of the cities in Josh 1–12. The Tent of Meeting appears one time at Shiloh (Josh 18:1), and a sanctuary of Yahweh at Shechem is also noted at the conclusion of the book (24:26).

The "treasury of Yahweh" could be a metaphorical reference to heaven, as in Deut 28:2, in which case the metal objects would be destroyed. But the specific reference to the "house of Yahweh" is usually a temple. Boling and Wright speculate that the reference may have been to a temple at Gilgal (1982: 209), but there is no such reference in the Hebrew Bible. Most of the occurrences, moreover, relate to the temple in Jerusalem (e.g., 1 Kgs 7:51; 14:26; 2 Kgs 14:14; 16:8). Fritz (1994: 73) adds that the subject matter of booty or dedicated gifts for the treasury of the temple of God is especially close to the language of Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 9:26; 26:20, 22, 24; 2 Chr 5:1; 16:2; 36:18). Schwienhorst agrees and identifies the composition as postexilic on the basis of the literary parallels (1986: 126). Knauf characterizes the motif of the "treasury" as a supplement to Torah, which for the Samaritans is the temple on Mount Gerizim (2008: 72). The point of the author, however, may simply be to create a contrast to the "treasury of the king" that also appears in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:26; 2 Kgs 16:8; 18:15; 20:15; 1 Chr 27:25; 2 Chr 12:9; 36:18). The ideology of the author of Joshua is clearly antimonarchic. The "king's chest," moreover, designates the role of temples to serve as financial centers for the Neo-Babylonian and Persian administrations, as reflected in Nehemiah (7:70, 71). J. Schaper concludes that the "king's chest" allowed the colonial powers to maintain control of outlying regions by having temples like Jerusalem function as outlets of imperial revenue (1995: 539). The author of Joshua would certainly oppose such a social, political, and religious structure.

6:27. IDEALIZATION OF JOSHUA

The destruction of Jericho concludes by turning the spotlight back on Joshua to idealize his leadership: "His fame was in all the land." The translation "fame," from the Hebrew *šŏm'ô,* "the hearing of him," suggests rumor or word-of-mouth reports. The Gibeonites use the same term to describe the fame of Yahweh that reached them in a distant land (9:9). The idealization of Joshua is prominent from the outset of the book. The Deity promises Joshua divine presence like that of Moses (1:5, 8, 17). Joshua is idealized before the Israelites as a leader like Moses in the crossing of the Jordan (3:7; 4:14). S. L. Hall recognizes a range of motifs that characterize Joshua as a multifaceted leader in the story, including warrior, one who exercises the power of life and death in the execution of the ban, ritual specialist, and even prophetic speaker (2010: 91–111).

Sacrilege of Achan (7:1–26)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The story of Achan's theft of booty describes the central threat to the presence of God in the book of Joshua; it represents an act of sacrilege. The scope of the sin of sacrilege comes into focus when it is read in three different contexts.

The first context is the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8. The story of the ark in Josh 3–8 consists of four episodes: (1) the crossing of the Jordan River (3:1–5:12), (2) the destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27), (3) the intercession of Joshua for the presence of Yahweh after the sin of Achan (7:1–26), and (4) the writing of the Torah on stones at the covenant ceremony on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (8:1–35) (see the "Introduction"). Within this literary structure, the sacrilege of Achan is the third stage in the procession of the ark to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. Joshua intercedes for the presence of God before the ark after the sin of Achan: "And Joshua tore his garment and he fell on his face toward the land before the ark of Yahweh until evening, he and the elders of Israel" (7:6).

The second smaller literary context for interpreting the sacrilege of Achan (Josh 7) is the defeat of Ai (Josh 8). Both stories share the same location of Ai, and they use similar concluding etiologies, in which the executions of Achan (7:26) and the king of Ai (8:29) are both memorialized with "a great heap of stones, which remain until this day." J. Berman builds on the shared setting to conclude that the two stories mirror each other, forming a narrative analogy in which the trial of Achan parallels the war against Ai (2004: 31–54). C. T. Begg notes that Josh 7 and 8 also combine to follow the thematic structure of defection-disaster/return-restoration, as in the story of the calf and the ark in Deut 9–10 (1986: 326–27). Thus, when read together, the sacrilege of Achan (Josh 7) and the defeat of Ai (Josh 8) follow the thematic structure of disaster and restoration.

The third context for interpreting the sacrilege of Achan is the thematic pattern of divine presence in the Priestly (Exod 19–34) and the Deuteronomistic (Deut 9–10)

accounts of theophany. This pattern includes three parts: (1) the initial revelation of holiness as the basis for covenant, (2) the loss of divine presence from the threat of the golden calf, and (3) the renewal of covenant and the reestablishment of the cultic presence of God (see the "Introduction"). This literary pattern provides insight into the structure of disaster and restoration in Josh 7–8, as well as the function of the story in the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8. When the sacrilege of Achan (Josh 7) and the restoration of Israel in the defeat of Ai (Josh 8) are interpreted within the same three-part pattern, they narrate the themes of the loss and the renewal of divine presence in the book of Joshua, after the initial revelation of "El, the living," in the crossing of the Jordan (3:1–5:12) and of Yahweh, the divine warrior, in the destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27). The intercession of Joshua before the ark and the purging of the camp renew divine presence, allowing the ark to complete the procession to Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 8). The literary pattern shows that the sacrilege of Achan in the book of Joshua functions in a similar way to the story of the golden calf in the Pentateuch; it is intended to explore the central threat to the presence of Yahweh in the promised land.

Joshua 7 may be divided into four parts: (1) The story opens by weaving the theme of sacrilege with failure in holy war against Ai (vv. 1–5). The remainder of the narrative is fashioned into a ritual of the discovery and the extermination of the sacrilege. (2) It begins with the intercession of Joshua before the ark (vv. 6–9). (3) The divine revelation to Joshua (vv. 10–15) exposes the guilty party (vv. 16–21). (4) The episode concludes with a ritual of purging (vv. 22–26). The entire narrative is anchored in an etiology of the name Achan and the place of his death in the Valley of Achor (v. 26). Joshua 7 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Sacrilege of Achan and the Israelite Defeat at Ai (vv. 1–5)
2. Intercession of Joshua Before the Ark (vv. 6–9)
3. Divine Revelation and Ritual Uncovering of Sacrilege (vv. 10–21)
4. Punishment for Sacrilege and the Purging of the Camp (vv. 22–26)

Translation

7:1–5. SACRILEGE OF ACHAN AND THE ISRAELITE DEFEAT AT AI

7 [1]And the Israelites committed sacrilege with regard to the ban. And Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah took from the devoted objects. And the anger of Yahweh ignited against the Israelites.

[2]And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai near Beth-aven, east of Bethel. And he said to them, "Go up and spy out the land."

And the men went up and they spied out Ai. [3]And they returned to Joshua and they said to him, "All the people should not go up. About two or three thousand men should go up and strike Ai. You should not wear down all the people there, because they are few."

[4]And they went up there from the people about three thousand men. And they fled before the men of Ai. [5]And the men of Ai killed from among them thirty-six men. And they pursued them before the gate until Sebarim. And they killed them in the descent. And the heart of the people melted and became like water.

7:6–9. INTERCESSION OF JOSHUA BEFORE THE ARK

7 [6]And Joshua tore his garment and he fell on his face toward the land before the ark of Yahweh until evening, he and the elders of Israel. And they brought up dust on their head. [7]And Joshua said, "Ah, my Lord, Yahweh, why have you caused this people to cross over the Jordan to give us into the hand of the Amorite to destroy us? If only we were willing to dwell across the Jordan. [8]Please, O Lord, what can I say after the Israelites have turned their back before their enemy. [9]The Canaanites and all those dwelling in the land will hear and they will surround us and they will cut off our name from the land. Then what will you do for your great name?"

7:10–21. DIVINE REVELATION AND RITUAL UNCOVERING OF SACRILEGE

7 [10]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Get yourself up! What is this that you are falling on your face? [11]Israel has sinned; they have violated my covenant, which I commanded them; they have taken from the devoted objects; they have stolen; they have acted deceitfully; and they have placed them in their vessels. [12]The Israelites will not be able to rise up against their enemies. Turning their back they will fall before their enemies, because they have become devoted to destruction. I will not continue to be with you, unless you exterminate the banned object from your midst. [13]Arise, sanctify the people and say to them, 'Sanctify yourselves for tomorrow, for thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel, "A thing devoted to destruction is in your midst, O Israel, you will not be able to rise up before your enemies until you remove the thing devoted to destruction from your midst." [14]You will draw near in the morning according to your tribes. And it will be the tribe that Yahweh takes shall draw near by clans. And the clan that Yahweh takes shall draw near by household. And the household that Yahweh takes will draw near by warriors.

[15]And the one who is taken in the thing devoted to destruction will be burned in fire, he and all which is to him, because he violated the covenant of Yahweh and because he committed sacrilege in Israel.'"

[16]And Joshua arose early in the morning. And he brought near Israel according to its tribes and the tribe of Judah was taken. [17]And he brought near the clans of Judah and he took the clan of Zerah. And he brought near the clan of Zerah according to the warriors, and Zabdi was taken. [18]And he brought near his household, according to the warriors, and Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah was taken.

[19]And Joshua said to Achan, "My son, give glory to Yahweh the God of Israel and give him praise and tell me what you did. So do not hide from me."

[20]And Achan answered Joshua. And he said, "In truth I have sinned against Yahweh the God of Israel. This is what I did. [21]I saw in the spoil one beautiful mantel of Shinar and two hundred shekels of silver, one bar of gold, whose weight was fifty shekels. I desired them and I took them.

"They are hidden in the ground within my tent and the silver is beneath it."

7:22–26. PUNISHMENT FOR SACRILEGE AND THE PURGING OF THE CAMP

7 [22]And Joshua sent messengers. And they ran to the tent. And it was there hidden in his tent and the silver was beneath it. [23]And they took them from the tent and they brought them to Joshua and to all the Israelites. And they poured them out before Yahweh. [24]And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah, the silver, the mantel, the tongue of gold, his sons, his daughters, his oxen, his donkey, his sheep, his tent, and all which was his, and all the Israelites with him, and they brought them up to the Valley of Achor.

[25]And Joshua said, "Why did you make us taboo? Yahweh will make you taboo on this very day."

And all the Israelites stoned him. And they burnt them with fire, and they stoned them with stones. [26]And they raised on him a great heap of stones, which remain until this day. And Yahweh turned from his anger. Therefore he called the name of that place Valley of Achor until this day.

Notes

The MT and the LXX deviate frequently throughout Josh 7, raising questions about the relationship between the two textual traditions. Soggin notes a tendency throughout the LXX to suppress topographical material, either because the terms were unfamiliar to the translator of the LXX or because they are additions to the MT (1972: 92). Noteworthy is the tendency in the LXX to interpret geography in a more literal manner than in the MT. The place-names throughout the MT version of the story are multivalent, shifting between geographical setting and metaphor for the purpose of thematic development. The author of the MT anchors the story in the terrain of the Jordan River Valley and the central highlands with the use of detailed topography of cities and landscape, including Jericho, Beth-aven, Ai, Bethel, Sebarim, and the Valley of Achor. Yet nearly every place-name also carries metaphorical meaning, which adds to the thematic development of the story: Ai, "the Ruin"; Beth-aven, "House of Sin"; Sebarim, "Shattered"; and the Valley of Achor, "Valley of Taboo." Even the reference to Shinar has an exotic function in the story (Nelson, 1997a: 98), since it signifies Babylon (Gen 10:10), the region with the most developed cities in the world, including the mythical Tower of Babel (Gen 11:2). The LXX lacks the metaphorical dimension of the MT, emphasizing a more literal reading of place-names. Unknown locations are eliminated (Beth-aven), are translated into descriptive statements (Sebarim is merged into a single statement of defeat, and Shinar becomes the description of a carpet), or are simply transliterated (the Valley of Achor becomes Emekachor). Tov adds that the frequent divergence in the transliteration of the name of the hero in the MT (*ʿākān*) and the LXX (*achar*) in vv. 1, 18, 19, 20, and 24 cannot be attributed to textual corruption but is part of the exegetical tradition of Josh 7 (1978: 58). See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

7:1 *And the Israelites committed sacrilege with regard to the ban.* The Hebrew construction, *wayyimʿĕlû bĕnê-yśraʾēl maʿal baḥerem,* indicates a sin against the sacred realm. The verb *māʿal* means "to use something holy for a wrong purpose" (*HALOT* 15173). The LXX reflects the same meaning with the construction *eplēmmelēsan . . . plēmmeleian*

megalēn, indicating "trespass," amplified with the adjective *megalēn.* The sin of sacrilege returns in Josh 22:16–21, where the LXX translator consistently uses the verb *plēmmeleō* and the noun *plēmmeleia* to render the Hebrew construction *mā'al . . . ma'al.* Auld argues that the sacrilege of the Israelites must be read with the idealization of Joshua in Josh 6:27: "Whether these sentences [6:27 and 7:1] are accorded a paragraph of their own, or whether they are a part of a larger division, they are face to face; and the contrast is manifest" (2005: 139–40).

Achan. The MT *'ākān* is rendered *achar* in the LXX of Josh 7:1, 18, 19, 20, 24. The spelling Achar also appears in the MT of 1 Chr 2:7, where the genealogy of Achan/Achar reappears in 1 Chr 2:6–8 as an inner-biblical interpretation of Josh 7. The genealogy includes (1) Judah, (2) Zerah, (3) Zimri, (4) Carmi, and (5) Achar. The relationship of Chronicles and Joshua is uncertain. Tov (1978: 60) suggests that the differences between the MT and the LXX are exegetical and connected with the etiological explanation in v. 26, the Valley of Achor (*'ākôr*), and implied in v. 25, "Why did you make us taboo [*'ākartānû*]?" The name Achar reappears in the MT of 1 Chr 2:7, with specific reference to Josh 7: "Achar [*'ākār*], the troubler [*'ôkēr*] of Israel who committed sacrilege with regard to the ban." For further discussion, see the commentaries of R. W. Klein (2006: 82, 92–3) and G. N. Knoppers (2004a: 297, 303–4).

Zabdi. The MT *zabdî* is rendered *zambri* in the LXX of Josh 7:1 and in 1 Chr 2:6. The MT of 1 Chr 2:6 renders the same person as Zimri. Soggin suggests confusion between *res* and *dalet* in Zabdi/Zambi and between *res* and *nun* in Achan/Achar (1972: 93). The instability of the names Achan/Achar and Zabdi/Zambi in the MT as compared with the LXX is noteworthy but difficult to evaluate text-critically.

tribe of Judah. The Hebrew *lemaṭṭēh yĕhûdâ* departs from the use of "son" (*ben*) in the linear genealogy. The same phrase returns in Josh 7:18. The other references to "tribe" use the term *šēbeṭ* (Josh 7:14). All references to "tribe" in the LXX are rendered with *phulē.*

the anger of Yahweh ignited. The MT *wayyiḥar-'ap yhwh* translates literally, "the nose of Yahweh became hot." The Hebrew expresses anger through the imagery of heat, which is lost in the LXX *kai ethumōthē orgēi kyrios.*

7:2 *from Jericho.* The MT ignores the destruction of Jericho from Josh 6. The LXX lacks the reference to Jericho, perhaps correcting the Hebrew in order to achieve verisimilitude in historical narrative.

Ai. The Hebrew *'ay* means "ruin." The MT *hā'ay* suggests a place-name, "The Ruin." The LXX translates as *gai.* Auld writes: "It is evident from the place-names such as this that the single Hebrew letter *'ayin* represented two separate guttural consonants: *'ayin* proper, and *ghayin* from deeper in the throat, which are distinguished in the Arabic alphabet. Where *ghayin* was recognised, Greek *gimel* was used to transliterate it" (2005: 141). Historical geographers locate Ai at Et-Tell, an ancient site in the territory of Ephraim, east of Bethel. Albright was the first to suggest this site (1924), and the location is supported by subsequent research (Callaway, 1993). The occupation of the site goes back to an unwalled village in the Early Bronze period (ca. 3100 BCE) that develops into a walled city and was destroyed later in the Early Bronze period (ca. 2400 BCE). The site was also occupied from 1220 to 1050 BCE, but without fortifications. Ai occurs thirty-eight times in the Hebrew Bible, primarily in the book of Joshua (thirty-three references). The references to Ai are confined to the story of Achan (7:1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

and the destruction of the city (Josh 8 [twenty-four occurrences]; 9:3; 10:1, 2; 12:9). The limited references to Ai outside of the book of Joshua associate it with Bethel (e.g., the campsite of Abram, Gen 12:8; 13:3; the returnees with Ezra, Ezra 2:28; Neh 7:32), but also with Heshbon in the Transjordan (e.g., Jer 49:3). The close association of Ai and Bethel prompted Albright to identify Ai with Bethel (1939: 15–17). Noth concluded that Ai was a legendary site on the basis of the lack of a clear location, the conflicts between the story and historical geography, and the prominent role of etiology. He argued that Ai functions as commentary within the story, in which the meaning "The Ruins" is the central point of the tale (1971b: 47–48).

Beth-aven. The Hebrew *bêt 'āwen* means "house of disaster," raising the question of whether the reference is to a specific place or is simply a literary trope for the thematic development of the story. The Hebrew preposition *'im* is locative, suggesting that the MT is referring to a place (Williams, 1976: 329). This is also the conclusion of K. Koenen (2003: 15–20). Joshua 18:12 reinforces the geographical interpretation of Beth-aven, locating it in the territory of Benjamin (see also 1 Sam 13:5 where Beth-aven is associated with Michmash; and 1 Sam 14:23 where a battle extends beyond Beth-aven into the hill country of Ephraim). There is also a metaphorical use of Beth-aven in the prophetic tradition as "the house of sin, disaster, deception, and even nothingness," all of which are possible translations of the Hebrew *'āwen.* The meaning of the term suggests that the reference in Josh 7:2 is blending geography with metaphorical significance. Beth-aven in Hosea is a place of sin (Hos 4:15; 5:8), because of the presence of a cultic calf (10:5), and may be a veiled reference to Bethel. The book of Amos makes the reference explicit in 5:5, when the prophet states, "Bethel [*bêt-'ēl*] will come to nothing [*lē'āwen*]." The metaphorical use of Beth-aven in Josh 7:2 would foreshadow the coming disaster associated with the failed attempt to conquer the city of Ai, "The Ruins." The translators of the LXX are aware of the shifting meaning of Beth-aven. It is transliterated in Hosea as *oikon ōn,* "house of On"; translated in Amos as *ouch hyparchousa,* "nonexisting"; and identified as the place-name *baithon* in Josh 18:12, 1 Sam 13:5, and 1 Sam 14:23. But the LXX of Josh 7:2 lacks any reference to the Hebrew term, either as a place-name or as a metaphor of judgment. It simply locates Ai "toward Bethel" (*kata baithēl*), while also eliminating the reference to Jericho.

Bethel. The Hebrew *bêt-'ēl,* "the house of God," is often identified with *betin* (Tell Beitin), a location eight to ten miles north of Jerusalem in a strategic position between the hills of Ephraim to the north and the plateau of Judea to the south (H. Brodsky, 1992: 711; see also M. Köhlmoos, 2006: 82–83). The LXX translates as *baithēl.* A second Bethel appears as a location in Judah where David sends spoils (1 Sam 30:27). E. Robinson suggests Tell Beitin as the location of the northern Bethel, working mainly with biblical references and Eusebius (1865: 449). Soggin questions the identification of Bethel with Tell Beitin insofar as it rests on linguistic arguments about the Hebrew *l* (Bethe*l*) becoming Arabic *n* (Beiti*n*) (1972: 103). The debate over location is summarized by J. F. Gomes, who concludes that Tell Beitin represents the best choice for the setting of Bethel (2006: 2–9). The archaeological summary of Albright and J. L. Kelso (1968) traces a city in this location from the Early Bronze period (ca. 2200–2000 BCE) through the Hellenistic and Roman periods, although Dever concludes that the reports provide little secure information for historical geography (*AYBD* 1.651–52). Knauf (2008: 76–77) notes the central role of Bethel as a cultic location during the exilic

period and the conflict that it presents in the postexilic period with the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which is evident in the Samaritan rejection of Jerusalem and the identification of their temple at Gerizim with Bethel (e.g., *Memar Marqah*).

Bethel occurs more than seventy times in the Hebrew Bible, with ten occurrences in the book of Joshua, where it is associated with Ai (7:2; 8:9, 12, 17, 22; 12:9), listed as a conquered city (12:16), and associated with Luz as a city in Ephraim (16:1, 2; 18:13). Bethel is introduced in the Hebrew Bible in the Abraham cycle of stories as the site of his second altar (Gen 12:8; 13:3), where it is associated with Ai, as in Josh 7–8 (7:2; 8:9, 12, 17; 12:9). Bethel and its altar function more prominently in the Jacob cycle of stories (Gen 28:19; 31:13; 35:1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16), where it is named Luz (Gen 28:19; 35:6), as in the texts of land distribution in Joshua (16:1–2; 18:13). In Joshua, Bethel appears in the story of Ai (7:2; 8:9, 12), where citizens of Bethel even join the people of Ai in war against Joshua (8:17); and in the account of the land distribution of the tribes of Joseph (16:2), specifically Benjamin (18:13, 22). Outside of the book of Joshua, Bethel functions primarily as the cultic site of the golden calf established by Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12:29, 32, 33; 2 Kgs 10:29), which is the focus of prophetic criticism by the Man of God (1 Kgs 13:1, 4, 10, 11, 32), Hosea (10:15; 12:4), and Amos (4:4; 5:5, 6; 7:10, 13), leading to its destruction in the aniconic reform of Josiah (2 Kgs 23:15). Bethel returns in postexilic texts as a city of the returnees from Babylon (Ezra 2:28; Neh 7:32).

7:3 *strike Ai.* The Hebrew *nākâ* means "combat to the death," which indicates the goal in the MT that the city of Ai be annihilated. The LXX reinterprets the aim of war against Ai as "besieged" (*ekpoliorkēsatōsan*), rather than annihilated (LSJ 518a).

7:5 *Sebarim.* The Hebrew *šābar* means "to break, shatter" and could be translated "until they were shattered" instead of the place-name Sebarim. The LXX appears to translate the Hebrew as a verb, *katediōxan autous,* "they hunted them." I retain the meaning of Sebarim as a locality. But it is important to note that localities throughout the narrative of Josh 7 carry metaphorical meaning, which is likely also the case with Sebarim, "the place of shattering."

And they killed them in the descent. The Hebrew *bammôrād* could also be a place-name, indicating the locality of the descent (Boling and Wright, 1982: 223). This may be the meaning of the LXX *epi tou katapherous,* "on the slope." I translate "in the descent" to underscore the contrast in spatial imagery to the ascent for conquest (v. 2). Auld notes the importance of "'ups' and 'downs'" throughout the narrative (2005: 141).

7:6 *before the ark of Yahweh.* The ark is absent in the LXX. I include the ark in the original form of the narrative in its procession to Ebal and Gerizim. The absence of the ark in the LXX of Josh 7:6 is similar to Josh 6:13, where the priests pass before the ark in the MT and before the Lord in the LXX.

7:7 *Ah, my Lord, Yahweh.* The interjection *'ăhāh 'ădōnāy* often includes complaint (e.g., Jer 4:10; Ezek 9:8; and in a slightly different form, 2 Kgs 3:10). The complaint is absent in the LXX *deomai kyrie,* "I petition, Lord." Auld (2005: 142) notes, however, that the Greek is a familiar introduction to entreaty in the Pentateuch (e.g., Gen 19:18; 43:20; Exod 4:10; 32:31; Num 12:11).

why have you caused this people to cross over the Jordan to give us into the hand of the Amorite to destroy us? The MT provides the content to Joshua's complaint against Yahweh by underscoring the Deity's leading of the people across the Jordan. The LXX develops the prayer of Joshua into a question about his leadership of the people: "Why

has *your servant* brought this people across the Iordan to hand them over to the Amorrite to destroy us?"

7:8 *Please, O Lord.* The Hebrew *bî ʾădōnāy* at the beginning of a speech indicates that the speaker is in the subservient position to a superior (*Grammatik* 54.1.4).

7:11 *Israel has sinned; they have violated . . . they have taken . . . they have stolen; they have acted deceitfully; and they have placed them in their vessels.* The MT is constructed with the series of five clauses, which begin with *gam.* The LXX lacks the motif of deception and shortens the second half of the verse, losing the solemnity of the MT (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 131).

7:14 *tribe . . . clan . . . household . . . warriors.* The social categories of the Hebrew and Greek are slightly different. The Hebrew *šebeṭ,* "tribe" is translated in the LXX as *phulē,* "tribe"; the Hebrew *mišpāḥâ,* "clan," is the less specific Greek *dēmos,* "people," "township," or as represented in the translation, "assembly"; the Hebrew *bêt,* "household," corresponds to the Greek *oikos;* and the plural Hebrew *gĕbārîm,* "warriors," is translated in the LXX with the accusative singular, *andra,* "man."

7:15 *he committed sacrilege.* The Hebrew *nebālâ* may indicate stupidity, folly, or willful sin, all of which are usually used in association with a transgression against God. The term is also used to describe sexual offenses, such as the rape of Dinah (Gen 34:7; see also Judg 20:6) or illicit sexual activity (Deut 22:1). The sexual imagery is likely functioning in Josh 7:15 (see "Comments"). The LXX *anomēma,* "lawlessness," is less clear as to whether the offense is one of sacrilege. Moatti-Fine suggests that the Greek is similar to "transgression" in Lev 17:16, suggesting sacrilege (1996: 131). Auld looks instead to Jer 36:23, where *anomia* has a more abstract meaning (2005: 144).

7:17 *And he brought near.* The MT *wayyaqrēb* has Joshua as the subject of the sequence of verbs, in which progressively smaller social units are brought forth. Neither the MT nor the LXX follows the four-part social structure outlined in v. 14. The MT conflates the process of selection by describing Zabdi as both a "warrior" and a "household": (1) the "tribe" of Judah, (2) the "clan" of Zerah, (3) the "warriors" of Zerah, from whom Zabdi is taken, (4) the "house" of Zabdi, and (5) the "warrior" Achan, son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah, the tribe of Judah. The MT also describes Judah as a clan rather than a tribe. The LXX shortens the process of selection by eliminating any reference to a household and by not identifying Achar with the tribe of Judah at the end of v. 18: (1) the tribe of Judah, (2) the assembly of Zarai, and (3) the man Achar son of Zambri son of Zara. Both versions present problems that make a text-critical recovery of the process of changes difficult (see Margolis, 1931–1938: 112).

and he took the clan of Zerah. Joshua remains the subject of the action of selection in this case, *wayyilkōd,* as compared with the subsequent selections, which are stated in the passive *wayyillākēd.* The LXX is passive throughout, using *enedeichthē.*

warriors. The MT creates some confusion in describing the ritual process of uncovering the one guilty of sacrilege by repeating the approach of "warriors" in vv. 16–17 with regard to clan and household. See above.

7:19 *My son.* The MT *bĕnî* is absent in the LXX and replaced with *sēmeron,* "today."

7:20 *This is what I did.* The Hebrew *wĕkāzōʾt* indicates a process. The LXX captures the Hebrew by repeating the adverb: *houtōs kai houtōs,* "in this manner I did" or "thus and thus I have done."

7:21 *beautiful mantel.* The Hebrew *'aderet* likely means "mantel." It describes the cloak of Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:13: "he wrapped his face in his mantle" (see also 2 Kgs 2:8). The LXX translates as *psilēn,* meaning "barren," as in a land without vegetation. The word also describes animal skin stripped of fur, suggesting perhaps a leather coat. The word can possibly also refer to a Persian carpet (LSJ 2024).

shekels. The Hebrew *šekel* is a weight. J. W. Betlyon estimates that one silver shekel equals approximately 8.26 grams (1992: 1078). The Greek *dedrachmon* indicates a "two-drachma piece . . . equal to a half shekel" (BDAG 242).

desired. The Hebrew *ḥāmad* means "to covet" (see Deut 20:17). The LXX *enthymeomai* conveys more the sense of reflection, but likely also means to covet in this context.

Shinar. The MT *'adderet šin'ār* identifies the robe with the territory Shinar, which is likely a general reference to Mesopotamia. The word occurs only once in the book of Joshua in the story of Achan (7:21). It occurs an additional seven times in the Hebrew Bible. Four occurrences are in the book of Genesis in three distinct contexts: (1) in the Table of Nations, where the land of Shinar is the location of the cities of Babel, Erich, and Akkad (10:10); (2) as the setting for the Tower of Babel (11:2); and (3) to identify the land of one of the kings in the battle of Abraham (Amraphel of Shinar, 14:1, 9). Three occurrences are in Prophetic literature: (1) a location of the exiles (Isa 11:11), (2) the destination of the basket of iniquity in the vision of Zechariah (Zech 5:11), and (3) the location of the temple vessels in exile (Dan 1:2). The LXX renders the word as a location in translating the Hebrew *šin'ār* as *sennaar* in the Table of Nations, the story of the Tower of Babel, and the story of the war of Abraham; and as *babylonos* in the vision of Zechariah and the location of the temple vessels in Daniel. But in Josh 7:21 the Greek departs from the Hebrew to describe some form of multicolored carpet, *psilēn poikilēn kalēn* (see the description of Joseph's robe in Gen 37:3, *chitona poikilōn*).

one bar of gold. The Hebrew *lĕšôn* could also be translated literally as "tongue" of gold.

7:23 *to Joshua and to all the Israelites.* In the LXX the items from Achan's tent are brought to Joshua and the elders of Israel, *tous presbyterous Israel.*

7:24 *And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah, the silver, the mantel, the tongue of gold.* The LXX excludes the stolen objects from Joshua's procession to the Valley of Achor, suggesting that they are not devoted to destruction.

they brought them up. The MT *wayya'ălû* underscores the participation of all the Israelites. The LXX focuses on Joshua: *anēgagen autous,* "he brought them up."

Valley of Achor. The Hebrew *'emeq 'ākôr,* "Valley of Achor," occurs three times in Joshua—twice in Josh 7, where it functions as an etiological location for the execution of Achan. The theological function of the Valley of Achor continues in the eschatological prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah. Hosea 2:17 (Eng. 2:15) predicts a reversal for Israel when the Valley of Achor becomes a doorway of hope to a new relationship with the Deity; while Isa 65:10 describes the future state of the valley as a lush place for people and cattle. The narrative setting of the story of Achan suggests a location in the vicinity of Jericho, which is reinforced in Josh 15:7, where the Valley of Achor occurs in the description of Judah's northern border. The geographical text moves from the Jordan River west toward Jerusalem: Dead Sea, Jordan River, Beth-hoglah, Beth-arabah, Stone of Bohan, Debir, Valley of Achor, Gilgal, Adummim, etc. Historical geographers

identify the site with contemporary El Buqe'ah, a location south of contemporary Jericho in the Wadi el-Kelt area. The LXX does not present a consistent translation of the Hebrew *'emeq 'ākôr.* Initially, it describes the ravine of Achor (7:24, *pharagga achōr*). Later, the place-name is translated as *emekachōr* (7:24, 26). But this location is rendered as *tēs pharaggos achōr,* "the Valley of Achor," in the geographical description of Judah's northern border (15:7); *pharagx achōr,* "Valley of Achor," in Isa 65:10; and *ten koilada achōr,* "deep Valley of Achor," in Hos 2:17.

7:25 *Why did you make us taboo? Yahweh will make you taboo on this very day.* See the "Notes" to Josh 6:18 for discussion of the Hebrew *'ākar* and the interplay with the name Achan. The LXX does not develop the play of language surrounding the name Achan and his offense. The LXX includes the name Achar in the address of Joshua: "And Iesous said to Achar." The LXX also changes the verb in Josh 6:18, *ektripséte,* to *ōlethreusasb* in Josh 7:25, which may indicate more the sense of religious taboo (BDAG 703), even though both verbs are unrelated to the name Achar.

7:25–26 *And all the Israelites stoned him. And they burnt them with fire, and they stoned them with stones.* The MT describes a progression in destruction from the stoning of Achan (*wayyirgĕpû 'ōtô . . . 'eben,* "and they stoned him") to the burning and stoning of his entire family (*wayyiśĕpû 'ōtām bā'ēš,* "and they burned them"; and *wayyiśĕlû 'ōtām bā'ăbānîm,* "and they stoned them with stones"), which fulfills the divine command from v. 15. The progression from Achan to his family requires that the MT repeat the act of stoning, using distinct terminology. The MT also implies the destruction of the stolen material, which was taken to the Valley of Achor along with Achan and his family (v. 24). The LXX describes a distinct ritual in which the divine command to burn Achar and his family is absent and the stolen material is not included in the destruction. Instead, Joshua takes Achar and his family to Emekachor, where the Israelites stone only Achar, *kai elithobolēsan auton lithois pas Israel,* "and all Israel stoned him with stones." The stoning of the family of Achar is absent, as is any reference to the burning or the destruction of the stolen material. Auld (2005: 146), following Moatti-Fine (1996: 133–34), suggests that the use of *lithobolein* may be intended to bring the action into the sacred realm. This interpretation is supported by the use of the same term in Lev 20:2 to describe the stoning of any person who sacrifices a child to Molech.

7:26 *a great heap of stones, which remain until this day.* The Hebrew lacks the clause "which remain." The LXX lacks the phrase "until this day."

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The majority of interpreters regard the sacrilege of Achan in Josh 7 as a literary unity. Wellhausen (1899: 125) attributes the narrative to the Jehovist (JE) primarily on the basis of the motifs of intercession and sanctification of the people in Josh 7:7–13. He notes possible additions, such as the phrase "east of Bethel" (v. 2); the motif of burning (vv. 14–15); and the inclusion of the Israelite people in the death of Achan (vv. 24–25). But such additions do not play a significant role in his interpretation. Steuernagel reaches the same conclusion (1923: 231): Joshua 7 is a unified narrative with minor additions, perhaps in the source D^2 or maybe in the E source.

O. Eissfeldt represents the minority of interpreters, who identify sources in the story (1922: 214–17). He identifies an L source that is tied to the destruction of Jericho, rather than the war against Ai; it recounts the theft of booty from Jericho, the departure of the Deity as a response to the violation of the ban, the discovery of the sin, and the punishment of Achan (7:1, 12b*, 15b*b,* 23b, 24b, 25, 26b). The J source describes the theft of booty in the context of the war against Ai, which leads to the punishment of Achan and the heap of stones as a memorial of the event (7:22–23a [minus Bethel], 4b, 5b–6, 8–11, 12b*, 13, 14–15ab*a,* 16–18, 20b–21*, 22–24a, 26a). The E source includes the location of Bethel, the exact number of warriors in the battle against Ai, the motif of the ark, gold, and the stoning of Achan (7:2*, 3b, 4a*, 5*, 6b–7, 12b*, 13*, 19–20*, 21bb, 24b*b,* 25b*b*). Eissfeldt's identification of separate sources is not a convincing argument for composition, but it does underscore the wide range of motifs that appear in Josh 7 and their close tie to the preceding story of Jericho's destruction (Josh 6) and the continued battle against Ai (Josh 8). The reading illustrates how tightly woven the story is in its present narrative context, which actually reinforces its literary unity. Otto reaches the same conclusion; he too judges Josh 7 to be a literary unity, with the connection between the motif of the ban in Josh 7:1–5 and 6:18 indicating that the composition is part of what he identifies as the A source (1975: 89).

Noth represents a different approach to the composition of Josh 7 (1971b: 43–51). He too agrees that it is a literary unity, which also includes the narrative in Josh 8. The two chapters tell the story of the conquest of Ai with an intermediate failure that is tied to the theft of booty by Achan. The story of Achan (Josh 7:1, 5b–26) and the war against Ai (7:2–5a; 8:1–29) are not simply a literary composition, however, but represent a complex tradition-historical development. They originate as separate local *Sagen* that are combined already at an oral stage of development through the cultic practice at Gilgal during the tribal period. The separate origin of the stories is evident in the etiologies that anchor each story. The tale of Achan originates in a gravesite that memorializes the death of a person as a result of divine wrath: "Therefore he called the name of that place Valley of Achor until this day" (7:26). The destruction of Ai is also an etiological *Sage* about the gravesite of a king that is associated with ruins, which acquires a placename, Ai, meaning "the pile of debris" (*der Trümmerhaufen*): "And Joshua burned Ai, and he set it up as a mount of ruin forever until this day" (8:28).

Noth's recognition that the stories of Achan (Josh 7) and Ai (Josh 8) originate as etiological *Sagen* highlights the importance of geographical setting. It allows Noth to recognize that the story of Achan is about the southern tribe of Judah (1971b: 44). The Valley of Achor is a northern boundary for the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:7). The genealogy further solidifies the identification of Achan with Judah. The story of Ai, by contrast, is anchored in the mountains of Benjamin near Bethel, almost twenty miles north of the Valley of Achor. The geography of the story of Ai is unrelated to the burial of Achan, indicating its distinct origin. Noth accounts for the mixing of the two stories in the shared cultic practice of Gilgal, when the southern tribe of Judah joined the northern tribe of Benjamin in worship rituals at the site, thus bringing geographically distinct local etiologies into one plot structure. The reason for the seamless unity of Josh 7–8 is that a collector joined the two *Sagen* long before the literary composition by embedding the Judahite story of Achan within the Benjaminite account of the destruction of Ai.

COMPOSITION OF JOSH 7

The insight of Noth about the distinct geographical settings associated with Achan and Ai is important for interpreting Josh 7. But the combination of the two stories does not indicate the merging of tribal worship practices, as Noth contends. Rather, the present form of the narrative represents a northern point of view that is critical of Judah. The central plot is centered on the northern setting; it is about the threat of defeat in the war against Ai. This setting and the overall plot structure represent the northern point of view of the entire account of the procession of the ark in its journey to Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 3–8). The story of the failed war against Ai explores the loss of divine presence in holy war through the threat of sacrilege when banned booty is taken from cities. The story is critical of the southern tribe of Judah. Achan represents the source of pollution in the camp; he desires precious metals and commits sacrilege by violating the strict form of aniconic religion, which fuels the holy war of the ark in the book of Joshua. The procession of the ark toward Ebal and Gerizim can continue only after Achan and his entire Judahite family are purged from the Israelite camp.

The story of Achan is an ideological narrative with a single point of view. The combination of the two settings is not the result of a benign tradition-historical process in which tribal worship is merged over time. The conflict is part of the original composition. The literary origin of the story is supported by research that challenges Noth's hypotheses about local etiologies. Childs rejects the central role of local etiologies in creating tradition, suggesting instead that formulas such as "until this day" function as redactional or literary motifs often unrelated to the central plot (1963: 281–82). Long notes further that the etiology of the Valley of Achor is unrelated to the heap of stones in the story of Achan, nor is it really tied to the central theme of the narrative (1968: 25–27). The role of Gilgal as a melting pot of distinct oral tribal traditions—a crucial assumption in Noth's hypothesis that oral etiologies mix through shared ritual—also remains uncertain if not doubtful. Fritz concluded that the motifs of sending out scouts, the penitential ritual, the determination of guilt through lot, and the confession and burning as the appropriate punishment are all literary tropes that do not presuppose a *Vorlage* or oral tradition (1994: 78). Berman (2004: 31–54) expanded the conclusion of Fritz. He noted related motifs and vocabulary between Josh 7 and 8, which lead him to conclude that the two stories represent the phenomenon of narrative analogy: The trial of Achan provides a parallel to the war against Ai, pairing the inner tension within Israel to the external conflict against the Canaanite city-states (2004: 45–53). This research both supports and reframes Noth's insight into geography: The distinct settings of the war against Ai and the sacrilege of Achan are indeed crucial to the interpretation of Josh 7, not as a window into an ancient tradition-historical process, but as revealing the literary strategy of an author who is writing a critical story of Judah from a northern point of view. The "Comments" explore further the blending of Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs in the composition of Josh 7, which points to the postexilic setting of the author.

Comments

7:1–5. SACRILEGE OF ACHAN AND THE ISRAELITE DEFEAT AT AI

The central theme of the chapter is stated in v. 1: "The Israelites committed sacrilege [*wayyimʿălû . . . maʿal*] with regard to the ban [*baḥērem*]." B. Levine notes that the etymology of the Hebrew verb *māʿal* is uncertain but that "all biblical occurrences of this term relate directly or indirectly to ancient notions of sacrilege and impurity" (1989: 30; 1993: 189). This is especially true when the verb is used in conjunction with the preposition *bĕ,* "in/with." The Deity is often the offended party in this syntactical construction, which Latvus (1998a: 49) states dominates in Priestly literature and other postexilic writing (e.g., Lev 5:21 [Eng. 6:2]; Num 5:6; Deut 32:51; Ezek 17:20; 20:27; Ezra 10:2; 1 Chr 10:13; 2 Chr 30:7). M. Oeming (1990: 124–26) notes further the use of *māʿal* at key points in the literary design of Chronicles, where the motif can designate general disobedience (e.g., 1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 12:2; 28:19; 30:7) or more specific religious and cultic offenses (e.g., 1 Chr 5:25; 10:13; 2 Chr 26:16; 29:6).

The opening statement that Israel "committed sacrilege with regard to the ban" (7:1) signals a cultic story in which the central theme is an offense against God. It is therefore a story of trespass into the divine realm. Joshua 22 aids in interpreting Josh 7, since it equates the offenses against the devoted booty and God as similar forms of sacrilege. In this story, the tribes east of the Jordan are accused of committing sacrilege (*māʿal*) against (*bĕ*) Yahweh by building an altar away from Ebal and Gerizim (22:16, 22, 31), which the author equates with the sin of Achan, who committed sacrilege with regard to the ban and brought divine wrath on the entire nation. The motif of divine anger is also stated in Josh 7:1: "And the anger of Yahweh ignited against the Israelites." The response of divine anger to the violation of the ban is similar to the story of the golden calf in the Priestly literature (Exod 32) and in Deuteronomy (Deut 9–10). In both of these stories the calf also contaminates the people, making them "corrupt," or perhaps better, "spoiled" (the Piel *šiḥēṭ*), which prompts the divine anger and the threat of destruction (Exod 32:7–10; Deut 9:8–14). Joshua 7 is a similar cultic story of trespass into the sacred, but it explores divine wrath as a reaction to the theft of booty, rather than the worship of the golden calf.

The substitution of sacred booty (*ḥerem*) for the golden calf provides insight into the holy war theology of the author of Joshua (see the "Introduction"). The motif of the ban functions as both a positive and a negative motif in the narrative world of the book. It is introduced as a positive theme in the confession of Rahab, when she describes the success of the Israelite war in exterminating Sihon and Og: "How you put them under the ban" (2:10). The execution of the ban is more than success in war; it is also a sign of the power of God in the midst of the Israelite people: "Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below" (2:11). The positive meaning of the ban returns after the story of Achan, where the motif describes the successful extermination of the indigenous nations (e.g., 8:26; 10:1, 28, 35, 39, 40; 11:11, 12, 20, 21). In all of these instances, the focus of the ban is external, and it is always stated with the verb, signifying the successful action of extermination. The verbal reference to the ban describes the active participation of the Israelites in the holy war against the indigenous nations.

Joshua 7 refers to the ban as a noun, "sacred booty" (*ḥerem*), to explore the internal implications of Israel's participation in holy war within the camp (6:17, 18; 7:1, 11, 12, 13, 15), where the theme is developed negatively as a potential source of pollution. The dynamic of the ban changes in this context. When the focus is turned inward from the nations to the Israelite camp, the ban is no longer about the Israelite participation in holy war, but about their restriction from sacred booty, conceived as precious metals and manufactured objects from the royal cities in the promised land. The restriction is necessary lest the objects contaminate the Israelites, making them like the indigenous nations. Latvus explains further: "[I]n the Achan story the external threat caused by other nations with their gods has turned into the internal question of the community about strict demands of how to worship Yahweh in an appropriate way" (1998a: 52). The internal focus underscores the importance of aniconism as the only possible form of Yahwism in the book of Joshua.

Joshua introduces the internal danger of the devoted booty for the camp in Josh 6:18: "You [Israel] . . . must keep away from the things devoted to destruction [*haḥerem*], lest you become devoted to destruction [*pen-taḥarîmû*] and you take from the devoted thing [*haḥerem*], and you designate the Israelite camp to be devoted to destruction [*lĕhērem*], and you make it taboo." The warning is similar to Deut 7:26 and 13:18 (Eng. 17) where the noun *ḥĕrem* is also applied to booty. Deuteronomy 7:26 states: "Do not bring an abhorrent thing [*tôʿēbâ*] into your house, or you will be set apart for destruction [*ḥerem*] like it. You must utterly detest and abhor it, for it is set apart for destruction [*ḥerem*]." Deuteronomy 13:18 continues the same theme: "Do not let anything devoted to destruction [*ḥerem*] stick to your hand, so that Yahweh may turn from his fierce anger and show you compassion." The danger posed by the devoted object is different in Josh 6:18 than in Deut 7:26 and 13:18. The power of the devoted object to contaminate in Deuteronomy does not reside in the object, but in the *desire* of the person to possess the forbidden object. The source of pollution in Deuteronomy resides in the hypocrisy of the person (Weinfeld, 1972: 268; see also the "Introduction"). In the speech of Joshua (6:18) and in the story of Achan (Josh 7), the power to contaminate resides in the devoted object itself, which requires that the people and the camp be physically restricted from it as a sacred object. L. Schwienhorst notes that the author of Joshua incorporates the more primal and dynamic understanding of sacred power from the Priestly literature, in which there can be a transfer directly from an object to a person who touches it or even enters its restricted space (1986: 114–15).

The speech of Joshua in Josh 6:18 provides important background for interpreting Josh 7:1: "The Israelites committed sacrilege [*wayyimʿălû . . . maʿal*] with regard to the ban [*baḥērem*]." The statement attributes the sacrilege to the Israelites as a whole, rather than to Achan individually. This represents the Priestly understanding of contamination, in which divine anger or wrath can infect the entire camp indiscriminately like a plague (e.g., Num 17:1–15 [Eng. 16:36–50]). Thus, even though Achan violates the ban by stealing the sacred booty, his action pollutes the entire camp, prompting divine anger against the nation as a whole. Because of this, the focus of the story remains at the level of the collective nation, even though it narrows in on Achan in the search for the source of the pollution that is hidden in his tent. This is important for interpretation. It indicates that the aim of the story is not simply to punish Achan; rather, it is to

purify the camp from pollution in order to ensure the divine presence in war and the continued procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim.

The focus on the purity of the camp recalls the Priestly teaching on camp purity in Num 5. Numbers 5:5–10 provides an especially close parallel since it too addresses the problem of theft, which, like the action of Achan, is judged to be incompatible with the holiness of God in the camp and thus a sacrilege (*mā'al*) against (*bĕ*) Yahweh: "When a man or a woman wrongs another, committing sacrilege [*mā'al*] against [*bĕ*] Yahweh, that person incurs guilt" (Num 5:6). Further comparison distinguishes the distinct perspective of the author of Josh 7 from the Priestly teaching in Num 5. The Priestly legislation is aimed at restitution so that the thief who committed sacrilege can be purified and remain in the camp. To this end, the law directs the person to pay restitution by one-fifth of the value of the offense, to go to the priest, and to make atonement (Num 5:7–8). Joshua 7 moves in the opposite direction. Restitution is not possible for Achan or his family, and no ritual of atonement can purify the guilty person or even the group that is contaminated by social proximity. Only the exclusion and extermination of the guilty party can purify the camp. The story of sacrilege from mixed marriage in Ezra 10:1–17 repeats all of the same motifs, but it falls between the two poles of the Priestly teaching in Num 5:5–10 and Josh 7. It advocates the expulsion of non-Israelite wives, thus providing a parallel to Josh 7, but for the sake of keeping postexilic Israelites within the community as in Num 5:5–10.

The identification of Achan as the cause of the camp pollution is important to the story. The author halts the narrative to identify him in a linear genealogy of five generations: (1) Achan, (2) Carmi, (3) Zabdi, (4) Zerah, and (5) Judah. The first four names are linked with the genealogical term "son" (*bēn*) that characterizes linear genealogies; while the final identification of Judah departs in form to specify the tribe rather than the eponymous ancestor, "of/to the tribe of Judah," even though Zerah is the "son" of Judah (see the genealogy of Judah in 1 Chr 2:6–8). The preoccupation with Achan's patrimony indicates that issues of identity are central to the author (Hawk, 2000: 111). The shift in the form of the genealogy suggests further that the identity of the tribe of Judah as the source of the pollution to the camp is at the heart of the story. This is confirmed in the extended ritual of discovery that is structured as divine command (7:14) and fulfillment (7:16–18). The Deity instructs Joshua in 7:14 that the ritual of discovery will proceed by some form of lot, with the focus narrowing in social hierarchy from tribe (*šebeṭ*) to clan (*mišpāḥâ*), household (*bêt*), and finally warrior (*gibbôr*), which introduces the categories of a segmented genealogy into the story. The ritual allows for the tribal identification of Achan, while also indicating that he represents only a segment of the tribe of Judah. The identification of Achan moves from the tribe of Judah to the family of Zerah to the house of Zabdi to the warrior Achan (7:16–18). Lest the reader have any ambiguity about the source of the pollution to the camp, the author identifies the guilty party one more time, repeating the linear genealogy from the opening of the story: "Achan son of Carmi, son of Zabdi, son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah" (7:18b). The result is that Achan is identified with the tribe of Judah three times in the short narrative.

The preoccupation with the Judahite identity of Achan provides insight into the intention of the author to write a polemical story against the tribe of Judah; it represents

the internal threat to the purity of the Israelite camp. The pollution is so severe that it threatens success in holy war and the completion of the procession of the ark to the northern cultic site at Ebal and Gerizim. Soggin also notes the polemical character of the story, although he suggests an early conflict between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah based on his assumption about the complex tradition-historical processes in the formation of the narrative. He concludes that the tribal conflict is now covered over in the present form of the narrative (1972: 98). The prominent role of the genealogy throughout the narrative indicates that the polemical intent of the story is not the residue of an earlier tribal dispute, but represents the point of view of the author of Joshua, who is writing about conflicts over worship practice in the postexilic period. Such an interpretation argues against the complex tradition-historical background to the story and points instead to the late composition of Josh 7. T. Veijola recognized the late composition of Josh 7 in the prayer of lament (*Klagegebet*) in vv. 7–9, identifying it as Deuteronomistic from the exilic period (1985: 299–305). However, the influence of Priestly literature in the interpretation of sacrilege (*māʿal*) and the mixing of Deuteronomistic and Priestly interpretations of the ban argue against singling out a Deuteronomistic point of view in the story, as Veijola suggests. The mixing of motifs indicates that the composition is later—in the postexilic period—than Veijola assumes and that it presupposes the Pentateuch rather than simply Deuteronomistic literature (so also Latvus, 1998a: 48–54).

The genre of the genealogy of Achan, along with a comparison to the Priestly genealogy of Levi in Exod 6:14–27, provides additional insight into the aim of the author of Josh 7 and the possible social context in the postexilic period to which the story is directed. R. R. Wilson clarifies how ancient genealogies convey hierarchy and status that are usually tied to the final character in the lineage (1977). The Priestly genealogy of Levi in Exod 6:14–27 provides an example, when the author traces six generations from Levi to Phinehas. Blenkinsopp argues that the social background of the Priestly genealogies throughout the Pentateuch, including the genealogy of Levi, is the loss of the land in the exile and the emergence of the Aaronide priesthood into a leadership role during the postexilic period (1992: 58–60, 99–109). When the genealogy of Levi in Exod 6:14–27 is read against this background, it becomes clear that the aim of the Priestly author is to legitimate the authority of the Aaronide priesthood in the postexilic period and that it is being written from the perspective of Phinehas, the final character in the genealogy: (1) Levi, (2) Kohath, (3) Amran, (4) Aaron, (5) Eleazar, and (6) Phinehas.

A closer examination of the genealogy of Levi indicates that Generations 4 through 6 represent the Priestly writer's version of the history of salvation from the postexilic perspective. Aaron represents the generation of the exodus, who experience salvation firsthand but squander the promise of land and die in the wilderness (Generation 4); Eleazar represents the generation of the exile, the second generation born in the wilderness, which has the opportunity to realize the promise of land anew (Generation 5); Phinehas represents the postexilic community—those who have returned and settled in the land (Generation 6). The generation of Phinehas ends the genealogy because it reflects the most immediate social and religious concerns of the Priestly author, who is writing to authenticate the Aaronide priesthood as representing the authoritative form of Israelite religion in the postexilic period.

The genealogy of Judah in Josh 7:1, 16–18 is no different from the Priestly genealogy of Levi in Exod 6:14–27. It too represents a construction of the history of salvation that provides commentary on important social and religious relationships at the time of the author; and, as in the Priestly composition, the focus of attention in the genealogy of Judah is on Achan, the final character in the lineage. The lineage even follows the outline of the Priestly genealogy of Levi, as the table shows.

	Josh 7	*Exod 6:14–27*
Generation 1	Judah	Levi
Generation 2	Zerah	Kohath
Generation 3	Zabdi	Amram
Generation 4	Carmi	Aaron
Generation 5	Achan	Eleazar
Generation 6		Phinehas

The difference between the two genealogies is that Josh 7 is constructed to criticize rather than to legitimate the social group represented by Achan. The function of the genealogy is to identify the source of the camp pollution in the tribe of Judah. The criticism is reinforced in the form of the genealogy, with the cessation of the lineage in the fifth generation, the exiles and potential initial returnees, rather than the sixth generation, the postexilic community. The reason for the death of this line of Judah is the desire of Achan to acquire the possessions of the city-states in the promised land and thus to become like them, as opposed to creating a more rural form of Yahwism that is centered at Ebal and Gerizim.

P. M. A. Pitkänen correctly notes that the criticism of a Judahite "makes it less likely that the narrative, and similarly the book of Joshua as a whole, is an imaginative creation from the monarchic Judah" (2010: 176). His early dating of the literature moves in the wrong direction, however. The author is addressing Benjaminite and Judean hostility during the exilic and the postexilic periods. Blenkinsopp (2006) identifies the same conflict in the oracle of Benjamin (Deut 33:12) and the war of extermination against Benjamin led by Judah (Judg 19–21). The conflict is likely over the legitimacy of Jerusalem as the appropriate cultic center—a conflict that is also evident throughout the books of Ezra (e.g., Ezra 4 and 5) and Nehemiah (e.g., Neh 3–6) and continues into the Maccabean period, when John Hyrcanus eventually destroys the temple on Mount Gerizim. It is important to remember that the author of the genealogy of Achan is the same writer who also idealizes the collapse of city walls (Josh 6) rather than their dedication, as in the book of Nehemiah (Neh 12), and criticizes Judah for failing to drive out the Jebusites, who continue to populate Jerusalem "to this day" (Josh 15:63).

The war against Ai in vv. 2–5 must be read against the backdrop of Jericho, which creates both similarities and differences between the two paradigmatic stories of holy war. Both stories begin with an act of spying that is undertaken independently of Yahweh, and in each case the activity leads to unintended consequences. The sending out of the spies to Jericho (2:1) leads to the violation of the ban in the rescue of Rahab. The sending out of the spies to Ai (7:2–3) leads to an incorrect evaluation of the power of Ai, resulting in the initial defeat of the Israelites. The repetition indicates that spying, as a strategy for victory, violates holy war in the book of Joshua. Knauf describes it as an act of hubris (2008: 77).

The report of the spies in v. 3b clarifies the nature of the hubris, while also signaling the focus in the story of Ai on the population of the city, as compared with the emphasis on the fortifications of Jericho symbolized by its walls. The spies evaluate the weakness of Ai by the paucity of its citizens, stating to Joshua in v. 3: "All the people should not go up. . . . You should not wear down all the people there, because they are few." The holy war against Jericho focuses on the strength of the city-state as an impenetrable fortress and Yahweh's ability to collapse the city walls. The execution of the ban on the people is mentioned only briefly in passing at the end of the story, where the focus is more on the booty (6:24) than on the extermination of the urban population (6:21). The story concludes with a curse on the fortress, not the people (6:26). The name Ai, "The Ruin," alerts the reader to a change in focus from the destruction of the fortified city-state to the extermination of the urban population. The report of the spies clarifies the new focus, while also indicating a lack of understanding of holy war, since they evaluate power on the basis of humans rather than God: "They [the citizens of Ai] are few," thus "all the people should not go up." The consequences of this blindness are defeat in war, the death of thirty-six soldiers, and fear, which had originally characterized the Canaanites (2:11). The absence of the ark in the initial assault of Ai is not stated, but its presence in the camp is noted in the following section in Joshua's lament (7:6–9). The defeat, most likely without the ark, after a spy story recalls the Israelite rout at Hormah by the Amalekites and the Canaanites, where the ark also remained in the camp (Num 14:39–45). The parallels between the original spy story in Num 13–14 and the defeat at Ai continue in the intercession of Joshua before the ark.

7:6–9. INTERCESSION OF JOSHUA BEFORE THE ARK

The response of Joshua to the defeat at Ai takes place in the Israelite camp before the ark. The author weaves together motifs from the first spy story during the wilderness journey (Num 13–14) to create a complex portrait of Joshua. The repetition of motifs includes ritual mourning (v. 6), complaint (v. 7), and intercession (vv. 8–9).

Joshua's initial response to the report of the spies and defeat of the Israelites at Ai is ritual mourning: "And Joshua tore his garment" (v. 6). This repeats Joshua's action from the first spy story in Num 14:6: "And Joshua son of Nun and Caleb son of Jephunneh, who were among those who had spied out the land, tore their clothes." The repetition of mourning ties the two spy stories together. Further comparison highlights a series of reversals in the actions of Joshua that add to the development of his character.

Joshua is heroic in the first spy story in Num 13–14, and this is what propels him into the leadership role in the book of Joshua. But his character is undeveloped. In the original spy story, the Israelites fear the power of the indigenous nations and complain about their salvation from Egypt in Num 14:2–4: "If only we had died in the land of Egypt, or if only we had died in this wilderness! Why is Yahweh bringing us into this land to fall by the sword? Our wives and our little ones will become booty; would it not be better for us to go back to Egypt?" G. W. Coats characterizes the complaint of the people as the murmuring motif in the wilderness journey (1968: 15). The motif represents the rejection of Yahweh's salvation because of the risk involved in following God in the wilderness. According to Coats, this signifies "rebellion in the wilderness."

The murmuring motif is repeated throughout the wilderness journey (e.g., Exod 14:11–12; 15:22–26; 15:27–16:36; 17:1–7; 32:1–35; Num 11:1–3, 4–35), growing in intensity until the spy story in Num 13–14, where the complaint in Num 14:2–4 results in the loss of the promised land for the first generation of Israelites. The reaction of Moses and Aaron to the Israelite complaint (Num 14:2–4) is that they fall on their faces (Num 14:5). The ritual mourning of Joshua and Caleb follows (Num 14:6). This action makes Joshua and Caleb the heroes of the first generation of Israelites to leave Egypt and the only members who are allowed to enter the promised land. Mourning is followed by the confession of the power of Yahweh to bring the Israelites into the land, and hence the need for the Israelites not to fear the nations (Num 14:7–9). The intercession of Moses follows the confession of Joshua and Caleb; the content of the intercession shifts the focus from the complaint of the people to the honor of Yahweh among the nations as a basis for not destroying the entire nation immediately because of the divine anger (Num 14:13–16).

All the motifs in the first spy story are repeated in Josh 7:6–9, but they are rearranged to present a more complex portrait of Joshua. The defeat of the Israelites and their fear of the nations begin the account of Joshua's intercession, rather than concluding the narrative as in Num 14. Josh 7:5 states: "And the heart of the people melted and became like water." Joshua's response to the Israelite fear is that he both falls on the ground and repeats the ritual of mourning in v. 6, thus assuming the role of Moses and Aaron from the first spy story. But his initial speech in v. 7 does not repeat the call to reject the fear of the nations as in Num 14:7–9; rather, it is an intensified form of the complaint of the people from Num 14:2–4. He states: "Ah, my Lord, Yahweh, why have you caused this people to cross over the Jordan to give us into the hand of the Amorite to destroy us? If only we were willing to dwell across the Jordan" (7:7).

The use of the interrogative "why" (*lāmâ*) and the particle "if only" (*lû*) in the complaint of Joshua (7:7) is limited in the murmuring stories of the wilderness journey to the spy narrative in Num 14:2–4 and to Num 20:3–5, where the complaint refers back to the spy story in Num 14. The repetition of the same literary style in Josh 7:6 strengthens the inner-biblical tie to Num 14:2–4. The opening, "Ah, my Lord, Yahweh," is an addition to the speech of Joshua from Num 14:2–4, which intensifies his complaint and makes it more personal. The prophet Jeremiah, for example, uses the same phrase in his commission (Jer 1:6) and again in his complaint about Yahweh's deception: "Ah, my Lord, Yahweh, how utterly you have deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, 'It will be well with you,' even while the sword is at the throat!" (Jer 4:10; see also Ezek 9:18; 11:13, where the complaint includes the act of falling on the ground and the cry of lament). Joshua's complaint shows him to be less heroic than his earlier role in the first spy story, but it also adds complexity to his character.

The speech of Joshua changes from complaint to intercession in Josh 7:8–9, although the tone remains personal: "Please, O Lord, what can I say after the Israelites have turned their back before their enemy." The Hebrew *bî ʾădōnî,* "please, O Lord," is a personal plea, not a corporate intercession. The same phrase is used twice at the end of the commissioning story of Moses, where he begs the Deity to release him from the task: "Oh my Lord, I have never been eloquent" (Exod 4:10), and "O my Lord, please send someone else" (Exod 4:13). Gideon begs in the same way, pleading with

the messenger of Yahweh to select another person, since his clan and household are the weakest in Manasseh (Judg 6:15). The basis of Joshua's intercession is his personal relationship with the Deity, which is similar to that of Moses in Exod 33, where he too anchors the power of intercession in his own relationship with the Deity: "If I have found favor in your sight, show me your ways" (Exod 33:13).

The intercession of Joshua branches out by shifting focus from his personal circumstance to that of the Deity in Josh 7:9, when Joshua introduces the motif of the divine honor among the nations: "The Canaanites and all those dwelling in the land will hear and they will surround us and they will cut off our name from the land. Then what will you do for your great name?" This motif repeats the intercession of Moses from the first spy story, where Moses reminds Yahweh that if he abandons the Israelites, the Egyptians and all the nations will hear and conclude that "Yahweh was not able to bring this people into the land he swore to give them" (Num 14:13–16). The reputation of Yahweh among the nations as a basis for intercession actually originates in the story of the golden calf (Exod 32:11–12; Deut 9:28), on which the intercession of Moses during the spy story depends (e.g., Num 14:17). The network of inner-biblical ties indicates that the author of Josh 7:6–9 has modeled the action of Joshua on Moses in the brief account of Joshua's intercession before the ark. The comparison also highlights a difference between the intercession of Moses and Joshua that is important for interpreting the book of Joshua. Moses always moves from intercession to petition in the Pentateuch. He intercedes to remind Yahweh of his honor among nations (Exod 32:12; Num 14:13–16; Deut 9:28) in order to petition for mercy or forgiveness from the Deity (Exod 32:13–14; Num 14:17–19; Deut 9:26). The intercession of Joshua before the ark does not include a petition for mercy. The reason is that the anger of Yahweh, which arises from the theft of the banned objects, requires the death of the offending party; there can be no mercy for Achan in this case. The only solution is the extermination of the Judahite, Achan, from the northern camp.

7:10–21. DIVINE REVELATION AND RITUAL UNCOVERING OF SACRILEGE

This section contains the divine response to Joshua's intersession in the form of a series of commands (vv. 10–15), which Joshua fulfills (vv. 16–21). The divine response to Joshua has three parts: (1) an address to Joshua (v. 10), (2) the explanation for the defeat of Israel (vv. 11–12), and (3) the instruction for discovering the guilty party (vv. 13–15). The initial response of the Deity is abrupt: "Get yourself up! What is this that you are falling on your face?" The exclamation "What [*lāmmâ*] is this" appears to be a rejection of Joshua's act of mourning. The same abrupt response occurs in Exod 14:15, when Yahweh also cuts off Moses abruptly to provide instruction on how the Israelites are to cross the Red Sea: "Then Yahweh said to Moses, 'Why [*mah*] do you cry to me! Tell the Israelites to go forward.'" The same shift in focus from the leader to the people occurs in Josh 7:11–12 when Yahweh provides the reason for the defeat of the Israelites at Ai as a violation of holy war.

The divine speech in Josh 7:11–12 introduces the violation of holy war as *ḥāṭṭā,'* "sin," meaning "to miss the mark." The motif appears only twice in the book of Joshua—in this speech by Yahweh and one other time in the confession of Achan: "In truth I

have sinned against Yahweh" (7:20). The phrase "to sin against Yahweh" is a common formulaic expression of confession (e.g., Gen 20:6; Deut 1:41; 9:16; Judg 10:10, 15). The meaning of "sin" is defined more precisely in the narrative context through five clauses in v. 11 that begin with the particle *gam,* "also." The structure of the divine speech can be illustrated in the following manner: "Israel has sinned [*ḥāṭā'*]; (1) [*gam*] they have violated my covenant, which I commanded them; (2) [*gam*] they have taken from the devoted objects; (3) [*gam*] they have stolen; (4) [*gam*] they have acted deceitfully; (5) [*gam*] and they have placed them in their vessels" (7:11). Numbers 2–5 in the series of clauses describe a sequence of action that progresses from the external act of stealing (nos. 2–3) to the internal motive for the action (no. 4) and deception in hiding the objects (no. 5). The first clause (no. 1) characterizes the entire sequence as breaking the covenant.

Yahweh describes the entire process of the theft as violating (*'ābar*) the covenant (*bĕrît*). The use of the verb *'ābar,* "to cross," to describe the breaking of the covenant is unusual. The more common terminology is to state that covenants are "forgotten" (*šākaḥ,* Deut 4:23, 31), "abandoned" (*'āzab,* Deut 29:24; 31:16), or "broken" (*pārar,* e.g., Deut 31:16, 20). Once in Deut 17:2 the phrase "to cross (violate) the covenant" is used in a similar fashion to Josh 7:11 (cf. also Deut 26:13); but the same phrase can also mean the opposite in Deut 29:11 [Eng. 12]: "to enter [*'ābar*] into the covenant [*bĕrît*] of Yahweh, your God, sworn by an oath, which Yahweh your God is making with you today." The phrase may be an ironic allusion to the motif of "crossing the Jordan," which is a central motif in Josh 3–4. More problematic is the reference to the covenant, since none is actually made in the book of Joshua up to this point in the story. Joshua and the elders make a covenant with the Gibeonites later in Josh 9 (vv. 6, 7, 11, 16), and the book concludes with the making of a covenant at Shechem (24:25), but no covenant is established in Josh 1–6 as the basis for the divine statement in Josh 7:11. The motif of the covenant appears regularly in these chapters, however, as a description of the "ark of the covenant" (*'ărôn habbĕrît;* 3:3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17; 4:7, 9, 14; 6:6). The statement of Yahweh may indicate a violation of holy war that is represented by the leading of the ark of the covenant. Support for this interpretation is that the origin of the divine speech is from the ark (7:6). The violation of the covenant may presuppose the establishment of the covenant from the Pentateuch, either from Exodus (e.g., 24:3–8) or more likely from the book of Deuteronomy (e.g., chapters 4; 5). The result of the violation of the covenant in the book of Joshua is the loss of the divine presence. Yahweh states, "I will not continue to be with you, unless you exterminate the banned object from your midst" (7:12). The promise of divine presence has been central to the narrative up to this point (e.g., 1:5; 3:7; 6:27).

Yahweh describes the ritual process for discovering the source of the camp pollution in Josh 7:13–15. The motifs of "sanctification" (7:13) and "drawing near" (7:13, 14) for discovery underscore the cultic setting of the story. The imagery also suggests that the ark continues to be at the center of the ritual even though it is not specifically mentioned. The same motifs describe the Israelites' relationship to the ark at the outset of the crossing of the Jordan River in Josh 3:3–6. There, too, they must sanctify themselves in preparation for following the ark (3:5). The motif of drawing near to the ark also appears at the outset of the crossing of the Jordan, but the dynamic is the reverse of Josh 7:13–15, since the people are warned not "to draw near" to the ark while processing behind it (3:4). The ritual describes the approach of the tribes and the divine selection

of tribes, clans, households, and warriors that resembles the process of a lottery, but the word *gôrāl,* "lot," is absent. The lottery becomes a central motif in the second half of the book of Joshua, as the means by which the tribes receive their portion of the promised land (e.g., 14:2; 15:1; 16:1; 17:1, 14, etc.), which is associated with the cult site at Shiloh (18:8; 19:51).

The Deity states the punishment for the guilty party in Josh 7:15 as death by fire, the same form of destruction that was used on Jericho (6:24) and will be used on Ai (8:8, 19), as well as other cities (11:6, 9, 11). The punishment echoes the law from Deut 13:12–18, where anyone who leads a town astray to worship other gods must also be burned. The reason for the punishment is repeated in v. 15 as "violating the covenant," which is now also described as *nĕbālâ,* "sacrilege." The word often indicates a sexual violation; it first appears in the rape of Dinah, where Shechem "committed a sacrilege [*nĕbālâ*] in Israel by lying with Jacob's daughter" (Gen 34:7); and it is repeated in subsequent rape stories (e.g., Judg 19:24; 20:6; 2 Sam 13:12), as well as in stories of sexual promiscuity (e.g., Deut 22:21; Jer 29:23). The motif in Josh 7:15 infuses the theft of booty with the imagery of sexual promiscuity against the Deity. The plural form of this motif in Hos 2:10 to describe Gomer's adultery and the taking of gifts from her lovers provides commentary on Josh 7:15: "Now I will uncover her shame [*nablôt*] in the sight of her lovers, and no one shall rescue her out of my hand." The Hebrew consonants *nblh* signify two words in Hebrew, sacrilege [*nĕbālâ*] and corpse [*nĕbēlâ*], and both occur in the literary context of the war against Ai in Josh 7–8. The sacrilege of Achan that leads to his death and burial beneath a "heap of stones" (7:15, 25–26) is followed by the death of the king of Ai, where his "corpse" is taken from the tree and also placed under a heap of stones (8:29).

Joshua performs the prescribed ritual and identifies Achan as the guilty party in Josh 7:16–21. The exchange between Joshua and Achan centers on the motif of concealment. Joshua encourages Achan: "So do not hide [*kāḥad*] from me" (7:19). Eli demands the same thing from Samuel: "What was it that he [Yahweh] told you? Do not hide it from me" (1 Sam 3:17; see also 2 Sam 14:18; Jer 38:14). Achan responds by telling Joshua about his desire for the booty, the theft, and the hiding place of the objects beneath his tent. The precious metals of silver, gold, and vessels recall the Israelite plunder of the Egyptians during the exodus (Exod 3:22; 12:35), which becomes the resource for constructing the golden calf (Exod 32:2–5) and the basis for criticism in Exod 33:6, where a more aniconic form of worship is advocated: "The Israelites stripped themselves of their ornaments from Mount Horeb onward." The author of Joshua shares the aniconic perspective of Exod 33:6, while also intensifying the power of the objects to pollute the camp.

7:22–26. PUNISHMENT FOR SACRILEGE AND THE PURGING OF THE CAMP

The story of Achan progresses through a series of actions that include the retrieval of the stolen booty from the tent (v. 22), the placement of the booty before Yahweh (v. 23), and the procession of Achan, his family, and all of his possessions outside the camp to the Valley of Achor (v. 24), where Achan and his family are both stoned and burned. The dual action of stoning and burning combines the two punishments for worship-

ing other gods from Deut 13, where a family member is stoned (13:6–11) and a town is burned (13:7–18). The motif of secrecy from Deut 13 also functions in Josh 7: Achan and his family are stoned because Achan acted secretly (Deut 13:6). The entire family is also burned collectively because the contagion of the devoted objects has infected his entire household (Deut 13:15–16).

The location, the Valley of Achor, becomes the central motif in the concluding etiology of the story, where it occurs twice (vv. 24 and 26) and is also used as a verb, "to make taboo," in the speech of Joshua in v. 25: "Why did you make us taboo [*ʿākar*]? Yahweh will make you taboo [*ʿākar*] on this very day." The verb signifies the creation of confusion or disorder that brings about ruin. Jephthah makes a foolish oath in battle, which forces him to sacrifice his daughter and thus ruin (*ʿākar*) himself (Judg 11:35). Elijah curses into existence a drought (1 Kgs 17:1), which Ahab the king describes as creating ruin (*ʿākar*) in Israel (1 Kgs 18:17). Jacob also states that the slaughter of Shechem by Simeon and Levi will make him taboo (*ʿākar*) among his neighbors and bring ruin upon him and his household (Gen 34:30). In the same way, Achan's theft of sacred booty brings ruin (*ʿākar*) upon the Israelites, which Joshua now applies to Achan and his household as an antidote to purify the camp. He states to Achan that Yahweh will ruin (*ʿākar*) him. The action of creating ruin (*ʿākar*) is similar to the concept of shame in that it results in a condition of taboo (*ʿākar*), which lingers and affects the larger population. The spatial quality of the taboo is conveyed in the geographical etiology that is anchored in the Valley of Achor: "Therefore he called the name of that place Valley of Achor until this day." It is a place of taboo. The relationship of the Valley of Achor and the "great heap of stones" that marks the execution of Achan is only loosely connected in the narrative (for additional discussion of the Valley of Achor, see the "Notes").

Ambush of Ai and Ritual at Ebal and Gerizim (8:1–35)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

The writing of Torah before the ark at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim is the fourth and final stage in the procession of the ark into the promised land to its central sanctuary near Shechem. The previous three stages include the ark's crossing of the Jordan River (3:1–5:12), the procession around Jericho (5:13–6:27), and the intercession of Joshua before the ark after the sacrilege of Achan (7:1–26). The final stage in the northward journey of the ark is a two-part narrative: Josh 8:1–29 recounts the successful ambush and defeat of Ai, and Josh 8:30–35 describes the concluding worship at Ebal and Gerizim. The story of the war against Ai extends over Josh 7–8; it begins in Josh 7:2–5 when the Israelites are defeated in the initial battle against Ai. The reason for the defeat is the sacrilege of Achan, whose story of theft (7:1) and execution (7:6–26) frames the account of Israel's initial defeat (7:2–5). The subsequent victory over Ai is narrated in Josh 8:1–29 and reaches a climax in Josh 8:30–35 when the ark arrives at the northern site of Ebal and Gerizim, where Joshua builds an altar and writes the Torah on its stones. This action results in a blessing on the people that emanates from both mountains.

Joshua 8 recounts the defeat of Ai and the worship on Ebal and Gerizim in four episodes. The story begins with the divine command to destroy Ai by means of an ambush (vv. 1–2), the details of which Joshua conveys to the people (vv. 3–8). The execution of the ambush leads to the destruction of Ai and its king (vv. 9–29). The story concludes with sacrifice on a primitive altar followed by the writing of the Torah and the blessing of the people from the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (vv. 30–35). Joshua 8 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Divine Command to Ambush Ai (vv. 1–2)
2. Joshua's Instructions About the Ambush (vv. 3–8)
3. Execution of the Ambush (vv. 9–29)
4. Ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim (vv. 30–35)

Translation

8:1–2. DIVINE COMMAND TO AMBUSH AI

8 [1]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Take with you all the people of war. Arise, go up to Ai. See, I have given into your hand the king of Ai, his people, his city, and his land. [2]You must do to Ai and to its king as you did to Jericho and its king. Only its spoil and its cattle you may plunder for yourselves. Set an ambush against the city from behind it."

8:3–8. JOSHUA'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT THE AMBUSH

8 [3]And Joshua and all the people of war arose to go up to Ai. And Joshua chose thirty thousand men, mighty warriors. [4]And he commanded them saying, "See, you are ambushing the city from behind the city. Do not go very far from the city. And all of you be ready. [5]And I, and all the people with me, will draw near to the city. And it will be that they will come out to meet us as before and we will flee before them. [6]And they will go out after us until we have lured them from the city, for they will say, 'They are fleeing before us as before.' [7]But you will rise up from the ambush and you will dispossess the city. And Yahweh your God will give it into your hand. [8]And when you seize the city, you will burn the city in fire, according to the word of Yahweh you will act. See, I command you."

8:9–29. EXECUTION OF THE AMBUSH

8 [9]And Joshua sent them and they went to the ambush. And they settled between Bethel and Ai from the west of Ai. And Joshua spent that night with the people.

[10]And Joshua arose early in the morning. He inspected the people, and he went up to Ai, with the elders of Israel before the people. [11]All the people of war, who were with him, went up. And they drew near and they entered before Ai. And they camped north of Ai. But the valley was between him and Ai. [12]And he took five thousand men and placed them in ambush between Bethel and Ai to the west of the city. [13]And they placed the people, the entire camp north of the city and its rearguard west of the city. And Joshua spent that night in the valley.

[14]And when the king of Ai saw, the men of the city hurried, arose early, and went out to meet Israel for war, both he and all his people at the appointed time before the Arabah. But he did not know that there was an ambush against him from behind the city.

[15]And Joshua and all the Israelites pretended to be beaten before them and they fled on the wilderness road. [16]And all the people, who were in the city of Ai, shouted to pursue after them. And they chased Joshua. And they were lured from the city. [17]And not a man was left in Ai or Bethel, who did not go out after the Israelites. They left the city open and they pursued after the Israelites.

[18]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Stretch out toward Ai the sword that is in your hand, for into your hand I will give it."

And Joshua stretched out the sword toward Ai that was in his hand. [19]And the ambush arose quickly from its place and they rushed when he stretched his hand. And they entered the city; they took it. They hurried and they burned the city in fire.

[20]And the men of Ai turned around and they saw. The smoke of the city rose toward heaven. There was in them no strength to flee here or there. But the people, who fled toward the wilderness, turned against the pursuers. [21]Then Joshua and all the Israelites saw that the ambush had taken the city for the smoke of the city rose up; then they turned and killed the men of Ai.

[22]And the others came out from the city to meet them. And they were in the midst of the Israelites, one group on one side and the other group on the other. And they slaughtered them until there was not any survivor or fugitive.
[23]But the king of Ai was captured alive. And they brought him near to Joshua.

[24]And when the Israelites had finished killing all the inhabitants of Ai in the field within the wilderness in which they pursued them, and when all of them had fallen by the edge of the sword until their completion, then all the Israelites returned to Ai and slaughtered it by the edge of the sword. [25]All those who fell that day from the men and women were twelve thousand, all the men of Ai. [26]And Joshua did not hold back his hand, with which he stretched out the sword, until he devoted all the inhabitants of Ai to destruction. [27]Only the cattle and the spoil of that city the Israelites took as booty for themselves according to the word of Yahweh, which he had commanded Joshua. [28]And Joshua burned Ai, and he set it up as a mount of ruin forever until this day.

[29]But the king of Ai he hung on the tree until evening.

And at sunset Joshua gave the command; and they took down his corpse from the tree and they threw it at the entrance of the gate of the city. And they raised on it a heap of great stones until this very day.

8:30–35. CEREMONY AT EBAL AND GERIZIM

8 [30]Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh the God of Israel on Mount Ebal, [31]as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, had commanded the Israelites, as it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses: "An altar of whole stones upon which iron has not struck."

And they offered upon it burnt offerings to Yahweh and they sacrificed well-being offerings.

[32]And he wrote there on the stones a copy of the Torah of Moses, which he wrote before the Israelites.

[33]All the Israelites, their elders, scribes, their judges were standing on either side of the ark, before the Levitical priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh—both resident alien and citizen alike with half in front of Mount Gerizim and half in front of Mount Ebal, as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded to bless the people of Israel the first time.

[34]Afterward he read all the words of the Torah, the blessing and the curse, according to all that was written in the book of the Torah. [35]There was not a word from which Moses had commanded that Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, including the women, the children, and the resident alien who walked in their midst.

Notes

The MT and the LXX differ in length, narrative details, and the sequence of events in Josh 8. The MT provides a more complex setting for the ambush of Ai than the LXX

(vv. 10–13); the versions contain distinct divine commands for waging holy war (v. 18); and they even differ in the sequence of events that lead to the ritual writing of the Torah (vv. 30–35). These differences along with others have raised questions about the relationship between textual criticism and literary criticism in the interpretation of Josh 8. Auld follows the earlier work of Steuernagel (1923: 180), Holmes (1914: 42), and L. J. Greenspoon (1983: 162) in arguing that the longer MT text cannot serve as the basis for evaluating the LXX translation, but that both texts must be viewed from a "more-or-less 'original' common text" (1998a: 11). Van der Meer counters by attributing the textual differences in Josh 8 to the creative work of the LXX translator (2004: 417–78). The problem with reversing the textual relationship, according to van der Meer, is that there is no motive for the complexity of the MT text. Auld counters that the MT is more complex because it emphasizes the location of the camp, even at the expense of narrative logic (1998a: 10). This is evident not only in Josh 8, but also in Josh 5:2–8 and 10:15, 43.

The discovery of yet a third edition of Joshua at Qumran, 4QJosh^{a}, has intensified the debate about whether the MT is the source text for the LXX translation or a later expanded version of the battle against Ai. Ulrich (1995a: 145–46)) and Greenspoon (1992: 170–71) conclude that the fragments of the Qumran version of Josh 8:3–18 require a shorter text than the MT, leading to their argument that the *Vorlage* of the LXX is the more original text. Mazor proposes a three-stage process of growth among the three versions (1994b): The shortest version, 4QJosh^{a}, represents the earliest; the LXX is an intermediate expansion; and the MT is the latest. The process of growth is the result of assimilating features of the parallel story of the fall of Gibeah from Judg 20, which also narrates a two-part ambush that is similar to the MT version of the war against Ai. Mazor also notes a more theological version of the battle in the MT than the earlier versions. Van der Meer counters that 4QJosh^{a} follows the MT with only minor variations (2004: 477).

The arrival of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim, the building of an altar, the writing of the Torah on stones, and the ritual reading of the Torah in the MT of Josh 8:30–35 raise additional questions about the textual history of the book of Joshua, since this story, or portions of it, appear in different locations in the MT, the LXX, and 4QJosh^{a}. The ceremony concludes the story of the defeat of Ai in the MT (8:30–35) just before the gathering of the northern coalition of kings (9:1–2); it appears after the coalition of the kings in the LXX; and in 4QJosh^{a} the ceremony is located at the Jordan River, where it precedes the story of circumcision and the Passover (MT 5:2–12). Interpreters offer a range of text-critical solutions to account for the three different contexts. Tov concludes that "the position of 9:1–2 (in the LXX) is the more plausible" location for the ceremony (1992: 332). Ulrich's discovery that the reading of Torah in 4QJosh^{a} occurs between Josh 5:1 and 5:2 (1994: 89–104) led Noort to conclude that 4QJosh^{a} represents the original location of the story, since it better fulfills the commands of Deut 27* and 11:29–31, even though it creates geographical problems with regard to the location of Ebal and Gerizim. The location of the ceremony in the MT, according to Noort, indicates the theological concerns of a later editor (1997: 161–80; 1998a: 127–44). Nelson argues just the reverse—that either the MT or the LXX is "preferable to the longer and suspiciously easier Qumran text" (1997a: 117). Van der Meer adds that Ebal and Gerizim are not mentioned in 4QJosh^{a}, but only the ritual reading of Torah in Josh 8:34–35, and that the location is actually in the Jordan River, not near it as is often assumed. He concludes that the MT represents the original version (2004: 314).

The LXX translator moved the position of Josh 8:30–35 in the MT to provide a more "historically plausible rendering of the parent text" (2004: 519).

The MT and the LXX agree in the central role of the ambush, as a trickster story of war, and in the hubris of the enemy, who in their arrogance are deceived and then undone by the Israelites. However, the two textual traditions diverge (1) in the setting, (2) in the chronology, and (3) in the nature of the holy-war event against Ai, underscoring further the distinct literary aims of the MT and the LXX. The overview summarizes the story in the MT before underscoring the points of contrast in the LXX.

THE MT VERSION OF THE DEFEAT OF AI

The battle strategy against Ai in the MT is a complex and repetitive story of divine command for war against the city, the magical power of Joshua to wage holy war with a raised sword, and a concluding ritual that includes a sacrifice on a primitive altar of uncut stones and the writing of the Torah of Moses. The events extend over three days, with the setting of the story ranging widely from the area of Ai and Bethel to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, which is a location twenty miles north near Shechem. The story in the MT progresses in the following manner:

Day One. On day one (vv. 1–9), Yahweh commands Joshua to wage holy war against Ai (vv. 1–2). Joshua selects thirty thousand soldiers to ambush the city from the rear, commanding them to linger near the city and to be ready for the ambush. The large force of warriors must hide behind Ai for nearly two full days, since the ambush takes place on day three. The MT concludes the events of the first day by anchoring the instructions for holy war in a command from Yahweh, who demands the total annihilation of the city by fire.

Day Two. On day two (vv. 10–13), Joshua approaches Ai for battle to draw the warriors of the city out and to set the stage for the ambush. He camps north of the city with a valley between the camp and the city, and he chooses another five thousand men for an additional ambush party west of the city, creating a partial repetition with the events from day one, since there are now two ambush parties, one of thirty thousand soldiers and another of five thousand.

Day Three. On the third day (vv. 14–35), Joshua draws out the king of Ai for war, allowing for the ambush of the empty cities of Ai and now also of Bethel. Yahweh directs the battle against Ai, empowering the Israelite forces by means of the raised sword of Joshua, until all the inhabitants are devoted to destruction, the spoil of war is taken, and the king of Ai is hung on a tree and buried beneath the city's ruined gate. The third day concludes with the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim, twenty miles north of Ai, for sacrifices on a primitive altar and the writing and reading of the Torah.

The three-day sequence of the battle and the wide-ranging setting of the story indicate that the MT lacks the verisimilitude of historical narrative. Rather, it is a theological story of divine command and judgment against the city. The defeat of Ai (and Bethel)

is due to a combination of the arrogance of the king of Ai and the power of Yahweh in the magical sword of Joshua. The polemical view of cities and kings is underscored in the conclusion, when the Israelites are transported twenty miles north to sacrifice on a primitive altar devoid of technology. The ceremony concludes the ritual procession of the ark. The primitive symbolism of the altar is an idealized form of aniconic worship and rural life in the promised land without royal city-states or monarchs.

THE LXX VERSION OF THE DEFEAT OF AI

The LXX presents a less complex story that conforms more closely to historical narrative and battle procedures. The battle against Ai takes place over two days, and the setting of the event is streamlined:

Day One. On day one (vv. 1–9), the Lord commands Joshua to wage war against the king of Ai and his land, but unlike the MT, there is no divine command to burn the city in fire. Joshua chooses thirty thousand warriors to set an ambush on Ai, whom he sends out during the night.

Day Two. On day two (vv. 10–29), the battle against Ai takes place. The LXX lacks the more complex setting of the MT, which includes the selection of five thousand additional soldiers for the ambush. Instead, Joshua and his forces are on the east side of the city, and the thirty thousand soldiers, who moved into place during the night, are on the west side. The sword of Joshua also plays an important role in the LXX version of the story, but as a signal for the ambush to begin, rather than as a magical source of divine power in holy war. The events of the battle follow the sequence of the MT with one exception: The king of Ai is buried in a pit rather than under the city gate. The literary context of the ritual on Ebal and Gerizim is also changed in the LXX, so that it follows the notice in Josh 9:1–2 of the preparation for war by the Hittite, Amorite, Canaanite, Perizzite, Hivite, and Jebusite kings. The change in sequence separates the closing ceremony on Ebal and Gerizim from the battle of Ai, which creates a somewhat more realistic narrative, allowing for the change of setting and a more extended chronology, while the indigenous kings are preoccupied with the preparation for war. See the "Notes" to Josh 9 for additional interpretation of the effect of the different literary context of the reading of Torah at Ebal and Gerizim in the LXX.

The battle story in the LXX version of Josh 8 has more verisimilitude than the MT version and conforms more to the requirements of history writing. The battle occurs in one day, thirty thousand troops do not linger behind Ai for two days, there are not two ambush groups, the setting is simplified, the magical aspect of the sword in the battle is absent, the burial of the king's body in a pit better conforms to the storyline of the city's destruction, and the separation of the closing ceremony from the defeat of Ai allows for the change in location to the more northern setting of Ebal and Gerizim. Although the burning of Ai remains an important motif in the etiological conclusion (v. 28), the city's destruction is not anchored in divine command, as it is in the MT (v. 8). See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

8:1 *Fear not! Be not dismayed!* The Hebrew command not to fear, *'al-tîrā' wĕ'al-tēḥat,* uses technical language of holy war (E. W. Conrad, 1985: 143–45; see also P. E. Dion, 1970) that goes beyond the divine exhortation to Joshua in the opening chapter (1:6, 7, 9, 18). The LXX, *mē phobēthēis mēde deiliasēis,* on the other hand, repeats the language from the opening chapter (Moatti-Fine, 1996: 134).

the king of Ai, his people, his city, and his land. The LXX differs from the MT by not listing the city or the people in the divine prediction of destruction, thereby limiting the war to the king and the land.

8:2 *Only its spoil and its cattle.* The MT separates spoil and cattle, *šĕlālāh ûbĕhemtāh,* as compared with the LXX, which suggests that the spoil is the cattle, *tēn pronomēn tōn ktēnōn.*

8:3 *And Joshua chose thirty thousand men, mighty warriors.* The LXX adds that Joshua sent this force out during the night, *kai apesteilen autous nuktos.*

8:5 *I, and all the people.* The LXX lacks the reference to the people.

8:7–8 *you will dispossess the city. And Yahweh your God will give it into your hand. And when you seize the city, you will burn the city in fire.* The MT describes an action of total annihilation against Ai. The people are commanded to dispossess, *wĕhôraštem,* the city, which is further defined as destruction by fire. The LXX eliminates the destruction of the city in the MT as a divine command, simply stating that the warriors must enter the city, *poreusesthe.*

according to the word of Yahweh you will act. The LXX lacks any reference to divine command.

8:9 *And Joshua spent that night with the people.* The LXX lacks the clause.

8:10–13 The MT and the LXX present different versions of the ambush of Ai.

MT

[10]And Joshua arose early in the morning. He inspected the people, and he went up to Ai, with the elders of Israel before the people. [11]All the people of war, who were with him, went up. And they drew near and they entered before Ai. And they camped *north* of Ai. But the valley was between him and Ai. [12]And he took five thousand men and placed them in ambush between Bethel and Ai to the *west* of the city. [13]And they placed the people, the entire camp *north* of the city and its rearguard *west* of the city. And Joshua spent that night in the valley.

LXX

[10]And Iesous arose early in the morning and he inspected the people. And they went up, he and the elders, before the people to Gai. [11]And all the military people went up with him. And traveling, they went opposite the city *east*.

[12]And the ambush of the city was *from the west.*

In the MT, the people approach the city and camp north of it, with a valley between the camp and Ai. The ambush group is placed west of the city. The LXX locates the people to the east of the city, with the ambush group to the west.

8:13 *And Joshua spent that night in the valley.* The Hebrew does not use the expected verb, *lîn,* "to spend the night" (see 8:9), but the verb *hālak,* "to go, walk." The clause is absent in the LXX.

8:14 *the men of the city hurried.* The MT singles out the "men of the city" as engaging the Israelites in war. The LXX lacks the reference and retains the king as the subject of the verbs.

at the appointed time. The MT describes the encounter of the armies with the term *môʿēd,* "an appointed time." The LXX may have reinterpreted the term with the phrase *ep eutheias,* which describes the battle formation of the king as either meeting the Israelites "in a straight line" or emphasizing the urgency of their meeting "in haste, immediately." The MT is unclear. Van der Meer writes: "It is unclear . . . what is meant with this appointment, since the logic of the narrative excludes the possibility that the Israelites and the inhabitants of Ai had made an appointment where to meet for battle" (2004: 422). Wellhausen resolves the problem by interpreting *môʿēd* in the MT as "dusk" (1899: 126). It may be that the MT use of *môʿēd* is intended to signify the cultic character of the conflict (e.g., Gen 1:14; Num 10:10; Lev 23:2), thus underscoring the holy-war quality of the battle, which is absent in the LXX.

before the Arabah. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:2. The location of the battle in the MT is absent in the LXX.

8:15 *And Joshua and all the Israelites pretended to be beaten before them.* The Niphal form of the Hebrew *wayyinnāgĕʿû* underscores deception on the part of Joshua in the military strategy, since it indicates an action "which the subject allows to happen to himself or to have an effect upon himself" (GKC 51c). The LXX eliminates the motif of deception with *kai eiden kai anechōrēsen,* [Iesous and Israel] "saw and retreated."

8:15–16 *and they fled on the wilderness road. And all the people, who were in the city of Ai, shouted to pursue after them. . . . And they were lured from the city.* The LXX lacks the motif of shouting as well as the direction of the Israelite flight "on the wilderness road." In addition, the people of Ai are not lured out of the city but depart from it in the LXX of 8:16b.

8:17 *in Ai or Bethel.* The reference to Bethel in the MT is unexpected and absent in the LXX. For discussion of Ai and Bethel, see the "Notes" to Josh 7:2.

8:18 The MT and the LXX present distinct divine commands to Joshua:

MT	*LXX*
[18]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Stretch out toward Ai the sword that is in your hand, for into your hand I will give it."	[18]And the Lord said to Iesous, "Stretch out your hand with the javelin that is in your hand toward the city, for I have given it into your hand. And the ambush party will rise up quickly from their place."

In the MT, there is one command that Joshua stretch out the sword in his hand. The focus of the command is on the power of the raised sword to defeat Ai. The MT suggests a story that is intended to recall the raised hands of Moses in the war against the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–16). In the LXX, there are two commands: First, Joshua is instructed to stretch out his hand with the sword in it; and second, the ambush is to begin immediately. The focus in the LXX is on the function of the raised sword as a signal for battle and not as the source of divine power in war.

the sword that is in your hand. The Hebrew *kûdôn* occurs infrequently in the Hebrew Bible, where it is a weapon of Joshua (8:18, 26), Goliath (1 Sam 17:6, 45), the foe from the north (Jer 6:23; 50:42), and the war horse (Job 39:23), and a useless weapon

against Leviathan (Job 41:29). The translation "sword" is approximate. Other translations include "sicklesword" (Boling and Wright, 1982: 240) and scimitar (*HALOT* 13483)—the curved sword that broadens out near the point, like the sickle sword. The curved sword was prominent in the second millennium but became obsolete and was replaced by the straight sword, after which time it became a symbol of power rather than an active weapon of war (O. Keel, 1974: 11–82). The research suggests that the sword has a symbolic role in the composition of the MT of Joshua. The sword appears in Egyptian iconography in the hand of Pharaoh to signify victory in war. Fritz concludes that the curved sword in the hand of Joshua represents this symbolic tradition, rather than the representation of realistic battle practice (1994: 93). Boling and Wright write of the symbolic power of the sword in Joshua: "Joshua with sicklesword in hand strikes a pose that enacts a venerable sign of divine sovereignty" (1982: 241). Thus, according to Moatti-Fine (1996: 137), the *kîdôn* likely triggers the power of Yahweh against the enemy in holy war, as was the case with the raised hand of Moses in the war against the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–16). The statement in v. 26 of the MT that Joshua extends the sword until the destruction of Ai was complete reinforces the emphasis on divine power in holy war. Sirach may provide more specific insight into the symbolic meaning of the *kîdôn* in Joshua as a weapon that destroys cities. In eulogizing Joshua, Sirach writes, "How glorious he was when he lifted his hands and brandished his sword [*kîdôn*] against the cities!" (Sir 46:2). The LXX *gaisos,* "a sort of javelin" (LS 335), does not reflect the symbolic meaning of the *kîdôn* in the MT. The function of the *kîdôn* also shifts in the LXX, from the source of divine power in war to a signal for battle (van der Meer, 2004: 469). In the LXX, the ambush of Ai is part of the divine instruction to Joshua (v. 18), suggesting that the translator either does not understand the symbolic meaning of the weapon or has chosen to rewrite the story to reflect more realistic battle strategy. The LXX further differs from the MT insofar as it does not explicitly interpret the event as holy war that requires the execution of the ban (v. 26).

8:20 *But the people, who fled toward the wilderness, turned against the pursuers.* The sentence is absent in the LXX.

8:21 *for the smoke of the city rose up.* The LXX adds *eis ton ouranon,* "to heaven."

8:22 *And the others came out from the city to meet them. And they were in the midst of the Israelites, one group on one side and the other group on the other.* The Hebrew *wĕʾēlleh,* "and the others," signifies either the citizens of Ai who were not destroyed in v. 21 and thus fled the city or the Israelite ambush party who leaves the city to attack the army of Ai that was following Joshua. The LXX *kai houtoi,* "and these," is equally ambiguous. Even more problematic in the LXX is the imagery of the camp, which is absent in the MT: "And they were in the midst of the camp, some on this side and some on that side." Moatti-Fine rightly notes that the Greek *parembolē,* "camp," does not fit the context (1996: 137).

8:24 *in the field within the wilderness.* The MT reference to the wilderness, *bammmidbār,* is not clear. For discussion of the geographical term "wilderness," see the "Notes" to Josh 1:4. The LXX reads *en tō orei epi tēs katabaseōs,* "on the mountain, at the descent," picking up the motif from Josh 7:5.

when all of them had fallen by the edge of the sword. The clause is absent in the LXX.

then all the Israelites returned to Ai and slaughtered it by the edge of the sword. The LXX has Joshua as the subject of the action rather than the Israelites.

8:26 *And Joshua did not hold back his hand, with which he stretched out the sword, until he devoted all the inhabitants of Ai to destruction.* The interpretation of the event as an exercise of the divine ban is absent in the LXX.

8:29 *But the king of Ai he hung on the tree until evening.* The Hebrew *ʿēṣ,* "tree," is clarified in the LXX as being a "forked tree" (*xulou didymou*), suggesting some form of gallows. The LXX plus "probably reflects an expansion introduced by the Greek translator to underline this specific type of punishment" (van der Meer, 2004: 475). Moatti-Fine notes that Origen (*HomJosh* 8.3) transforms the imagery of gallows and crucifixion to provide commentary on the crucifixion of Jesus (1996: 138). The removal of the corpse at sunset follows the law of Deut 21:22–23.

they threw it at the entrance of the gate of the city. The LXX *erripsan auton eis ton bothron,* "they threw him into a pit," departs from the MT.

8:30 *Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh the God of Israel.* The MT introduces the episode of the reading of the Torah at Gerizim and Ebal with *ʾāz* followed by the imperfect form of the verb *yibneh.* I. Rabinowitz concludes that the syntactical construction *ʾāz,* "then," with the prefixed form of the verb is intended to relate the literary unit to the previous narrative (1984). The prefixed form of the verb *yibneh* would normally be translated "will build," but in the present syntactical construction it is rendered in the past (*BHS* 31.6.3). The LXX also translates the phrase in the past, *tote ōkodomēsen jesous,* "then Iesous built." The syntax underscores the importance of the narrative context for interpreting Josh 8:30–35. The same syntactical structure relates the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18) to the narrative of the confrontation at the Red Sea in Exod 14. Despite the syntax, interpreters conclude that the episode disrupts the narrative context. Butler writes that "Joshua 8:30–35 does not fit the present geographical, chronological, or narrative context" (1983: 94). The statement in Josh 9:1 that the kings "heard" is a reference to the destruction of Ai in Josh 8:1–29, suggesting a direct continuation of the narrative before the insertion of Josh 8:30–35. The problem of context is evident in the LXX, which shifts the entire episode to the following chapter by placing the ceremony of Josh 8:30–35 after the notice that the indigenous kings were organizing for war (9:1–2). Van der Meer suggests that the interest of the LXX translator is to fashion "an historically plausible rendering" of the problematic sequence in the MT by placing the ceremony after Josh 9:1–2. The different literary context in the LXX achieves a somewhat more logical sequence, allowing for the placement of Joshua farther north while also creating a more realistic sequence of events, in which the Israelites observe the ritual reading of Torah while the nations prepare for battle (2004: 519). The discovery of 4QJosh^{a} compounds the problem of context, because it locates part of the ceremony at the Jordan River before the story of circumcision and the observance of Passover in Josh 5:2–12 (Ulrich, 1994: 91; 1995a: 145). Ulrich (1994) and Noort (1998b) interpret the literary context of 4QJosh^{a} to represent the oldest or original version of the story. They note a similar sequence in Josephus (*Ant*. 5.16–20). Tov argues that the sequence in 4QJosh^{a} represents a rewriting of the literary context that locates the ceremony later in Joshua (2012: 79–85). Nelson (1997a: 117) and van der Meer (2004: 511–14, 532) agree with Tov, which also represents my reading. The literary strategy of Josh 3–8

favors the context of the ceremony in the MT and the LXX since it provides the conclusion of the procession of the ark into the promised land at the mountains Ebal and Gerizim. The context indicates that the ceremony is not simply a response to the destruction of Ai in Josh 8:1–29 or even of Jericho in Josh 6 but reaches back to the procession of the ark into the promised land that began with the crossing of the Jordan River (see "Composition" for further discussion).

Mount Ebal . . . Mount Gerizim. Mount Ebal is situated north of contemporary Nablus, biblical Shechem, and is associated with Mount Gerizim, which may be situated south of biblical Shechem. Historical geographers have identified the site of Gerizim with Jebel et-Tor and Ebal with el-Burnat. The Samaritan community still maintains a synagogue on Mount Gerizim. Ebal and Gerizim appear together in Deuteronomy and Joshua, often in association with Shechem. Mount Ebal appears fives times: three times in Deuteronomy as the mountain where the law must be written on plastered stones (27:4) and where the Israelites perform a covenant ritual of cursing (11:29; 27:13), and two times in Joshua as the location of the altar of uncut stones (8:30) and of blessing (8:33). Mount Gerizim appears four times: twice in Deuteronomy as the mountain of blessing (11:29; 27:12), once in Joshua as the mountain of blessing (8:33), and once in Judges as the site from which Jotham addresses the citizens of Shechem (9:7). The Samaritan Pentateuch increases the references to Mount Gerizim, making it the location where Abraham journeys to sacrifice Isaac (Gen 22:2), the central place of worship (Deut 12:5), and the location where Joshua builds an altar (Deut 27:4). The increased references to Mount Gerizim in the Samaritan Pentateuch indicate the growing importance of the location to the Samaritans during the postexilic period.

A. Zertal (1986–1987) has excavated the site of Mount Ebal, identifying twelve levels, with one from the Middle Bronze period and the remainder from the Persian period. P. M. A. Pitkänen reviews the possible connection of the site with early Israelite history, noting the problematic nature of any identification, while also maintaining the possibility "that the site was connected with Joshua" (2010: 192–204). The problem for Pitkänen with the late dating of the ritual at Mount Ebal in Josh 8:30–35 is that "it is doubtful that a late writer would have created a story about an important ceremony outside of Jerusalem in the territory of Joseph, if he were promoting the centrality of Jerusalem" (2010: 204). The literary structure of Josh 3–8, in which the ark processes to Ebal and Gerizim, suggests that the author does indeed advance a central northern cultic location over against the centrality of Jerusalem. The importance of Ebal and Gerizim is underscored by the lack of verisimilitude in the narrative of Josh 8. For the ark to reach its intended goal in the narrative world of the book of Joshua, the author advances the setting of the narrative twenty miles north of Ai, in territory that is yet to be conquered. The problem of verisimilitude in the narrative is evident in Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 64: 9–17) and the Madaba map, where Ebal and Gerizim are relocated near the Jordan River (Eusebius) or retained in two places—near Shechem and by the Jordan River (Madaba map). In commenting on the LXX, Auld writes, "There is nothing in the text to prove that Jesus [Joshua] remained in the hill-country after taking Gai [Ai] and simply moved some way north, rather than returning to a base down in the valley near Iereiko [Jericho]" (2005: 152). I argue, instead, that the literary problems of geography, chronology, and narrative logic in the MT and to a lesser degree in the

LXX indicate how important the northern setting is to the author of Joshua, as the concluding location for the procession of the ark into the promised land. For further discussion of the literary function of Josh 8:30–35 and its relationship to the book of Deuteronomy (27:1–13; 11:29–30), see "Composition" and "Comments."

8:31 *as Moses, the servant of Yahweh.* The Hebrew *mōšeh 'ebed-yhwh* is translated in the LXX as *mōusēs ho therapōn kyriou,* "Moyses the servant (or healer) of the Lord." See the "Notes" to Josh 1:1.

as it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses: "An altar of whole stones upon which iron has not struck." The MT *kakkātûb bĕsēper tôrat mōšeh* is translated with less specificity in the LXX as *katha gegraptai en tōi nomōi mōusē,* "as it is written in the law of Moyses," where the reference to "the book" is absent. The reference to a written source of Mosaic law, followed by a specific quotation, is extremely rare in the MT and in the LXX, occurring only in Josh 8:31 and 2 Chr 25:4.

And they offered upon it burnt offerings to Yahweh and they sacrificed well-being offerings. The two plural verbs in the MT are rendered as one verb in the singular in the LXX, *anebibasen.*

8:32 *And he wrote there on the stones a copy of the Torah of Moses.* The Hebrew *mišnēh,* meaning "transcription" or "copy" (*HALOT* 15613), also occurs in Deut 17:18, where it describes the transcription of the Torah of Moses for the king. The LXX translation, *to deuteronomion nomon mōusē,* is unclear. It may be an explicit reference to the book of Deuteronomy or a more general reference to "a second law." The absence of the reference to a book, *sēper,* in the LXX translation of vv. 31 and 34 suggests the more general translation, "a second law," in v. 32. Compare van der Meer (2004: 505).

8:33 *were standing.* The MT describes the placement of the different characters, as compared with the LXX (v. 9^{2d}), which describes a process: "And all Israel and their elders and their judges and their scribes were passing by [*pareporeuonto*] on one side and the other of the ark, opposite."

the Levitical priests. The LXX separates the categories of priest and Levite, *kai hoi hiereis kai hoi levitai.* See the "Notes" on Josh 3:3.

both resident alien and citizen alike. The Hebrew *kaggēr kā'ezrāḥ* is a formula that is limited for the most part to the Priestly literature in the Pentateuch (Exod 12:19, 48, 49; Lev 16:29; 17:15; 18:26; 19:34; 24:16, 22; Num 9:14; 15:29–30; see also Ezek 47:22) and may be a reference to Judeans and Samaritans during the Second Temple period (J. G. Vink, 1969: 77–80; see also H. Cazelles, 1954; and P. Grelot, 1956). The LXX translates as *ho prosēlytos kai ho autochthon,* "the proselytes and the native-born."

to bless the people of Israel the first time. The Hebrew *bāri'šōnâ,* "the first time," is ambiguous. Three interpretations have been offered. (1) "The first time" may refer to the past command of Moses, when the instructions were first given in Deut 11 and 27. This is the interpretation of Nelson: "Just as Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded *at first* to bless the people" (1997a: 116). For this reading, however, one would expect the Hebrew *kāri'šōnâ,* "like the first," as in Deut 9:18 when Moses states, "Then I lay prostrate before Yahweh like the first time [*kāri'šōnâ*]." (2) "The first time" may indicate the two-part sequence of the blessing of the people (v. 33) and the reading of the law, which includes blessings and curses (v. 34). Van der Meer follows this interpretation

when he suggests a restrictive meaning that forebodes disobedience: "in the beginning everything might be a blessed situation, but sin and curse are lurking" (2004: 510). (3) The phrase may be read temporally, indicating that the blessing of the people is taking place *for the first time,* as in Num 10:13: "They [Israel] set out *for the first time* [*bāri'šōnâ*] at the command of Yahweh by Moses" (*HALOT* 21467). My translation follows this interpretation. The blessing of the people before the ark at Ebal and Gerizim represents the culmination of the procession of the ark that began with the crossing of the Jordan River (Josh 3:1–8:35). Thus, the blessing of the people is the initial cultic action after the ark arrives at its designated site. The process is similar to the Priestly account of the final descent of the glory of Yahweh into the altar of the tabernacle, which also culminates in the blessing of the people for the first time at Mount Sinai (Lev 10:22). See the "Comments" for further interpretation. The Greek *en prōtois* likely follows the meaning of the Hebrew, also indicating the first occurrence. But see Auld, who translates the LXX, "just as Moses the minister of Lord commanded to bless the people *at first*" (2005: 27).

8:34 *according to all that was written in the book of the Torah.* The LXX lacks the reference to the book, *sēper.*

the resident alien who walked in their midst. The MT describes the resident alien (*gēr*) as "walking in the midst of Israel," which is translated in the LXX as "approached [*prosporeuomenois*] Israel." I retain the term "proselyte" in the LXX for the MT *gēr,* although the intended meaning is unclear. Auld translates the LXX as "sojourner" (2005: 153), as compared with "immigrant" by Moatti-Fine (1996: 141).

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The story of the ambush and defeat of Ai extends over Josh 7–8. It begins in Josh 7:2–5 when the Israelites are defeated in the initial battle against Ai. The reason for the defeat is the sacrilege of Achan, whose story of theft (7:1) and execution (7:6–26) frames the account of Israel's initial defeat at Ai (7:2–5). Joshua 8 returns to the theme of the war against Ai and thus is part of the larger narrative of Josh 7–8. The divine command in Josh 8:1 that Joshua "Fear not!" refers back to the initial defeat in Josh 7:2–5, while also pointing the reader ahead to the renewed conquest of the city in Josh 8, when Yahweh commands Joshua to take all of the Israelite warriors to battle a second time against the king of Ai. The literary unity of Josh 7, however, gives way to a more complicated narrative in Josh 8 that is evident in the significant differences between the MT and the LXX. The comparison of these versions indicates two related literary problems in the composition of Josh 8: (1) the ambush of Ai in Josh 8:1–29, which is longer and more complicated in the MT than the LXX; and (2) the content and the literary context of the closing ceremony at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, in Josh 8:30–35, which repeats themes from Deut 11:29–30 and 27:1–13 and is in different locations in the MT and the LXX.

The strategy and the geography of the ambush against Ai are significantly different in the MT and the LXX. The LXX narrates a single ambush party of thirty thousand warriors and a battle that takes place over two days (LXX 8:3–12 = MT 8:3–11a). The MT includes an additional ambush party of five thousand warriors that extends the

battle to three days (MT 8:11b–13). The additional material in the MT is also framed by a repetition in vv. 9b and 13b in which Joshua is described as spending "that night with the people" (v. 9b) and spending "that night in the valley" (v. 13b). The resumptive repetition suggests that one of the accounts of the ambush in the MT is an addition to the story. But interpreters debate which is the original version. Wellhausen recognized the literary doublet in Josh 8:9, 11 and 12–13 as separate accounts of the ambush (1899: 125–26). He concluded that the version of the ambush with five thousand warriors in vv. 12–13 is the more realistic and thus the original account. This version proceeds from v. 3a: "And Joshua and all the people of war arose to go up to Ai." It continues into v. 14: "And when the king of Ai saw." The ambush party of thirty thousand warriors in vv. 3b–11 is the addition, according to Wellhausen. Noth reached the opposite conclusion, arguing that vv. 11b-12 is the secondary addition—a variant of the original story that is framed by resumptive repetition in vv. 9b and 13b (1971b: 51).

The debate over the composition of the battle against Ai is refined in more recent interpretations that focus on the geography of the story in the LXX and the MT. The comparison of the geographical details in the two versions results in four general conclusions: (1) The different versions of the battle against Ai in the MT (8:3–9 and 10–13) and in the LXX agree for the most part on the location of the ambush party west of Ai between the cities of Ai and Bethel (MT 8:9 and 12; LXX 8:9). (2) The minor differences between the accounts include the description of the ambush party in the MT of Josh 8:3–9 (v. 4) and the LXX (8:4) as being "behind the city," while in Josh 8:10–13 the ambush party is identified as the "rearguard" (8:13). (3) The more significant difference between the MT and the LXX is that the MT includes the citizens of Bethel in the war against Israel (8:17), as compared with the LXX, which limits the confrontation to the people of Ai (8:17). (4) The MT and the LXX depart further on the location of Joshua during the battle. In Josh 8:3–9, he is not clearly located in the battle; he is simply described as "drawing near to the city" (in both the MT and the LXX of 8:5). In the MT of Josh 8:10–13, however, Joshua camps north of Ai with a valley between his campsite and the city (8:11), while in the LXX of Josh 8:10–12 he is located east of the city opposite the ambush party, which is located on the west side of Ai.

Interpreters vary in evaluating the distinct geographical details of the battle in the two accounts. H. N. Rösel concludes from the detailed topographical information in the MT of Josh 8:10–13 that it represents the original version of the story composed by an author who was familiar with the terrain (1975: 167–70), as compared with the near absence of detailed information in the MT of Josh 8:3–9 or the simplified version in the LXX of Josh 8:10–12. Van der Meer agrees with Rösel, identifying Josh 7:2–5a; 8:10–14, 18–20, 26 as the original pre-Deuteronomistic version of the story, which the Deuteronomistic Historian expands, with the inclusion of Josh 7:5b–9?, 8:1–9, 15, 21–25, 27–29, and the translator of the LXX simplifies (2004: 442–52, 476). Steuernagel, on the other hand, favors the LXX as reflecting the most original version of the story on the basis of its shorter and clearer presentation of the battle (1923: 236), as does Holmes (1914: 42). Auld agrees, noting that the MT version of Josh 8:10–13 is an expansion that is overly concerned to locate the camp of Israel over against the city of Ai and the position of Joshua during the battle (1998a: 9–10). The preoccupation with the camp's location reinforces the important role of geographical setting in the different versions.

The comparison of the battle against Ai in the two MT versions of Josh 8:3–9 and 10–13 and in the LXX of Josh 8:10–12 indicates a history of composition surrounding the details of the battle, but it is not possible to reconstruct the process that has resulted in the three distinct accounts. The differences between the MT and the LXX do suggest that the geography of the story, especially the location of Joshua and the camp, plays an important role in the history of composition. The LXX locates the battle of Ai east of the city, suggesting a story that is tied more closely to the setting of Jericho and also implying that the Israelite camp remains at Gilgal, even though the motif of the camp is absent from the LXX version. The aim of the LXX translator may be to emphasize the battle tactics of Joshua in order to present a more realistic story of the ambush over a two-day period. The MT locates the battle of Ai north of the city and stresses that the camp of Israel is also in this northern setting (8:11, 13). The distinction in geographical setting may be related to the different narrative contexts of the ceremony at Mount Ebal in the MT and the LXX. The northern setting of the MT ties the battle against Ai more closely to the concluding ceremony at Mount Ebal, which is narrated immediately after the battle in Josh 8:30–35, in contrast to the LXX version, where the ceremony is postponed until the northern kingdoms gather for battle (after the MT of 9:1–2).

The content and the literary context of the ceremony in Josh 8:30–33 has long raised questions of composition. The building of an altar on Mount Ebal and the writing of the Torah on stones repeat portions of Deut 11:29–30 and 27:1–13. This repetition raises questions about the literary relationship of these texts, especially whether Josh 8:30–33 is composed by the same or a different author. The authorship of Josh 8:30–33 is further complicated by its literary context. The episode suspends momentarily the narrative progression of war against the Canaanite city-states by placing the Israelites north in unconquered territory within the vicinity of Shechem for a cultic ceremony with the ark. Then just as abruptly the story of war continues in Josh 9:1–2 with the notice that the kings of Canaan "heard" of this—meaning most likely the defeat of Ai—and prepare to "fight Joshua and Israel," who are now located in the camp at Gilgal (9:6). Butler summarizes the problem of verisimilitude that faces all interpreters of the passage: "Joshua 8:30–35 does not fit the present geographical, chronological, or narrative context" (1983: 94). The study of composition will separate between the problem of content and literary context.

CONTENT

Joshua 8:30–33 and Deut 11:29–33; 27:1–13 share a number of motifs, indicating some form of literary dependence. A review of the similarities and differences among the texts provides insight into the composition of Joshua. I begin the interpretation with Deuteronomy before turning to Joshua.

Deuteronomy 27:1–13 recounts the instruction of Moses and the elders to the Israelites that they erect plastered stones upon which to write the Torah at Mount Ebal after crossing the Jordan River. The instruction is judged to be a late addition to the book of Deuteronomy that fits uneasily in its present narrative context. J. H. Tigay notes that the joint address of Moses and the elders in Deut 27 disrupts the literary context of Deut 26 and 28, where only Moses is the speaker (1996: 488). The same problem of style and literary context appears in Deut 11:29–30, where a blessing and a curse on

the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, also stand out from the surrounding literature (Mayes, 1979: 218). N. Na'aman concludes that the command to build an altar on Ebal (27:4–8) and the linking of a blessing and a curse to the two mountains (11:26–30; 27:11–13) conflict with the Deuteronomistic doctrine, which "avoided . . . a permanent affinity between YHWH and the land as a physical entity" (2000: 153). The conflict in ideology further supports the judgment that the literary units represent a late addition to the book of Deuteronomy.

Most interpreters conclude that Deut 27:1–13 has a history of composition, although the literary solutions vary widely (for an overview of interpretation, see C. Nihan, 2007: 199–217). The clearest evidence is the repetition in Deut 27:2 and 4 of "on the day when you cross over the Jordan," which signals distinct commands in vv. 2–3 and 4–8 to erect the plastered stones for writing the Torah (M. Anbar, 1985). In Deut 27:2–3 the people are instructed to erect the plastered stones in the vicinity of Gilgal immediately after crossing the Jordan. This account may continue into vv. 9–10, where the people are also commanded to obey the commandments (Nihan, 2007: 200–210). Deuteronomy 27:4–8 repeats the demand to erect plastered stones across the Jordan, only now they are located at Mount Ebal near Shechem. This version also adds the requirement that the people build an altar of "uncut" stones for sacrifices (vv. 5–7). This requirement relates to Exod 20:24–26, where Moses first constructs an altar of uncut stones for sacrifice, and perhaps also to Exod 24:4–5, where Moses builds an altar of twelve stones. The command in Deut 27:4–8 may continue into vv. 11–13 (Nihan, 2007: 200–210), which contain the ceremony of the blessing on Mount Gerizim and the cursing on Mount Ebal, although interpreters evaluate the composition of this section in a variety of ways.

The recognition that Deut 27:4–8 is a reinterpretation of Deut 27:2–3 is important for the interpretation of Josh 8:30–33. The reference to "these stones" in Deut 27:4 is to the large plastered stones in v. 2, which signals a new interpretation, while the command "to expound" or "to establish the legal authority" (Piel of *bā'ar*) of the Torah in v. 8 refers back to Deut 1:1–5, indicating that Deut 27:4–8 is part of the late editorial framing of the book of Deuteronomy (Nelson, 2002: 17). Comparison of Josh 8:30–33 and Deut 27:4–8 indicates that the ritual in Joshua reflects the present form of Deut 27:1–13 and that it follows the structure of the addition in Deut 27:4–8 (e.g., Na'aman, 2000: 148; Nihan, 2007: 218; Noort, 1997: 170–73, 176). The ceremony of Joshua takes place on Mount Ebal (Josh 8:30 = Deut 27:4); it includes the building of an altar with uncut stones (Josh 8:31 = Deut 27:5–6); Joshua undertakes burnt offerings and well-being offerings (Josh 8:31 = Deut 27:7); and he writes the law of Moses on stones (Josh 8:32 = Deut 27:8), which is itself an interpretation of Exod 20:24–26, indicating not only the influence of late tradition in Deuteronomy, but also the larger Pentateuch on the composition of Josh 8:30–33.

There are also significant differences between Josh 8:30–33 and Deut 27:1–13, which distinguish the pericope in Joshua from Deuteronomy and further demonstrate the influence of the Pentateuch on the author of Joshua. The points of contrast include (1) the ark, (2) the setting and function of Ebal and Gerizim, (3) the participants in the ritual, (4) the writing on the stones, and (5) the transcribing of a copy of the Torah. The contrasts illustrate the more central role of the ark, a stricter adherence to aniconic theology, and a more extreme antimonarchic ideology in Joshua than that which is

represented in the book of Deuteronomy. The ritual in Joshua also recounts an event of unconditional blessing from Ebal and Gerizim, which contrasts to the conditional theology of blessing and curses from the mountains in Deuteronomy.

The Ark

The most significant difference between Deut 27:1–13 and Josh 8:30–33 is the absence of the ark in Deuteronomy and its central role in Joshua. The ark provides the central point of reference in Josh 8:33. The Levitical priests are described as carrying the ark. The people divide on each side of it. The ark also provides the point of orientation toward Ebal and Gerizim, for the people to receive the blessing from both mountains for the first time in the promised land.

Ebal and Gerizim

There is ambiguity in Deut 11:29–30 and 27:1–13 over the location of the two mountains. The combination of Deut 27:2–3 and 4–8 creates the problem, and Deut 11:29–30 appears to be an attempt at harmonization. It is unclear whether Deut 27:4–8 locates the mountains at Gilgal or Shechem (Eissfeldt, 1970). Deuteronomy 27:2–3 does not mention Ebal and Gerizim and instead locates the writing of the Torah on plastered stones in the vicinity of Gilgal immediately after the Israelites cross the Jordan. This version of the story corresponds more closely to the erection of stone memorials in Josh 4, although these stones have a different function in the book of Joshua and they are not plastered. In the reinterpretation of the ritual in Deut 27:4, the site for the writing of the Torah is identified as Mount Ebal, suggesting a location near Shechem. The combination of the two readings creates confusion in Deut 27:1–13 about the location of Mount Ebal. This confusion is evident in later material such as Eusebius, the Madaba map, and rabbinic interpretation (Noort, 1997: 161–64). The confusion may also account for the ambiguous geographical description in Deut 11:30: "As you know they [Ebal and Gerizim] are beyond the Jordan, some distance to the west, in the land of the Canaanites who live in the Arabah, opposite Gilgal, beside the oak of Moreh."

There is no ambiguity about the location of the ceremony in Josh 8:30–33, which clearly states that the writing of the Torah on stones takes place at the northern site of Mount Ebal near Shechem. Not only is Josh 8:30–33 clear about the northern location of the ceremony, it also departs from Deuteronomy in the description of the function of the mountains in the ritual. In Deut 27:13 Mount Gerizim is the source of blessing, while Mount Ebal represents the curse for covenant disobedience. Thus the two mountains represent the theology of a conditional covenant that dominates in the book of Deuteronomy, in which obedience leads to blessing and disobedience to a curse. In Josh 8:33, by contrast, both Ebal and Gerizim are a source of blessing, and no ritual of cursing is associated with either mountain. In the book of Joshua, the arrival of the ark to its cultic destination at the mountains results only in a blessing on the people without the conditions implied in the ritual of blessing and cursing in Deut 27:1–13. The author of Joshua reinforces the significance of the act of blessing by locating it in the beginning as the first blessing (*bāri'šōnâ*) of the Israelites in the promised land (8:33; see the "Notes").

The Participants

The description of the participants in the ritual at Ebal and Gerizim is different in Josh 8:33 from that in Deut 27:1–13. Both texts emphasize that all the Israelites participate. In Deut 27:12–13, the Israelites are presented as the twelve tribes, with six stationed on Mount Gerizim for the blessing (Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin) and six on Mount Ebal for the curse (Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali). The list of the tribes is a traditional form (A. D. H. Mayes, 1979: 343–44). In Josh 8:33, the tribes are not named, nor are the Israelites stationed on the mountains. Instead, the people are separated on two sides of the ark, facing the mountains, indicating once again the central role of the ark in Joshua as compared with the version of the story in Deuteronomy. The inclusive designation of the Israelites as "alien and citizen alike" also departs from Deut 27:1–13. This phrase is absent altogether in Deuteronomy but is common in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch (Exod 12:19, 48, 49; Lev 16:29; 17:15; 18:26; 19:34; 24:16, 22; Num 9:14; 15:29–30; see J. G. Vink, 1969: 77–80). Its usage in Josh 8:33 indicates the influence of Priestly tradition from the Pentateuch on the author of Joshua.

Writing on Stones

The writing of the Torah on stones occurs in Deut 27:1–13 and Josh 8:30–33. The comparison of the two accounts, however, underscores a different interpretation of the ritual in the two books. There is ambiguity in Deut 27:1–13 in the identification of the stones upon which the Torah is to be written. Deuteronomy 27:2–3 states that the Torah must be written on plastered stones: "You shall set up large stones and cover them with plaster" for the purpose of writing the Torah. The identical command repeats in Deut 27:4, stating once again that the Israelites must erect large plastered stones. But Deut 27:5–6 introduces a distinct command that the altar be built with "uncut" stones. The combination of commands to erect plastered stones (v. 4) and to build an altar of uncut stones (vv. 5–6) creates ambiguity in the closing command of v. 8: "You shall write on the stones all the words of this law." It is unclear whether this command refers to the stones of the altar in vv. 5–6 or to the plastered stones in v. 4. The author of Deut 27:4–8 may view the altar stones as identical with the plastered stones (K. De Troyer, 2005b: 152) or as distinct from them (Nihan, 2007: 209 n. 60). But in either case, the author does not prohibit plastered or manufactured standing stones as iconic cultic objects upon which to write the Torah.

The author of Joshua departs from the teaching in Deut 27:1–13. The version in Joshua eliminates any reference to the iconic plastered stones in Deut 27:4 as objects upon which to write the Torah. Instead, the Torah must be written on the uncut stones of the altar (Josh 8:32). The restriction of Josh 8:30–33 conforms to the more rigorous form of aniconic Yahwism that is central to the book of Joshua. Na'aman argues that Deut 27:4–8 and Josh 8:30–32 are written by the same author and that the account in Joshua is intentionally abbreviated, so that the reader must assume "that the author meant that the laws would be inscribed upon large stones, as stated in Deut 27:2–3" (2000: 150–1). But in Josh 8:32, there is no ambiguity about where Joshua writes the law of Moses; it can be on only the uncut altar stones. The contrast in the cultic representation of the Torah points to separate authors. Both authors share an aniconic form

of worship, but the author of Joshua represents a more extreme version. In Josh 8:32, the law is written on uncut stones that are devoid of any form of manufacturing with iron tools. The author of Deut 27:4–8, by contrast, adheres to a more moderate form of aniconic Yahwism that allows for both plastered stones upon which to write the Torah and the uncut stones for sacrifice on the altar.

Copy of the Torah

The writing of a copy of the Torah in Josh 8:32 indicates yet another difference between the books of Joshua and Deuteronomy. Joshua 8:32 states that Joshua wrote a copy of the Torah of Moses on the stones in the presence of the Israelites. The same act of writing occurs in Deut 17:18, where Moses commands that the king be given a copy of the Torah in the presence of the Levitical priests. These are the only two texts in the Hebrew Bible that refer to the act of transcribing a written copy of the Torah, using the phrases *mišnēh tôrat mōšeh,* "copy of the Torah of Moses" (Josh 8:32), and *mišnēh hattôrâ hazō't,* "copy of this Torah" (Deut 17:18). The two texts are clearly related. The reference back to the "Torah of Moses" in Josh 8:32 indicates the dependence of Joshua on the reference to "this Torah" in Deuteronomy. But the two commands convey different meanings.

Comparison of Deuteronomy and Joshua highlights the antimonarchic ideology of the author of Josh 8:32 in reinterpreting Deut 17:18. The point of emphasis in Deut 17:18 is that the king must have a copy of the Torah to curb the absolute power of the monarch. The presence of the Levitical priests as interpreters of Torah is meant to ensure that the king carries out the commands of the Torah in ruling the people, rather than exploiting power for his own benefit. The ceremony in Joshua is reinterpreted into an antimonarchic rite with an even more egalitarian vision of authority. Kings have no legitimate power in the book of Joshua. The plot of the story is to eliminate all kings and their city-states from the promised land under the leadership of Joshua. This perspective is reflected in Josh 8:32. Joshua leads the ceremony, but he does not represent a king (cf. Nelson, 1997a: 22). He kills kings. Nor does Joshua receive a copy of the Torah. Instead, the Torah is written publicly on the uncut stones of the altar "before the Israelites." The symbolism of Josh 8:32 is far removed from the qualified view of monarchy in Deut 17:18, where the power of the king is controlled by the Torah and held in check by the Levitical priests. In Josh 8:32 no one human receives the copy of the Torah. The responsibility to follow the teaching of the Torah rests in the final analysis with all Israelites, both aliens and citizens alike.

CONTEXT

The context of Josh 8:30–33 has long presented a literary problem for interpreters. As noted above, the suspension of war with the cultic ceremony at the northern mountains of Ebal and Gerizim and the immediate relocation of Joshua to Gilgal after the ceremony (Josh 9:6) are jarring. Boling and Wright characterize the literary context as "loose" (1982: 246). Nelson echoes the judgment, describing the pericope as "isolated" (1997a: 116). Fritz states the conclusion of many that the episode is a late insertion into its present narrative context (1994: 94). What is clear is that the effect of the context is to accentuate the ceremony with the ark at the expense of narrative logic. I argue that it

is intentional by the author of Joshua, who concludes the procession of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim.

Many interpreters have recognized that the ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim has a literary function. Soggin stated that it is not intended to function as though it were just another episode in the book of Joshua, but to provide a conclusion (1972: 240–44). For this reason, he relocates the ceremony to the end of the book after the covenant at Shechem in Josh 24. A. Kempinski also sensed that Josh 8:30–35 is meant to function as a conclusion and so reconstructed an older version of Josh 24 that ends with the ceremony on the mountains (1993). Nelson states that "the Ebal/Gerizim ritual is placed at a critical juncture in the overall plot of Joshua, dividing the conquest drama into two acts." The result is that the three extended stories of the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3–5), the destruction of Jericho (Josh 6), and the defeat of Ai (Josh 7–8) are punctuated with the ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim and "a powerful and effective act of blessing" (1997a: 119), thus marking off Josh 3–8 from the additional stories of conquest in Josh 9–12. Knauf provides further insight into the literary function of the geographical setting, noting that it provides the most northern location for the wars in Josh 6–10 (2008: 86–87), indicating again that Shechem is the goal of the ark's procession. Noort adds an even broader literary function of the scene, pointing out that it represents the transfer and codification of the Torah in the promised land (1997: 178–79). The combined research clarifies that Josh 8:30–33 provides structure to the stories of war in Josh 3–12: It separates the detailed account of the crossing of the Jordan and the paradigmatic stories of war against Jericho and Ai (Josh 3–8) from the subsequent account of the conquest (Josh 9–12). Thus, as Soggin and Kempinski noted, it provides a conclusion, not to Josh 24, but to Josh 3–8. The northern geographical setting (Knauf) signals the location where the people will receive "a powerful and effective act of blessing" from the mountains Ebal and Gerizim (Nelson), when the Torah is codified in the promised land (Noort).

The insights into the function of Josh 8:30–33 mark the literary boundaries of the four stages of the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 (see the "Introduction"): (1) the crossing of the Jordan (3:1–5:12), (2) the destruction of Jericho (5:13–6:27), (3) the intercession of Joshua after the sin of Achan (7:1–26), and (4) the blessing of the Israelite people from Ebal and Gerizim (8:1–35). When read together, these four scenes describe the theology of divine cultic presence in the book of Joshua through the ritual procession of the ark into the promised land from Shittim, on the east side of the Jordan River, to Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem. The literary design indicates that the ceremony at the mountains is intended to function as a conclusion, signifying the goal of the ark's procession and the place of blessing for the Israelite people. The concluding ceremony marks off Josh 3–8 from the remainder of the conquest stories in Josh 9–12 as a separate unit. Joshua 3–8 is focused on the ark, which does not appear again in the book of Joshua after the ceremony in Josh 8:30–33. The geographical location, moreover, signifies that the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, near Shechem, represent the central cultic site for the ark in the book. The centrality of Shechem for the author is further underscored when it returns at the conclusion of the book for a final covenant ceremony in Josh 24. The account of the northern procession of the ark in Josh 3–8 contrasts to all other versions of the ark's procession, where the goal is always the Jerusalem temple (see the "Introduction").

The problem of the literary context of Josh 8:30–33 is complicated by the textual versions of Joshua. The episode occurs in different positions in the MT, LXX, and 4QJosh[a], prompting Auld to conclude that the pericope is a late editorial addition "looking for a suitable home" (1998a: 110). But it is important to note that the MT and the LXX present the same problem of geographical setting, despite their different literary contexts. Even though the LXX relates the reaction of the Canaanite kings more closely to the defeat of Ai (LXX 8:1–29; 9:1–2) than is the case with the MT, it too suspends the narrative progression of war to recount the ceremony with the ark at the northern location of Ebal and Gerizim (LXX 9:2a–f), before relocating Joshua even more abruptly in the camp at Gilgal (LXX 9:6).

The discovery of 4QJosh[a] complicates the evaluation of the narrative context of the MT and the LXX. Ulrich concludes that the Qumran text locates part of Josh 8:30–35 after the crossing of the Jordan before the ritual of circumcision in Josh 5:2 (1994: 91; 1995a: 145–46). The reading of the law in the vicinity of Gilgal rather than Shechem better fulfills the command of Moses in Deut 27:2, since in this version the Israelites would write the Torah on stones immediately after they cross the Jordan River. Ulrich concludes that 4QJosh[a] represents the original literary context. Yet van der Meer points out the important insight that the content of 4QJosh[a] includes only the closing verses of Josh 8:34–35 and thus lacks the details of the ceremony in Josh 8:30–33, including all geographical references to Ebal and Gerizim (2004: 511–14). In view of this, it remains unclear whether the limited portion of Josh 8:34–35 in 4QJosh[a] is the result of literary design or the deterioration of the document. It may represent a version of Joshua in which only the public reading of the Torah in Josh 8:34–35 is transferred to the location at the Jordan River. The lack of evidence does not allow for a firm conclusion. It is noteworthy, however, that Josh 8:34–35 does not appear to be part of the original ceremony of blessing at Ebal and Gerizim but a later addition that introduces a conditional theology of blessing and cursing to qualify the unconditional blessing that characterizes Josh 8:30–33. I address this literary problem in the following section.

BLESSING AND CURSING IN JOSH 8:34–35

The evaluation of the literary unity of Josh 8:30–35 is based for the most part on the comparison to Deut 27:1–13. Fritz identifies the building of the altar and the public reading of the Torah (Josh 8:30–31, 34) as the original version of the story and the writing on the stones and the blessing from Ebal and Gerizim as a later addition that conforms to Deut 27:8, 12–13 (1994: 94–99). Na'aman attributes the account of the building of the altar at Ebal in Josh 8:30–32 to the same author as Deut 27:4–8, while the ceremony in which the people face Ebal and Gerizim in Josh 8:33–35 is a later addition that lacks a parallel to Deut 27:1–13 (2000: 150–51). Those who argue for the unity of Josh 8:30–35 interpret the entire text as following the pattern of Deut 27:1–13, so that the public reading of the Torah by Joshua in vv. 34–35 parallels the ritual of blessing and cursing in Deut 27:11–13 (e.g., Nihan, 2007: 218). But nearly all interpreters who favor the unity of Josh 8:30–35 also comment on the differences between the two passages. Nelson notes "idiosyncratic twists" (1997a: 118). Nihan points out new motifs, including the participants and the public reading of Torah before the ark in

vv. 34–35, as compared with the ritual enactment of blessing and cursing on Ebal and Gerizim in Deut 27:11–13 (2007: 217–22).

Noth points out that the ritual of blessing and cursing in Deut 27:11–13 is actually absent in Josh 8:34–35 (1971b: 53). In place of the ritual, Josh 8:34–35 has only a public reading of the Torah before the people, in which the themes of blessing and curse are simply noted. Noth concludes that the public reading of the Torah reflects more the command of Moses in Deut 31:9–13 that the Torah be read before the ark every seventh year. The change in the inner-biblical relationship from Josh 8:30–33/Deut 27:4–8 to Josh 8:34–35/Deut 31:9–13 indicates two stages of composition in Josh 8:30–35. The original version of the ceremony in vv. 30–33 is a reinterpretation of Deut 27:4–8, in which the author of Joshua includes the ark at the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim and also focuses exclusively on the blessing of the people. The addition of the public reading of Torah in vv. 34–35 is a reinterpretation of Deut 31:9–13, in which the editor of the book of Joshua introduces the themes of the blessings and curses in vv. 34–35 to qualify the exclusive focus on blessing in the original version of vv. 30–33. The literary effect, according to van der Meer, is that the guarantee of blessing becomes conditional, underscoring that sin and its curse are always near and looking for opportunity (2004: 510). On this basis he attributes the entire section of Josh 8:30–35 to a late legal-oriented redactor (DtrN).

The separation of vv. 30–33 and 34–35 into two stages of composition is reflected in the literary design and the theological content of the passages. Joshua 8:30–33 describes a comprehensive ceremony that is intended to function as a conclusion. The northern location of Mount Ebal is established at the outset of the passage (v. 30); Joshua builds an altar of uncut stones to fulfill the command from the Torah of Moses (v. 31); he writes a copy of the law on the uncut stones of the altar (v. 32); and the ceremony ends with blessing from Ebal and Gerizim while the people surround the ark at its designated cultic site (v. 33). The function of the ceremony to signify the conclusion of the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim is underscored by the closing word in v. 33, *bāri'šōnâ,* "for the first time." This word indicates the first blessing of the people after the ark reaches its intended cultic site. The procession of the ark across the Jordan to its resting place at Mount Ebal near Shechem in Josh 8:30–33 is similar to the literary design of the glory of Yahweh in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch. There, the trope of procession is replaced by the gradual descent of the glory of Yahweh from Mount Sinai (Exod 24:15–18) to the tabernacle (Exod 40:34–35) and finally to the altar (Lev 9:22–24), which also results in a blessing on the people (Lev 9:23).

Joshua 8:34–35 represents an addendum to the ceremony, signaled by the word *wĕ'ăḥărê-kēn,* "afterwards." It states that Joshua read the entire Torah publicly to the people, rather than performing a ritual on the two mountains, as is the case in Deut 27:11–13. The point of emphasis in the addition is that the Torah includes "blessings and curses" and not simply blessings from the two mountains, as in Josh 8:30–33, thus introducing a conditional theology that qualifies the unconditional blessing. The qualification of an unconditional blessing through the juxtaposition of a more legally conditioned statement in Josh 8:34–35 parallels the technique of editing in Josh 1:1–9, where the unconditional promise of land to the ancestors in Josh 1:6 is also tempered by a conditional promise in Josh 1:7–9 based on obedience to the law. The parallels

in content and in literary strategy suggest that the conditional theology of blessings and curses in Josh 8:34–35 is added by the same author who inserts Josh 1:7–9 after Josh 1:6. The insertions qualify an unconditional promise of land (1:6) that leads only to blessing (8:30–33) with a conditional promise of land (1:7–9) that is followed by the reading of blessings and curses from the Torah (8:34–35).

Comments

8:1–2. DIVINE COMMAND TO AMBUSH AI

The divine command returns to the theme of war against Ai that was first introduced in Josh 7:2–5 but was interrupted by the sacrilege of Achan in taking forbidden booty (7:1, 6–26). The speech begins with a standard trope of holy war in the command "Fear not!" (v. 1). The divine prediction of victory indicates that the threat of losing the divine presence in holy war is now resolved: "See, I have given into your hand the king of Ai, his people, his city, and his land" (v. 1). The divine command introduces two themes that are important for interpreting the war against Ai: the depiction of the battle against Ai as an ambush, and the topic of acceptable booty for profane possession.

Ambush Against Ai

The book of Joshua has two paradigmatic battles against city-states: the first against Jericho (6:1–27) and the second against Ai (7:2–5; 8:1–29). Although the two stories are interwoven in many ways, the battles themselves are very different. The destruction of Jericho consists of a liturgical march around the city with the ark for seven days (6:1–25) that takes place in plain view of the city's residents (6:12–15). No war strategy is involved in the story beyond the command for the people to shout on the seventh day at the sound of the trumpets, whose blast brings down the walls of Jericho (6:5, 20), allowing the people to rush headlong into the city (6:5, 20). The people of Jericho assume a minor role in the story, and the king is not even mentioned; the focus is instead on the fortress itself, especially its walls. The collapse of the walls of Jericho is a miraculous event that is best described as a public theophany. The designation that the ground of the city is holy (5:15) reinforces the sacred character of the city's destruction.

The war against Ai (8:1–29) represents a very different battle story from the public procession of the ark around Jericho. All of the liturgical themes from the destruction of Jericho are absent, even the ark. Instead, Yahweh instructs Joshua to prepare an ambush (*'ōrēb*) against Ai, signaling not only a change in strategy, but also a change in focus from the fortress of Jericho to the king and the people of Ai (8:2). As a result, the defeat of the king and the residents of Ai is a story of subterfuge and complex military strategy (A. Malamat, 1983: 21–25). The themes of concealment, strategy, and deception replace the very public and religious procession around the fortress of Jericho.

All war is holy in the book of Joshua (see the "Introduction"), yet the comparison between the destruction of Jericho and the defeat of Ai encourages a contrast between the sacred and the profane in the evaluation of these battles. The destruction of Jericho is a fantastic story about the display of divine power in the collapse of the city walls, while the defeat of Ai presents a more realistic narrative of a strategic military victory over a king and his army. Boling and Wright (1982: 237) underscore the realistic tone of the war against Ai by noting that the threat of ambush is a theme already in Egyptian

literature (*ANET* 477). Fritz notes the popularity of ambush as a military strategy in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (1994: 90).

The comparison of the two paradigmatic stories of war in the book of Joshua suggests that the author has constructed a contrast between Jericho and Ai. Both stories represent the execution of the ban against city-states in the promised land, but the focus is different in each. The execution of the ban against Jericho is a liturgical story about the presence of Yahweh in the promised land; the theme of the ban in this account focuses on sacred objects that belong to Yahweh and are banned from human possession. The execution of the ban against Ai is a more profane account of war in which the Israelite people encounter the citizens of Ai directly; here the theme of the ban focuses on the extermination of the citizens of Ai to ensure the absolute separation between Israel and the indigenous population. When combined, the two stories address the sacred and the social boundaries that are represented by the ban. The aim of the author in constructing the contrast comes into clearer focus from a comparison of the theme of booty that is related to the ban in each story.

Booty

The theme of booty is central to the destruction of both Jericho (Josh 6) and Ai (7:2–5; 8:1–29). In the story of Jericho, Joshua introduces the motif of booty on day 7 of the ark's procession (6:16–19), just before the collapse of the city's walls (6:20). He warns the people not to covet booty that is devoted to destruction (6:18). He identifies the metals silver, gold, bronze, and iron as the banned objects, noting their sacred status (6:19). He states further that all such metals are the possession of the "treasury of Yahweh" (6:19). The Israelites follow the instruction of Joshua (6:24), with the exception of Achan, which leads to the extended story of sacrilege and the need to purge the camp (7:1, 6–26). The destruction of Jericho and the sin of Achan clarify the religious worldview of the author of Joshua: all metals fall under the ban and belong to the Deity; they are banned from profane possession (see the conflicting teaching on this topic in Josh 22:8, which may introduce a distinction between the promised land and other territory).

The theme of booty returns in the story of Ai, where the focus shifts from the city fortress, with its thick walls and manufactured metal objects, to the people. This time the Deity introduces the motif of booty in the opening speech to Joshua, focusing squarely on the population of Ai, stating that the people and their king must be killed, but the "spoil and its cattle you may plunder for yourselves" (8:2). Here the author of Joshua identifies which people, animals, or objects from the indigenous nations may become part of the Israelite community. For the author, all humans are excluded from becoming war booty; only animals and the more general spoil of war are allowed to become possessions of the Israelites.

The topic of acceptable booty for profane possession is often tied to the theme of intermarriage in the Hebrew Bible. For example, the teaching on war booty in Deut 20:10–15 from cities outside of the promised land includes women, children, animals, and the general spoil. Only the males must be executed. Deuteronomy 21:10–14 specifies that the inclusion of women as booty allows for intermarriage: "Suppose you see among the captives a beautiful woman whom you desire and want to marry . . . after [one month] you may go in her and be her husband and she shall be your wife."

The Priestly teaching on war booty in Num 31:16–18 represents a qualification in that it restricts intermarriage to foreign virgins that are taken as booty; all married women must be executed under the ban along with the males. The linking of intermarriage and war booty indicates that the divine command in Josh 8:2 requiring all the people of Ai and the king to be killed signifies an exclusive social ideology that forbids any form of intermarriage, since all foreign women, married and virgin, are sentenced to death in the war against Ai.

In the book of Joshua, the only acceptable booty for profane possession is the general spoil (*šālāl*) and the animals (*bĕhēmôt*). The same teaching on profane booty appears in Deut 2:35 and 3:7, where the execution of the ban on Sihon and Og also allows only for general spoil (*šālāl*) and the animals (*bĕhēmâ*) as booty: All "men, women, and children" are slaughtered (Deut 2:34). This teaching appears again in Deut 20:16–18, which states that all humans who live in cities within the promised land must be destroyed under the ban and that only general spoil and animals remain acceptable for private possession (Deut 20:14). The teaching in Deuteronomy represents the same exclusive social ideology as Joshua; it too forbids any form of intermarriage, as does the execution of the Israelite men who have sex with Moabite women in Num 25:1–5, where the focus for separation returns to the problem of purifying the camp from pollution as in the story of Achan.

The themes of ethnic identity and intermarriage emerge as significant topics in the postexilic period (Hawk, 2000: xxviii–xxxi). This is particularly evident in Ezra 10, where Ezra forces mass divorces because of intermarriage between the community of the returning Judeans and the people of the land. The same social ideology is also evident in Nehemiah (e.g., 10:28–31; 13:23–31). The author of Joshua advances the same exclusive ideology against intermarriage with an even more violent trope than forced divorce. In Joshua, the law against intermarriage is advanced through the wars of total extermination, in which the only acceptable booty for profane possession is general spoil and animals. The multiple teachings on the meaning of circumcision in Josh 5:2–9 illustrate the growing importance of this ritual for creating identity among postexilic Samarians, Judeans, and Diaspora Jews. The central role of the ban in war throughout the book of Joshua is related to the same issues of identity and intermarriage. The stories of war against Jericho and Ai are paradigmatic because they address the central issues of rural, aniconic religion (Jericho) and social exclusivity (Ai) through the themes of the ban and booty. Note that in Joshua even the foreigner Rahab, who rescued the Israelite spies, must live outside of the camp, meaning most likely that her clan cannot intermarry with the twelve tribes, even though they survive the ban.

8:3–8. JOSHUA'S INSTRUCTION ABOUT THE AMBUSH

The ambush against Ai parallels a similar story of intertribal warfare in Judg 20, where the Israelites execute an ambush against the tribe of Benjamin at Gibeah. The comparison of these stories provides further insight into the close relationship between the execution of the ban in warfare and intermarriage. The parallels between Josh 8 and Judg 20 include both themes and literary structure. The plot of both stories begins with a defeat: Joshua by the king of Ai (Josh 7:2–5) and the Israelite tribes by the tribe of Benjamin (Judg 20:1–25). Yahweh predicts victory despite the defeat, prompting a

renewed attack (Josh 8:1–2; Judg 20:26–28). The following battle in each case includes an ambush that follows the same strategy (Josh 8:3–29; Judg 20:29–48): The ambush party is stationed behind the city (Josh 8:4, 9, 12; Judg 20:36), while the main force approaches from the front to draw the warriors out for battle (Josh 8:5–6, 10–11, 15–17; Judg 20:30–34). Once the city is emptied of warriors, the ambush party invades, killing the residents and burning it (Josh 8:18–19; Judg 20:37). In each story, the opponent realizes the ruse too late and is slaughtered between the two forces of the Israelites (Josh 8:20–22; Judg 20:38–48). The similar structure is supplemented by a range of shared motifs, including the temporal reference "as before" (Josh 8:6; Judg 20:32), the lack of knowledge (Josh 8:14; Judg 20:34), the rising smoke (Josh 8:21; Judg 20:38), the focus on the perception of the enemy (Josh 8:14, 20; Judg 20:39, 41), and the flight into the wilderness (Josh 8:15; Judg 20:42; see the complete list in Berman, 2004: 78–79). These are the only two examples of war stories in the Hebrew Bible that include an ambush, suggesting some form of inner-biblical relationship.

Interpreters debate the meaning of this relationship and the nature of the literary dependence between Josh 8 and Judg 20. J. Gray interprets Judg 20 as dependent on Josh 8 (1986: 380). If the inner-biblical interpretation is in this direction, it suggests that Judg 20 is a polemical story against the tribe of Benjamin and the house of Saul and that the leadership role of Judah in the war against Benjamin underscores the pro-Judean point of view of the author (Nelson, 1997a: 1112). But the direction of the inner-biblical dependence could just as well be reversed, with the author of Joshua modeling the defeat of Ai on the story of the war against Gibeah (see R. Roth, 1963: 296–304). In this case the defeat of Ai counters the pro-Judean story of Judg 20. This conclusion is particularly strong in the MT version of Josh 8, where the extension of the battle to three days, as compared with the two-day battle in the LXX, may be intended to bring the ambush story into conformity with Judg 20, which also recounts a three-day battle.

Berman adds that the interpretation of the ambush stories cannot be restricted to the battle scenes in Josh 8 and Judg 20 but must also include the larger context of Josh 7–8 and Judg 19–20 (2004: 55–77, 84). When the context of the war against Gibeah is expanded to include Judg 21, it becomes clear that the themes of the ban and intermarriage underlie Judg 19–21, as they do in Josh 8. The summary of Judg 19–21 illustrates the shared themes. The battle against Benjamin does not include the execution of the ban, but it does result in the killing of all but six hundred men (Judg 20:47), including all the people in the city. The result is that the surviving men of Benjamin lack wives, threatening the existence of the tribe. Judges 21 narrates the solution by introducing the themes of the ban and intermarriage. The Israelites decide to execute the ban against the people of Jabesh-gilead on the eastern side of the Jordan River, thus eliminating them as a possible Israelite tribe (21:11). The author of Judg 21 follows the Priestly legislation on war booty and intermarriage (Num 31), in which virgins captured in war are allowed to become wives. The execution of the ban on Jabesh-gilead results in four hundred virgins as war booty. They are given to the warriors of Benjamin as brides, thus ensuring the future of the tribe (Judg 20:13–15).

The comparison of Josh 8 and Judg 19–21 illustrates that the stories are related only partially by the story of the ambush and that the larger shared theme in the two stories is the execution of the ban in war and intermarriage. But the presentation of

these themes is different in Josh 8 and Judg 19–21. The author of Judg 19–21 follows the Priestly teaching on war booty, which allows for intermarriage with foreign virgins. The author of Joshua, however, adheres to a more exclusive social ideology, in which the execution of the ban requires the slaughter of all humans, including married women and virgins, thus excluding all forms of intermarriage with the indigenous population of the promised land.

8:9–29. EXECUTION OF THE AMBUSH

The literary structure of the ambush is described in the "Notes." Four themes require comment: (1) the leadership role of the elders in v. 10, (2) the perception of events by the enemy in vv. 14 and 20, (3) the function of Joshua's sword in vv. 18 and 26, and (4) the fate of the king of Ai in v. 29.

Elders

The leaders associated with Joshua in the opening chapters of the book are "officers" and "priests." Officers are in charge of preparing the camp for travel. They first appear in Josh 1:10, where they prepare the camp to cross the Jordan River, and they return in Josh 3:2 for the same purpose. The priests play a more prominent role in the procession of the ark. They appear frequently in the crossing of the Jordan (e.g., 3:6, 8, 15, 17; 4:3, 9, 10, 11, 15, 18) and in the procession around Jericho, where some carry the ark and others blow horns (e.g., 6:4, 6, 9, 13, 16). In the second half of the book, the high priests Eleazar (17:4; 21:1; 24:33) and Phinehas (22:13, 30, 31, 32; LXX 24:33a) also appear. Elders represent a third leadership office in the book of Joshua.

The role of the elders as leaders in Israel is likely ancient, although the origin of such an office cannot be recovered with certainty. Historians assume that the elders played a leadership role in the earliest stages of ancient Israelite society as heads of clans or families (e.g., 1 Sam 11:13), regions (1 Sam 30:26), and perhaps even tribes (1 Sam 11:10). The elders would have played an active role in adjudicating local disputes, and they may also have assumed cultic responsibility in the gathered assembly. The office of the elder emerges as an important leadership position in the postexilic period. Judean self-government under Persian rule consisted of two distinct leadership groups: the council of elders and the priests. The council of elders was likely made up of lay members, described variously as "prominent nobles" (e.g., Neh 2:16; 4:8), "elders of Judah" (e.g., Ezra 5:5; 6:7), and "heads of the fathers' houses" (e.g., Ezra 2:68; 4:2; Neh 8:13; 11:13). The titles indicate that the office of the elder is a form of leadership distinct from that of the priests during the postexilic period.

The book of Deuteronomy provides a broad portrait of the office of the elder, which likely bridges the changing role of the office from the late monarchic period into the exilic and postexilic periods. The elders are singled out during the experience of theophany on Mount Horeb as the group that approaches to hear the words of God (Deut 5:23). Thus the authority of elders is charismatic. Yet they have liturgical responsibilities (see also Num 11), representing the people in the liturgy of the covenant (Deut 29:10). They also hear the words of the law and take on the responsibility of the covenant curses if the people break their treaty with God (Deut 31:28). The liturgical role of the elders is also tied to their responsibility to teach the law to the people

(Deut 31:9). Finally, the elders have administrative tasks, especially in judging the Israelites. The elders evaluate instances of murder, and they perform rituals to combat pollution that may result from unsolved murders (Deut 21:1–9). They also adjudicate family disputes (Deut 21:18–21) and marriage disputes (virginity, Deut 21:13–19; the levirate law, Deut 25:5–10).

The few references to the elders in Joshua reflect aspects of Deuteronomy and Ezra-Nehemiah. The elders have a liturgical role. They first appear with Joshua in the ritual of mourning before the ark after the sacrilege of Achan (7:6), and they return in the ritual on Ebal and Gerizim, along with the officers, judges, and Levitical priests (8:33). The elders also have judicial responsibility. They preside over legal cases in the city of refuge (20:4), and they are summoned by Joshua in Josh 23:2 and 24:1 as representatives of the people. They are also associated with his death in Josh 24:31. The elders are separated from priests in handling sacred objects, yet they assume a cultic (7:6; 8:33) and judicial (20:4) leadership role in the book that is similar to their portrait in Deuteronomy and even in Ezra-Nehemiah. But the book of Joshua departs from these sources in also portraying the elders as leaders in war (8:10).

Perception of the Enemy

Hawk notes the fluctuation of perspectives in the ambush of Ai (2000: 127). The battle is written about from the point of view of Joshua and the Israelites, with two exceptions. First, after the notice that Joshua spent the night in the valley (v. 13), the narrative inserts the point of view of the king of Ai, who sees the Israelite force camped in the valley and rushes out to meet them in war (v. 14). The narrator immediately comments on the perception of the king as one of ignorance: "He did not know that there was an ambush against him from behind the city." Second, at the moment of the ambush (v. 19), the narrative turns to the perception of the warriors, who see the smoke of the city and flee from the battle (v. 20). The introduction of the perception of the enemy is unusual in the book of Joshua, where the Canaanite "other" tends to be objectified, raising the question of the author's intentions. Berman interprets the two instances of the change in point of view from Israel to the enemy as contrasting the perception of the enemy before the battle (v. 14) and after it (v. 20). The enemy's perception before the battle is one of arrogance: "[I]n his haste to conquer Israel and consequently despoil her, [the king] sees only the object of his desire" (2004: 49). The sudden and unexpected destruction of the city is a moment of recognition that is underscored in the perception of the army (v. 20).

The rhetorical strategy of the author of Joshua parallels the conflict between Pharaoh and Israel at the Red Sea in Exod 14–15. In both the narrative version of the story (Exod 14) and the poem (15:1–17), the arrogance of Pharaoh is underscored through point of view. In the narrative version, Pharaoh interprets the flight of the Israelites as aimless wandering in the wilderness (14:3); the poem is even more pointed: "The enemy said, 'I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, my desire shall have its fill; I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them'" (15:9). In each case a reversal forces a new recognition, not in the Pharaoh, but in the army or the surrounding people. In the narrative, the Egyptian army recognizes the power of God in the sea: "Let us flee from the Israelites, for Yahweh is fighting for them against Egypt" (14:25); in the poem, the residents of Canaan recognize the power of Yahweh and tremble (15:13–16). The author

of Joshua follows the same narrative strategy. The king of Ai is arrogant and ignorant in his quest for power, which forces him to run headlong into a doomed battle. Only his army recognizes the mistake and their imminent defeat. In the battle against Pharaoh at the sea and the war against Ai, kings are hopelessly blinded by their arrogance and quest for power, making them incapable of recognizing Yahweh's power in war. The author returns to the arrogance of the king of Ai at the end of the story in recounting his cursed execution on a tree.

The Sword of Joshua

The sword of Joshua, appearing in Josh 8:18 and 26, frames the battle against Ai. The Deity commands Joshua at the outset of the battle: "Stretch out toward Ai the sword that is in your hand, for into your hand I will give it" (8:18). The motif returns at the end of the battle in Josh 8:26: "And Joshua did not hold back his hand, with which he stretched out the sword, until he devoted all the inhabitants of Ai to destruction." The sword is certainly functioning to direct the Israelite army in the battle (Noth, 1971b: 48). A. Anbar notes a parallel from the correspondence of Zimri-Lin of Mari (*ARM* XXVI) which suggests that the raised sword may indicate revolt or even peace (1994: 73). But in the biblical tradition, the raised sword also channels divine power, taking on a more magical role in the story than signifying simple military direction or revolt. Nelson states that the framing of the battle with the motif of the sword points to its function as "a sign of effective power that guarantees victory" (1997a: 114). Fritz notes further that the motif of the raised sword ties the battle against Ai to the war against the Amalekites in Exod 17:8–16, where Moses also achieves victory in battle through the raised staff in his hand (1994: 93). Knauf rightly concludes that the motif of a victory in war through the miraculous power of an outstretched object places Joshua squarely in the footsteps of Moses (2008: 85). The raised sword underscores that the victory against Ai is not the result of Joshua's military leadership, or the strength of the Israelite army; rather, it is in the divine power channeled through the sword.

Comparison of Exod 17:8–16 and Josh 8 provides insight into the function of the sword in the larger literary design of the two stories. The conflict against Amalek at Rephidim is the first instance of war in the wilderness journey and the first appearance of Joshua in the Pentateuch, where he functions as the leader of the Israelite army (Exod 17:9–10). Thus, the author of Josh 8 has related the battle of Ai to a paradigmatic story of Joshua in the Pentateuch. The focus of Exod 17:8–16, however, is on Moses, not Joshua, and his need to maintain raised arms in order to secure victory in war. This is the central point of comparison for the author of Josh 8, indicating that Joshua not only functions as the military leader of the Israelite army, but also assumes the role of Moses in mediating divine power in the battle. The parallels continue beyond the story of war. After the victory over the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–15), Moses writes a memorial, which the Deity commands he read to Joshua, and he also builds an altar (17:14–16). The act of writing and the building of the altar are the first occurrences of these activities in the wilderness journey. The author of Joshua models Josh 8 on the same sequence of events, including war, the building of an altar, and the writing of Torah. Thus, Joshua too mediates divine power in war with his sword (Josh 8:1–29), writes Torah, and builds an altar (8:30–35), just as Moses did in the wilderness journey.

Fate of the King of Ai

The battle against Ai concludes with an account of the execution of the king in Josh 8:28–29. The concluding scene is framed by related etiologies that appear at the outset of v. 28 and at the conclusion of v. 29. The first etiology plays on the name Ai as "ruin" by describing the fate of the city as a "mount of ruin forever" (*tēl-ʿôlām šĕmāmâ*), which exists "until this day." The second etiology appears to be the point of focus; it describes the fate of the king, who is hanged on a tree until sunset, at which time his carcass is buried under a "heap of great stones" (*gal-ʾăbānîm gādôl*) that stands "until this very day." The second etiology creates a parallel to the fate of Achan, who is also buried under a "great heap of stones" that "remain until this day" (Josh 7:26).

The concluding scene of the war against Ai dwells on the fate of the king as being hung on a tree. The act of hanging a live person or the impalement of body parts after death appears in a variety of settings in the Hebrew Bible. For example, 2 Sam 4:12 describes David's impalement of the bodies of Ishbaal's assassins after removing their hands and feet; while Joseph predicts the imminent impalement of the decapitated body of the Egyptian chief baker in Gen 40:19. Joshua 8 does not appear to be an instance of postmortem impalement, since the author specifically states that "the king of Ai was captured alive" (8:23), although he may have been killed with a sword before being hung. The body of the king is hung on the tree until sunset when his carcass is buried (8:29). The image is likely an inner-biblical interpretation of Deut 21:22–23, which states that a person convicted of a crime punishable by death must be hung on a tree (v. 22) but the corpse must be buried by sunset (v. 23). The law describes exactly the action of Joshua against the king of Ai. The intent may be legal, to show that the king is guilty of a crime punishable by death. But it is more likely that the author of Joshua is focusing on the closing comment of the law: that "anyone hung on a tree is under God's curse" (v. 23). In this case, the battle against Ai closes with a curse on the king by executing him on a tree.

The conclusion of the battle against Ai with the death of the king on a tree as a symbol of divine curse reinforces the parallel between Jericho and Ai as representing the paradigmatic stories of war in the book of Joshua. The destruction of Jericho focuses on the city as a fortress, particularly its walls. Victory in war is the miraculous collapse of the city walls, which concludes with a curse on any future city-builders: "Cursed is the man before Yahweh who raises up and builds this city, Jericho" (Josh 6:26). The battle against Ai plays with the metaphor of a "ruin," not a fortress, and it focuses instead on the citizens of the city and particularly its king. It too concludes with a curse, only this time on the king of Ai by hanging him on a tree: "Anyone hung on a tree is under God's curse" (Deut 21:23). The message of the combined stories of war against Jericho and Ai is that both the royal cities in the promised land and their kings are under divine curse. The aim of the book of Joshua is to eliminate both from the promised land.

8:30–35. CEREMONY AT EBAL AND GERIZIM

Four themes characterize the ideal form of worship in Josh 8:30–35: (1) the location at Ebal and Gerizim, where both mountains provide a source of blessing on the Israelites (8:33); (2) the ark as the central cultic object, representing the character of divine

presence in the promised land (8:33); (3) the cultic site of the primitive open-air altar, made of "whole" stones, which fulfills the earlier instructions of Moses from Deut 27:4–8 (8:31–32); and (4) the centralized worship based on a book, the written Torah of Moses (8:32). The combination of these four themes in the cultic ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim marks the conclusion to the procession of the ark into the promised land. The act of divine blessing from the two mountains signifies the resting place of the divine warrior symbolized by the ark. The focus on blessing is similar to the inaugural ritual of the tabernacle in the Priestly literature, where the final descent of the glory of Yahweh into the altar also results in only blessing on the Israelites (Lev 9:22–24; see "Composition"). A subsequent editor has qualified the blessing by introducing the motif of "blessing and curse" in the public reading of the Torah by Joshua (Josh 8:34–35).

Ebal and Gerizim

The arrival of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim is the pivotal story of cultic worship in the book of Joshua. It signifies the author's view that Shechem represents the central sanctuary for the ark of the covenant, where sacrificial worship takes place and the Torah is inscribed on stones. It is also designated as the location of the "sanctuary of Yahweh" at the close of the book (24:26). The book of Joshua highlights other important locations for the assembly of the tribes, most of which are northern sites. Gilgal is the location for the rite of passage into the promised land, where the Israelites undergo circumcision and observe Passover (5:2–9); it remains the site of the Israelite camp for waging war (e.g., 4:19; 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43); and it is one of the two sites from where Joshua distributes the land to the tribes (14:6). Shiloh in Ephraim is the other location for land distribution from the Tent of Meeting, but it is noteworthy that no cultic activities are associated with the tent (18:1; 21:2). The tabernacle is also mentioned once as a place of cultic worship, but it lacks a location in the book (22:29). Timnath-Serah in Ephraim is the burial place of Joshua (24:30). Gibeah in the northern highlands region of Judah is the burial place of Eleazar the priest (24:33). Jerusalem is absent in the book of Joshua as a location for any formative rituals by the tribes, and it is not presented as the goal for any future worship. Rather, Jerusalem is identified as a Jebusite city, ruled by Adoni-zedek, who leads a coalition of kings in war against Joshua (10:1). Twice the author returns to the topic of Jerusalem to voice a more contemporary evaluation of the city. In both cases the author states that the Jebusite population of Jerusalem was never eliminated and that they remain a source of pollution, which continues to plague the Judeans who live there "to this day" (15:8, 63).

The important sites for tribal gatherings in the book of Joshua are northern locations, indicating the perspective of the author. None of them, however, contains stories of central cultic worship. All centralized worship in the book of Joshua is restricted to the northern location of Shechem. The building of the altar and the writing of Torah take place at the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, near Shechem (8:30–35). It is the goal of the ark's procession into the promised land. Shechem returns as the place for the concluding covenant ceremony (MT 24:1–29), where the author states that it is the location for the "sanctuary of Yahweh" (24:26). In addition, Shechem is the burial place of the bones of Joseph, the eponymous ancestor of the northern tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (24:30). The LXX departs from the MT at a number of points. It relocates the ark to the southern city of Gibeah in an extended ending to the book of Joshua,

where Phinehas processes with the ark around the grave of Eleazar (LXX 24:33a). The addition may signal a new procession of the ark southward, perhaps linking the book of Joshua to 1 and 2 Samuel where the region of the Gibeonites plays an important role in the procession of the ark to Jerusalem. The LXX also places the concluding covenant ceremony at Shiloh (LXX 24:1–29), rather than Shechem (MT 24:1–29), and it eliminates the reference to the "sanctuary of Yahweh" at Shechem, stating instead that the record of the covenant is placed "before the Lord." Finally, the LXX restricts the criticism of Jerusalem in the MT of Josh 15:63 to a historical statement about the city, not its present situation, and it eliminates the motif of ethnic mixing, which is a source of criticism in the MT. The points of contrast indicate that the translator of the LXX does not share the negative view of Jerusalem that dominates the MT.

Procession of the Ark

The religious symbolism of the ark in the book of Joshua is interpreted in the "Introduction." The geographical route of the procession of the ark, however, requires comment. The procession is associated with three stations before the ark reaches its resting place at Ebal and Gerizim. The first is the crossing of the Jordan River to Gilgal, where the Israelites establish the camp (e.g., 4:18–19). The second is Jericho, where the ark wages holy war against the city (e.g., 6:6–7). The third station is associated with Ai, when Joshua intercedes before the ark after the Israelite defeat that results from the sacrilege of Achan (e.g., 7:6). The pattern of three stations before reaching the goal of Ebal and Gerizim is similar in structure to the procession of the ark to Jerusalem in 1 Sam 5 and in 2 Sam 6. When the ark is lost in the battle against the Philistines in 1 Sam 5, it travels through three stations: Ashdod (5:2), Gath (5:2), and Ekron (5:10). When the Philistines release the ark, the pattern of three stations is repeated in 2 Sam 6, before it finally rests in Jerusalem: (1) the ark travels to Beth-Shemesh on the border of the Philistine territory (6:9–12); (2) it moves to the Gibeonite city of Kiriath-jearim, where it resides for twenty years in "the house of Abinadab on the hill" (6:21–7:1); and (3) it moves to Gittaim, where it stays for three months in the house of Obed-edom, after the initial failed attempt by David to bring the ark to Jerusalem (6:10). The three-part pattern in the ark's procession ends when David finally leads it to its resting place in Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:12–14).

Blenkinsopp argues that the repeated pattern of three stations in the procession of the ark to Jerusalem may indicate a continuous ark narrative in 1 and 2 Samuel composed from originally independent accounts of the ark (1972: 72–73). In the narrative of the procession of the ark to Jerusalem, the Gibeonites—especially in the city of Kiriath-jearim—play a central role as caretakers of the ark. The identification of the ark with Gibeon may represent an ancient tradition of the ark (Blenkinsopp, 1972: 76–81); the narrative version certainly suggests a close association between the religious traditions of Gibeon and Jerusalem (Blenkinsopp, 1972: 82). Whatever the exact prehistory of the ark traditions may be, the narrative is "clearly traceable to Jerusalemite sources much concerned with the temple cult" (Blenkinsopp, 1972: 82).

The book of Joshua exhibits no interest in the temple cult of Jerusalem. The similar pattern of three stations in the procession of the ark suggests that the author may be following the structure of the narrative of the ark in 1 and 2 Samuel, but in Joshua the ark processes northward to Ebal and Gerizim, as opposed to Jerusalem. Given the

similar structure of the two works, it is also noteworthy that the procession of the ark in Joshua avoids all Gibeonite territory and that the very first story after the ark arrives at Ebal and Gerizim is a negative evaluation of the Gibeonites in Josh 9 as tricksters whose temple service is more a punishment than an honor (see the "Commentary" on Josh 9).

Altar of Uncut Stones

The author of Joshua uses the procession of the ark to advance a form of Yahwism in which cultic representation at Ebal and Gerizim is limited to uncut stones (for discussion of aniconic religion in the book of Joshua, see the "Introduction"). The perspective of the author is already evident in the memorial of the ark's crossing of the Jordan, which consists of twelve standing stones (Josh 4). The circumcision of the Israelites after the ark crosses the Jordan reinforces the same point of view, since it too is performed with a stone knife (5:2). The arrival of the ark at Ebal and Gerizim culminates with the construction of an open-air altar of uncut stones (8:31), upon which a copy of the Torah of Moses is inscribed (8:32). The book concludes with the reference to the "large stone" at Shechem that symbolizes the closing covenant between the Israelite tribes and Yahweh at the conclusion of the book (24:26).

Writing of Torah

The Torah (*tôrâ*) is referred to nine times in the book of Joshua in four different literary contexts:

1. In Josh 1:7–8, Joshua is encouraged twice to observe the Torah as a condition for success. Yahweh commands Joshua to observe "all the Torah" (*kŏl-hattôrâ*) of Moses (1:7) and to meditate on everything that is written in the "book of this Torah" (*sēper hattôrâ*) (1:8). If he follows this condition, he will have success in his mission.
2. In Josh 8:30–35, the Torah is referred to four times during the ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim, near Shechem: two in the ceremony with the ark on the mountains in Josh 8:30–33, and two in the public reading in Josh 8:34–35. In 8:30–33, Joshua builds an altar of uncut stones as "it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses" (*kakkātûb bĕsēper tôrat mōšeh*) (8:31), thus fulfilling the command of Deut 27:4–8. Joshua writes a "copy of the Torah of Moses" (*mišnēh tôrat mōšeh*) on the uncut stones of the altar (8:32), which results in the blessing from the two mountains (8:33). In 8:34–35, the public reading of Joshua includes "all the Torah," both "blessing and curse," when he recites to the people "all the words of the Torah" (*kŏl-dibrê hattôrâ*) and "all that was written in the book of the Torah" (*kĕkŏl-hakkātûb bĕsēper hattôrâ*) (8:34).
3. In Josh 22:5 and 23:6, the eastern tribes (22:5) and the western tribes (23:6) are commanded to observe the Torah as a condition for success in the promised land, thus repeating the divine commission to Joshua from Josh 1:7–8. Joshua commands the eastern tribes to observe the "Torah" (*hattôrâ*) that Moses commanded them (22:5). He repeats a similar command to the western tribes; they too must observe "all that was written in the book of the Torah of Moses" (*kŏl-hakkātûb bĕsēper tôrat mōšeh*), as a condition for a successful life in the promised land (23:6).
4. In Josh 24:26, the Torah is referred to one time in the closing ceremony at Shechem, thus relating this text to the previous ceremony at Shechem in Josh 8:30–33. The theme of aniconic worship is stressed with the command that the Israelites put away

foreign gods (24:23). The people agree and make a covenant at Shechem (24:25). Joshua writes this covenant in a separate book, described as "the book of the Torah of God" (*bĕsēper tôrat ʾĕlōhîm*), and he sets up a stone to signify the event. The location of the stone marks the sanctuary of Yahweh at Shechem (24:26).

The references to the Torah in the book of Joshua may be divided into two groups: (1) Josh 8:30–33; 24:26 and (2) Josh 1:7–8; 8:34–35; 22:5; 23:6. Each group shares motifs that are absent in the other. The first group indicates rituals of completion or fulfillment and is restricted to ceremonies at Shechem. The second shares a theology in which obedience to the Torah is the condition for future success in the promised land, rather than signifying the present fulfillment of past commands, as in the first group. An interpretation of both groups of texts provides insight into the changing meaning of the Torah in the composition of the book of Joshua and the tension that it creates in the present form of the book.

The references to the Torah in the ceremonies at Shechem in Josh 8:30–33 and 24:26 are part of the original composition of the book of Joshua. These two references share a number of motifs. Both take place at the same northern setting: Ebal and Gerizim in Josh 8:30–33 and Shechem in Josh 24:26. Both are cultic stories: the altar and sacrifices in Josh 8:30–33 and the sanctuary of Yahweh in Josh 24:26. Both are centered on stones: the uncut stones of the altar in Josh 8:30–33 and the large stone under the oak at the sanctuary in Josh 24:26. Both accentuate Joshua's leadership through the act of writing: a "copy of the Torah of Moses" in Josh 8:30–33 and "the book of the Torah of God" in Josh 24:26. Both function as a concluding ceremony: the ritual at Ebal and Gerizim in Josh 8:30–33 completes the procession of the ark into the promised land, and the rite at Shechem in Josh 24:26 signals the ratification of the covenant between Israel and Yahweh after the distribution of the land.

The two ceremonies of writing Torah structure the book of Joshua around the cultic site of Shechem. The first act of writing is the "Torah of Moses" on the stones of the altar in Josh 8:30–33. It represents an authoritative copy of the original "Torah of Moses," signifying the resting place of the ark in the promised land. The inscription of the Torah of Moses on stone is public and results in a blessing on the people, without conditions, that emanates from both Ebal and Gerizim. This is the only reference to the "Torah of Moses" in the original version of the book of Joshua. The second act of writing is the "book of the Torah of God" in Josh 24:26. This is a different book from the "Torah of Moses." The "book of the Torah of God" contains the covenant commitment of the Israelite tribes to maintain an exclusive form of Yahwism by putting away all foreign gods (24:23). This book is not written on stones. Instead, the agreement is symbolized by the "large stone" under the oak at the sanctuary of Yahweh.

The references to the Torah in Josh 1:7–8; 8:34–35; 22:5; 23:6 are not tied to a specific location. Instead, they are addressed directly to people: "all the Torah" and the "book of the Torah" to Joshua (1:7–8), "all the words of the Torah" and "all that was written in the book of the Torah" to the people of Israel (8:34–35), "the commandments and the Torah" to the eastern tribes (22:5), and "all that was written in the Torah of Moses" to the western tribes (23:6). These references to the Torah share motifs that introduce a theology of conditional covenant that corresponds to the book of Deuteronomy. Joshua 1:7–8, for example, introduces a conditional theology in the

commission of Joshua, in which successful leadership requires that he observe and do (perform) the book of the Torah. The phrase "to observe and to perform" is common in Deuteronomy, where it also represents a conditional theology based on obedience to the law (e.g., Deut 5:2, 32; 6:3, 25; 7:12; 8:1; 11:32). Joshua repeats the demand "to observe and to perform" the Torah to both the eastern tribes (Josh 22:5) and the western tribes (23:6), as a condition for their success. Other motifs from Deuteronomy that emphasize obedience to the law as a condition for success include Yahweh's caution to Joshua not to deviate from the Torah either "to the right or to the left," which he repeats to the western tribes (Josh 23:6; see Deut 5:32; 17:11; 28:14); the requirement of the eastern tribes to love Yahweh with their whole heart by observing the law (Josh 22:5; e.g., Deut 6:5; 11:13; 13:14); and the introduction of "blessing and curse" in the public reading of the Torah to the Israelites (Josh 8:34–35; e.g., Deut 27:15–28:68).

The two interpretations of the Torah provide a window in the central conflict of theme in the present form of the book of Joshua, namely, whether the conquest of the promised land is total, and thus completed, or only partial. The author of Josh 8:30–33 interprets the writing of the Torah of Moses on the altar at Ebal as the fulfillment of the command of Moses from Deut 27:4–8. The act of writing the Torah of Moses indicates the completion of the procession of the ark into the promised land to its resting place at Ebal and Gerizim. The theme of fulfillment in association with the writing of the Torah carries over into the additional conquest of the land in Josh 9–12, where Joshua also fulfills his task in completing the conquest. The author makes this explicit at the conclusion of the second stage of the conquest with the following summary statement: "So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Yahweh spoke to Moses. And Joshua gave it as an inheritance to Israel according to their tribal divisions. And the land had rest from war" (11:23).

The editor of Josh 1:7–8; 8:34–35; 22:5; 23:6 does not interpret the Torah as fulfillment, but as a condition for future success. This interpretation of Torah lays the foundation for the theme of partial conquest, in which Yahweh declares that many of the indigenous nations remain to be conquered (13:1–6) and that the successful completion of the task in the future is conditional upon obedience to the Torah (Josh 23). The introduction of this interpretation of Torah in conjunction with the theme of partial conquest allows the book of Joshua to function uneasily in its present narrative context with the conditional theology that is associated with the Torah in Deuteronomy and with the partial conquest of the land in the book of Judges, even though it creates a significant conflict of theme between the complete and partial conquest of the land within the present form of the book.

Gibeonite Deception (9:1–27)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 9 is the story of the Gibeonite deception of the Israelites, in which the Gibeonites masquerade as a distant nation in order to escape extermination. The central role of deception in the plot invites comparison to the story in Josh 2 of Rahab, who is also a foreign trickster. In each case, a foreigner secures an oath that guarantees survival of the ban. The parallels also include literary context, since both stories introduce extended sections of the book of Joshua. The trick of Rahab in Josh 2 provides the introduction to the procession of the ark in Josh 3–8, while the trick of Gibeon in Josh 9 sets the stage for the wars against the southern and northern kings in Josh 10–12. The repetition of trickster stories divides Josh 1–12 into two parts: the procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim with the wars against Jericho and Ai (Josh 2–8), and the more general wars against the southern and northern coalition of kings (Josh 9–12) that are patterned on ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts (see the "Introduction").

The two trickster stories of Rahab and the Gibeonites function very differently as introductions to Josh 2–8 and 9–12. Rahab models a positive tale of inclusion. The setting for her deception is the city of Jericho; it is directed against the king in order to save the Israelite spies in an act of kindness (*ḥesed*); it leads to a negotiated oath with the spies about her rescue; and Joshua orchestrates the fulfillment of the oath by saving Rahab from the destruction of Jericho and allowing her to live outside of the Israelite camp. The deception of the Gibeonites is a negative story of trespass into the Israelite camp that moves in the opposite direction. The setting for the deception is the camp, not a foreign city. The trick is directed against the Israelites, not a foreign king. The oath of rescue is made rashly, rather than through negotiation, and Joshua curses its fulfillment. The result is that the Gibeonites are assigned to permanent temple slavery, even though the Israelites are obligated to exclude them from the ban and to defend them in Josh 10.

Joshua 9 is structured in three scenes. First, the Gibeonites are contrasted to the other indigenous nations as tricksters, who pretend to be travelers from a far-off country in order to avoid extermination under the ban (vv. 1–5). Second, the success of the Gibeonite ruse is recounted with the themes of the conditional covenant and the unconditional oath. The "men of Israel" establish the conditional covenant with the Gibeonites, and the "leaders of the congregation" swear an unconditional oath with them (vv. 6–15). Third, the unconditional oath of the leaders results in the assignment of the Gibeonites to cultic service, which Joshua curses (vv. 16–27). Joshua 9 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Masquerade of the Gibeonites (vv. 1–5)
2. Covenant and Oath (vv. 6–15)
3. Temple Service as a Curse (vv. 16–27)

Translation

9:1–5. MASQUERADE OF THE GIBEONITES

9 [1]And when the kings, who were across the Jordan in the mountain, in the highland, and in all the coast of the Great Sea toward Lebanon, heard—the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites—[2]they gathered at the same time to fight Joshua and Israel as one.

[3]But the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua did to Jericho and to Ai. [4]And they, for their part, acted in cunning. They went, they disguised themselves as diplomats, they took worn-out sacks for their donkeys, worn-out, torn, and mended leather bottles of wine, [5]worn-out sandals patched on their feet, and worn-out cloths on themselves, and all the bread of their provisions was dry and crumbling.

9:6–15. COVENANT AND OATH

9 [6]And they went to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal. And they said to him and to the men of Israel, "From a faraway land we have come. Now make a covenant with us."

[7]And the men of Israel said to the Hivites, "Perhaps in our midst you are dwelling, then how can I make a covenant with you."

[8]And they said to Joshua, "We are your servants."

And Joshua said to them, "Who are you and from where do you come?"

[9]And they said to him, "From a land very far away your servants have come for the name of Yahweh your God, because we heard his reputation and all that he did in Egypt, [10]and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan, to Sihon, the king of Heshbon, and to Og, the king of Bashan who was in Ashteroth. [11]Our elders and all the inhabitants of our land said to us saying, 'Take in your hand provisions for the trip and go to meet them, and say to them, We are your servants. Now make a covenant with us.' [12]This is our bread. It was warm when we made provision with it from our houses on the day we set out to go to you. And now indeed it is dry and crumbling. [13]And these wineskins, which we filled, were new and indeed they are torn. And these clothes of ours and our sandals are worn-out from the very long journey."

[14]And the men partook from their provisions. But they did not consult Yahweh. [15]And Joshua made peace with them. And he made a covenant with them to let them live. And the leaders of the congregation swore an oath with them.

9:16–27. TEMPLE SERVICE AS A CURSE

9 [16]And at the end of three days after they had made a covenant with them, they heard that they were nearby to them and that they were dwelling in the midst of them. [17]And the Israelites journeyed and they came to their city on the third day. Their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. [18]The Israelites did not slaughter them because the leaders of the congregation had sworn an oath to them by Yahweh the God of Israel. And the entire congregation complained against the leaders. [19]And all the leaders said to the entire congregation, "We have sworn to them by Yahweh, the God of Israel. So now we are not able to strike them. [20]This is what we will do to them: Let them live, so that wrath will not be on us on account of the oath which we swore to them."

[21]And the leaders said to them, "Let them live."

And they were woodcutters and drawers of water for the entire congregation, as the leaders stated to them.

[22]And Joshua called to them and he spoke to them saying, "Why did you deceive us saying, 'We are very far away from you,' but you were dwelling in our midst? [23]Now you are cursed. Slavery will not be cut away from you. You will be woodcutters and drawers of water for the house of my God."

[24]And they answered Joshua and they said, "Because it was clearly reported to your servants that Yahweh your God commanded Moses his servant to give you all the land and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, we feared greatly for our lives from before you and we did this thing. [25]And now here we are in your hand. Whatever is good and right in your eyes to do to us, do."

[26]And he did to them accordingly. And he delivered them from the hand of the Israelites and he did not kill them. [27]And Joshua gave them on that day as woodcutters and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh until this day to the place which he would choose.

Notes

Interpreters note a variety of differences between the MT and the LXX versions of Josh 9. Soggin suggests that the change in subject matter in v. 3 of the LXX from "Joshua" to "the Lord" is a theological correction, for "the purpose of giving all glory to Yahweh" (1972: 108). Butler notes the idealization of Joshua that occurs in the LXX of v. 6 with the elimination of the reference to "man of Israel" (1983: 98). Nelson concludes that the absence of a reference to the temple in the LXX version of v. 23 is intended to remove an anachronism in the MT (1997a: 123). The interpretation of the textual differences in the MT and the LXX has tended to focus on individual verses, but the sequence of events in the story of the Gibeonites also changes in the MT and the LXX because of the different placement of the ritual reading of the Torah at Ebal

and Gerizim. In the MT, the ritual concludes the account of the destruction of Ai (MT 8:30–35), which is followed by the coalition of kings who gather to war against Joshua and Israel (MT 9:1–2). In the LXX, the ritual at Ebal and Gerizim is part of the introduction to the story of the Gibeonites (LXX 9:2a–e), since it follows the notice of the indigenous nations gathering for war against the Israelites (LXX 9:1–2). See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

9:1 *And when the kings . . . heard.* The LXX identifies the kings as Amorites, *hoi basileis tōn amooraiōn.*

across the Jordan. The setting of the story west of the Jordan suggests that the northern coalition of indigenous nations includes kings from the eastern side of the Jordan River. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:14.

mountain . . . highland. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

Great Sea. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

toward Lebanon. The LXX identifies the area as Anti-lebanon. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. The MT contains a six-nation list, whereas the LXX includes the Girgashites, resulting in a seven-nation list in a different order:

MT	*LXX*
Hittites	Hittites
	(*chettaioi*)
Amorites	
Canaanites	Canaanites
	(*chananaioi*)
Perizzites	Perizzites
	(*pherezaioi*)
Hivites	Hivites
	(*euaioi*)
	Amorites
	(*amorraioi*)
—	[*Girgashites*]
	(*gergesaioi*)
Jebusites	Jebusites
	(*jebousaioi*)

The LXX repeats the Amorites in the list of indigenous nations even though this term was used in a more general way in v. 1 as a designation for all of the kings. For discussion of the list of indigenous nations, see the "Notes" to Josh 3:10; for Hittites, see Josh 1:4; for Amorites, see Josh 2:10; for Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, Girgashites, and Jebusites, see Josh 3:10.

9:2 *they gathered at the same time.* The use of *yaḥdaw* after the verb in the MT suggests a temporal meaning, "at the same time," although it could also be translated "together." The LXX *epi to auto* suggests the locative meaning, "in one place."

9:2a–f. The LXX includes the account of the ritual at Ebal and Gerizim after the notice in Josh 9:1–2 that the northern indigenous nations were gathering for war, as compared to the MT, where the ritual is recounted in Josh 8:30–35. The different order

in the MT and the LXX changes the presentation of the Gibeonites. In the MT, the introduction of the indigenous nations in vv. 1–2 provides the transition for the appearance of the Gibeonites, thus merging the Gibeonites with the indigenous kings, who gather to wage war. This merging is confirmed by their identification as Hivites in the MT version of Josh 9:7. What sets the Gibeonites apart from the other indigenous nations in the MT is their cunning. They are tricksters, who are seeking their survival. Verse 3 of the MT underscores the pragmatic and political motivation of the Gibeonites by targeting their fear of Joshua after his military success over Jericho and Ai: "But the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what *Joshua* did to Jericho and to Ai." The fear of Yahweh plays no role in the MT version of the story. The remainder of the narrative must be read from this pragmatic point of view, in which the Gibeonites seek political survival through trickery. The political motivation of the Gibeonites in the MT qualifies their religious confessions to Joshua in v. 9 and vv. 24–25 about the power of Yahweh, suggesting instead that these statements may also be part of the trick.

The LXX presents a different literary context for the story of the Gibeonites. It begins with the contrasting portraits of the indigenous nations on the one hand (9:1–2) and the Israelites on the other hand (9:2a–f), in which the nations prepare for war while Joshua writes the Torah on the altar at Ebal and Gerizim before "all the assembly of the sons of Israel, to the men and the women and the children and the proselytes who approached Israel" (LXX 9:2f). The Gibeonites are introduced at the conclusion of Joshua's reading of the Torah (v. 3), separating them from the indigenous nations (9:1–2) and also identifying them as Horites, a nonindigenous nation. The motivation of the Gibeonites is also different in the LXX version of v. 3: "And the inhabitants of Gabaon heard all that the *Lord* had done to Iericho and to Gai." Soggin states that the LXX rendition has "the purpose of giving all glory to Yahweh" (1972: 108). It also changes the character of the Gibeonites, since they are now motivated by theological reasons, rather than political survival. The remainder of the story in the LXX must be read from the theological point of view of v. 3, so that the religious confessions of the Gibeonites in v. 9 and vv. 24–25 function as an elaboration of their theological insight from v. 3. Their desire to trick the Israelites evolves from their religious insight of seeing the power of God in the Israelites' conquest of Jericho and Ai. Trickery for religious reasons has a long history in the literary tradition of ancient Israel. Compare the midwives in the story of the exodus, who lie to Pharaoh because they fear God (Exod 1:15–21).

9:3 *Gibeon.* This is the first mention of Gibeon, *gib'ôn,* "hill place," in the Hebrew Bible. The LXX translates as *gabaōn.* The excavation by J. B. Pritchard confirmed the identification of the ancient site as contemporary al-Jib, five or six miles north of Jerusalem. Pritchard discovered thirty jar handles with the inscription *gb'n* that date from the seventh century BCE into the exilic period (1962: 46). Blenkinsopp notes the strategic location of the site, with its high elevation, placement on a major route, and water supply (1972: 6). The current evidence from archaeological research indicates that Gibeon was not a city in the Late Bronze Age. Pritchard writes, "Since Gibeon is described as a 'great city' [at the time of Joshua], one would expect to find city walls and houses if the tradition preserved in the book of Joshua is historically trustworthy" (1962: 157–58). Albright concludes from this evidence that Gibeon was an insignificant settlement attached to Jerusalem during the early history of tribal Israel (1963: 30). It is first mentioned in the tenth century BCE in the Egyptian records of the Pharaoh

Sheshonk (*ANET* 242). The word "Gibeon" occurs thirty-nine times in the Hebrew Bible, mostly as a place-name but also at times as the identification of people (e.g., Hananiah the prophet, Jer 28:1; the returnees from exile, Neh 7:15; and in the genealogy of Jeiel in 1 Chr 8:29; 9:35). The references to the city of Gibeon outside of the book of Joshua indicate its importance during the monarchic period, where it first appears in the early traditions associated with David, thus corresponding to the appearance of the city in Egyptian records. Gibeon is located in the tribal region of Benjamin, where it is the setting for a confrontation between Abner, who seeks to rescue Saul's son Ishbaal, and Joab, the general representing David (2 Sam 2:12, 13, 16, 24; 3:30). Gibeon returns in a later story of revolt against David by the Benjaminite Sheba, which is halted when Joab kills Amasa at the large stone at Gibeon (2 Sam 20:8). The conflict between the houses of David and Saul at Gibeon disappears in stories associated with Solomon, where Gibeon is a cultic center for the king of Jerusalem. Solomon sacrifices on the altar at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:5) and twice receives divine visions there (1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2 = 2 Chr 1:3, 13), indicating a close relationship between Gibeon and Jerusalem, as suggested by Albright, and also Blenkinsopp (1972: 29, 84–96). The Chronicler intensifies the relationship between Gibeon and Jerusalem by locating the tabernacle and even the priest Zadok in the city (1 Chr 16:39; 21:29), while the Jeielite genealogy (1 Chr 8:29–32; 9:35–44) is structured to emphasize the relationship between Gibeon (the residence of Jeiel) and Jerusalem (the residence of Mikloth and Shimean, the son and grandson of Jeiel). Gibeon is once again a place of conflict in the exilic period, when Ishmael ben Nethaniah, the assassin of Gedaliah, is killed at the pool of Gibeon (Jer 41:12, 16). The close relationship between Gibeon and Jerusalem in the postexilic period is further signaled when Gibeonites are listed in the group of returnees from the exile (Neh 7:5) and as participants in the repair of the Jerusalem wall (Neh 3:7). The book of Joshua contains a more complex presentation of Gibeon that includes a city (e.g., a "great city," 10:2; a "royal" city, 10:2; a Levitical city of refuge, 21:17), a region (including four cities: Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim; e.g., 9:17), and a people ("the inhabitants of Gibeon," 9:3; 10:1; the "men of Gibeon," 10:6; the Hivites, 9:7), who perform cultic service ("woodcutters and drawers of water," 9:21, 22, 27). For further interpretation of the city, the region, and the people of Gibeon in Joshua, see "Composition."

heard what Joshua did to Jericho and to Ai. The LXX has "all that the Lord had done." Moatti-Fine interprets the change as a theological correction to show that Joshua is not more important than the Deity (1996: 142). But it is noteworthy that the LXX moved in the opposite direction in Josh 8, where it lacked clear statements about the role of the Deity in the battle against Ai, as compared with the MT (see 8:26). For discussion of Jericho, see the "Notes" to Josh 2:1; for Ai, see Josh 7:2.

9:4 *acted in cunning.* The Hebrew *'ārmâ* can have both a positive ("prudence," Prov 1:4) and a negative ("treachery," Exod 21:14) meaning. The Greek *panourgia* carries the same range of meaning.

disguised themselves as diplomats. The MT *yiṣṭayyārû* is the Hithpael form of the root *ṣyr.* The verbal form appears only in this verse in the Hebrew Bible. A noun form of the root can mean "messenger," suggesting perhaps the translation "they acted/were disguised as messengers." D. J. Wiseman (1982: 315–16) notes that the word can indicate a foreign diplomat in Assyrian texts (*CAD* 16, 213; see also Isa 18:2; 57:9). The LXX *epesitisanto kai hētoimasanto,* "they made provisions and prepared themselves," suggests

the Hebrew root *syd,* which means "to supply with food." This word also occurs in the MT of Josh 9:11, 14.

9:5 *and all the bread of their provisions was dry and crumbling.* The MT *niqqūdîm,* "crumbling," is rendered as *eurōtiōn,* "moldy," in the LXX (so also the NRSV).

9:6 *And they went to Joshua in the camp.* The Hebrew uses the preposition *'el* twice in different ways. The first occurrence, *'el-yĕhôšūă',* "they went to Joshua," has an accusative function, indicating the direction of action. The second instance, *'el-hammaḥănēh,* "in the camp," functions more as a dative of place. The double usage of the preposition emphasizes that the Gibeonites actually penetrate the camp, something that Rahab is not allowed to do: "All her family they brought out and gave them rest outside of the camp of Israel" (Josh 6:23). The Greek uses the preposition *pros* with Joshua and *eis* with the camp. Auld writes that "there is a danger in over-interpreting the preposition *eis,* which is on the way in the Greek of this period from the classical 'into' to the later and modern 'in' or 'to.' And yet, if Gk [LXX] did read a repeated 'to' as in MT, it chose to shift from 'to Jesus' to 'into the camp'" (2005: 155).

And they said to him and to the men of Israel. The Hebrew *'îš yśrā'ēl* is somewhat unusual and likely designates the collective (see Deut 27:14; 29:9), rather than an individual (see Num 25:8, 14). The collective interpretation is also suggested in the LXX, with the use of "Israel." See the comments of Butler on the possible textual history behind the MT and the LXX of vv. 6–7 (1983: 98).

9:7 *And the men of Israel said.* The Hebrew *'îš yśrā'ēl* continues to represent a collective, which is indicated by the *Kethib* of the verb "to say" in the plural form, *wayyō'mĕrû.* The *Qere,* however, suggests a singular reference, which is also carried through in the response, "then how can I make a covenant with you." The LXX supports the *Kethib, kai eipan hoi hyoi Israēl,* "and the sons of Israel said," while also translating the response in the singular.

to the Hivites. The MT identifies the Gibeonites as one of the indigenous nations from the list in Josh 9:1. The LXX identifies the Gibeonites as *chorraioi,* "Horites," a group that is associated with Seir in the region of Edom, east of the Jordan (Gen 14:6; 36:20, 29; Deut 2:10–12), perhaps related to Hurrian (*HALOT* 11840), and thus not one of the indigenous nations. The LXX normally translates the Hebrew "Hivite" as *euaioi,* "Euaioi." It departs from this practice only twice: when identifying the Gibeonites as Horites (Josh 9:7), and when identifying Shechem ben Hamor as a Horite (Gen 34:2). Moatti-Fine writes that the LXX appears to identify the characters in the two stories as being the same (1996: 143). The stories are related in rabbinic exegesis by the motif of tricking: the trick of circumcision on Shechem by the sons of Jacob is reversed with the trick on Joshua by the Gibeonites.

9:8 *We are your servants.* The MT *'ăbādêkā,* "servants," is translated in the LXX as *oiketai,* "domestic or household slaves." The LXX is clarified by an overview of the Hebrew *'bd* and the different Greek translations of this term in the book of Joshua. The Hebrew *'bd* is used in five different contexts in the book of Joshua to describe worship, as well as the status of four people or groups: (1) Moses to Yahweh, (2) Joshua to Yahweh, (3) the Gibeonites to Joshua and Israel, and (4) the Canaanites to Ephraim.

1. Eighteen times *'bd* describes Moses' relationship to Yahweh: "Moses the servant of Yahweh" (1:1, 2, 7, 13, 15; 8:31, 33; 9:24; 11:12, 15; 12:16 [twice]; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7;

22:2, 4, 5). The preferred translation of the LXX is *pais,* "boy," although three times the LXX translates as *therapōn,* "servant" or "healer" (1:2; 8:31, 33).

2. Two times *'bd* describes Joshua's relationship to the Deity: in the theophany of the commander of the army of Yahweh, "What does my lord say to his servant?" (5:14); and in the concluding description, "the servant of Yahweh" (24:29), thus applying the title of Moses to Joshua. The LXX translates Joshua's response to the prince of the army of Yahweh with *oiketēs,* "domestic or household slave" (5:14), and the concluding description of Joshua with *doulos,* "slave" (24:29), thus not applying the title of Moses to Joshua.
3. Six times *'bd* describes the Gibeonites' relationship to Joshua and the Israelites (9:8, 9, 11, 23, 24; 10:6). The LXX varies the translation to include *oiketēs,* "domestic or household slave" (9:8, 11); *pais,* "boy" (9:9; 10:6); and *doulos,* "slave" (9:23).
4. One time *'bd* describes the slave status of the Canaanites to Ephraim (16:10). This instance is absent in the LXX.
5. Twenty-one times *'bd* signifies worship or service to God in the closing chapters of the book (22:5 [twice], 27; 23:7, 16; 24:2, 14 [three times], 15 [four times], 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 31), which the LXX always translates as *latreuō,* "cultic service."

Two differences between the MT and the LXX emerge from this overview. First, the LXX separates Joshua from Moses by not attributing the title of Moses to him at the conclusion of the book: Moses remains the "servant [*pais, therapōn*] of Yahweh," while Joshua is the "slave [*doulos*] of Yahweh." Second, the LXX introduces the most variation of terms for translating *'bd* in the story of the Gibeonites. In so doing, it provides nuance to the relationship of the Gibeonites to Joshua that is absent in the MT. The Gibeonites twice describe their relationship to Joshua as *oiketēs,* "domestic or household slave" (9:8, 11), thus repeating Joshua's statement to the prince of the army of Yahweh (5:13)—an insight that he acquired only after revelation. Twice they refer to themselves as *pais,* "boy," in describing their relationship to Joshua (9:9) and to the Israelites (10:6). When Joshua discovers the Gibeonite trick and curses them, he describes their cultic relationship to Israel as *doulos,* "slave" (9:23), which is also the concluding description of Joshua in LXX Josh 24:29. The LXX translation of *'bd* with *oiketēs* and *doulos* introduces an analogy between Joshua and the Gibeonites that is not present in the MT: Joshua's relationship to the Deity as *oiketēs* (5:13) and *doulos* (24:29) is mirrored in the relationship of the Gibeonites to Joshua and eventually to the cult of Yahweh (9:27) as *oiketēs* (9:8, 11) and *doulos* (9:23). The analogy also establishes a hierarchy between Joshua and Gibeon: Joshua's relationship is directly to the Deity; the Gibeonites are defined in relationship to Joshua and Israel, as well as to the cult. The analogy, however, does not appear to be arbitrary and thus requires an explanation. One wonders whether the LXX is intended to establish a more positive view of the Gibeonites. In the LXX, Joshua does not achieve the status of Moses as the *pais* or *therapōn* of Yahweh, while his lesser relationship to the Deity as *oiketēs* and *doulos* is mirrored in the role of the Gibeonites, who function as minor cultic personnel (9:27). The outset of the story, when the Gibeonites devise their trick and seek a covenant after hearing what "the Lord had done to Iericho and Gai" (9:3), suggests a more positive view of the Gibeonites than we find in the MT.

9:9 *And they said to him.* The LXX lacks "to him."

for the name of Yahweh your God. The Hebrew *lĕšēm yhwh 'elōlêkā* likely indicates purpose (Williams, 1976, no. 277). The LXX *en onomati* suggests the Hebrew preposition *bĕ,* rather than *lĕ,* in which case the meaning of the Greek is instrumental (BDF 219). The Gibeonites have come "in the name of the Lord," which again points to a more positive interpretation of them in the LXX.

because we heard his reputation. The Hebrew *šōm'ô* could also be translated "his fame," as in 1 Kgs 10:1: "When the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon [*šĕmā' šĕlōmōh*]." The LXX translates as *akēkoamen gar to onoma autou,* "for we heard his name."

9:10 *two kings of the Amorites.* The LXX lacks the number "two."

Heshbon. The Hebrew *ḥešbôn* is translated in the LXX as *esebōn.* The ancient city of Heshbon is identified with Tell Hesban, a location on the eastern side of the Jordan River, approximately fifteen miles from the river in the Madaba plain region. Archaeology casts doubt on the biblical accounts of the extermination of Sihon, since no remains antedating 1200 BCE have been recovered. Heshbon was likely an unfortified village in the early Iron Age. Archaeologists identified the construction of a water reservoir dating perhaps to the ninth or eighth century BCE. Heshbon is mentioned most frequently in the Hebrew Bible with the legend of the defeat of Sihon at the end of the Israelites' wilderness journey (see Num 21, 32; Deut 2, 3; Judg 11). The poetry in Song 7:4 makes reference to a pool in Heshbon. The city of Heshbon occurs nine times in the book of Joshua in three contexts: (1) as the capital city of Sihon, the Amorite king (9:10; 12:2, 5; 13:10, 21, 27); (2) as a city in the territory of Reuben (13:17, 26); and (3) as a Levitical city (21:39).

Bashan. The Hebrew *bāšān* means "stoneless, fertile plain." The LXX translates as *basan.* Bashan includes the territory east of the Jordan River in the more northern region of the Sea of Galilee. The exact boundaries of the region are unclear, but it extends as far north as Mount Hermon and as far south as the Yarmuk River, north of the region of Gilead. The area is a fertile plateau, approximately two thousand feet above sea level, that was populated from the early third millennium. The richness of the area is evident in the Prophetic literature, which associated Bashan with forests (Zech 11:2; Ezek 27:6; Isa 2:13), fertility (Mic 7:14; Jer 50:19), and cattle (Ezek 39:18; ironically in Amos 1:4). Many of the references to Bashan occur in the legend of the Israelites' defeat of Og, who ruled Bashan and was one of the last of the mythical Rephaim, at the conclusion of the wilderness journey (Num 21, 32; Deut 3, 4). Bashan occurs thirteen times in the book of Joshua in three contexts: (1) in reference to Og (9:10; 12:4, 5; 13:12, 30, 31), (2) as a possession of the tribe of Manasseh (13:11; 17:1, 5; 20:8; 21:6; 22:7), and (3) as a possession of the Gershonites (the Golan of Bashan, 21:27).

Ashteroth. The Hebrew *'aštārôt* derives from the name of the goddess Aštarte, although the text makes no allusion to the goddess. The LXX translates as *astarōth.* The reference lacks a clear location, although it is associated with Edrei in the MT of Deut 1:4 and in Josh 12:4; 13:12, 31. Compare the LXX of Josh 9:10, *en astarōth kai en edrain.*

9:12 *from our houses.* The phrase is absent in the LXX.

9:14 *And the men.* The LXX has *hoi archontes,* "the leaders."

partook from their provisions. The Hebrew *wayyiqḥû . . . miṣṣêdām* may indicate that the Israelites ate the old food of the Gibeonites or perhaps inspected it. Their action may be a way to test the validity of the Gibeonites' story, as Butler suggests (1983: 98).

The function of the bread undergoes a strange transformation, from proof of a long journey to the basis for a covenant meal. Blenkinsopp notes a sense of "unreality and even detached humour" in the motif (1972: 35).

9:15 *And he made a covenant with them to let them live.* The verb *diasōzō* in the LXX may mean "to save" in the sense of letting the Gibeonites live, but it more often means "to rescue," thus anticipating the events of Josh 10.

9:16 *they were nearby to them and that they were dwelling in the midst of them.* The MT uses the singular in reference to the Israelites, probably as a collective, as was the case with the singular reference to the "man of Israel" in vv. 6–7. The LXX uses the plural throughout, *pros autous* and *en autois.*

9:17 *on the third day.* The phrase is absent in the LXX.

Chephirah. The Hebrew *kĕpîrâ* may mean "young lion." The LXX translates as *kephira.* Historical geographers are unsure of the location of the city but associate the site with contemporary Khirbet el-Kefireh, a small tell approximately five miles west of al-Jib (biblical Gibeon). In the book of Joshua, the city is associated with the Gibeonites (9:17) and is located in northern Benjamin (18:17). Chephirah is also listed as the city of origin of 743 returnees from exile (Ezra 2:25; Neh 7:29), where it is grouped with Beeroth and Kiriath-jearim.

Beeroth. The Hebrew *bĕ'ērôt* means "wells." The location occurs twice in the book of Joshua, where it is associated with the Gibeonites (9:17) and is identified as a city in Benjamin (18:25). The LXX translates Josh 9:17 as *bērōth* and Josh 18:25 as *beērōtha* (LXXB) and *bērōth* (LXXA). Historical geographers are uncertain of the location of the site. In the Hebrew Bible, the city occurs most often in conjunction with Chephirah and Kiriath-jearim as locations in northern Benjamin (Josh 9:17; 18:25). Beeroth is also associated with the assassins of Ishbaal, Baanah, and Rechab, whose father was from Beeroth (2 Sam 4). This story includes a clarifying commentary which states that the original residents of Beeroth are now resident aliens in Gittaim (2 Sam 4:3), an unknown city associated with the repopulation of the area of Benjamin by the returnees from exile (Neh 11:33).

Kiriath-jearim. The Hebrew *kiryat yĕ'ārîm* means "city of woods." The city occurs four times in Joshua: (1) in association with the Gibeonites (9:17); (2) as a border city of Judah, where it is also identified as Kiriath-baal (15:9, 60); and (3) as a city in Benjamin (18:14). The LXX translates as *kariathiarim* (9:17), *kariathiarin* (18:14), and *polis iarin* (15:9; see also 1 Chr 13:6). Kiriath-jearim is identified with contemporary Deir el-Azar (Tell Qiryat Yearim). Outside of the book of Joshua the city is the location of the returnees from the exile (Ezra 2:25; Neh 7:29). It is also associated with the ark (1 Sam 6:21; 7:1, 2; 1 Chr 13:5; 2 Chr 1:4) and with the prophet Shemaiah, who, like Jeremiah, condemned the city (Jer 26:20). The MT states that the city underwent a name change from Baalah (Josh 15:9) and Kiriath-baal (15:60).

9:18 *the leaders of the congregation.* The LXX includes "all" of the leaders.

9:20 *This is what we will do to them.* The LXX lacks "to them."

Let them live. The Hiphil infinitive absolute, *wĕhaḥăyēh,* is rendered in the LXX with an aorist infinitive construct, *zōgrēsai,* "having left them alive."

9:21 *And the leaders said to them, "Let them live."* The Hebrew *yiḥyû* is translated with jussive force. The new introduction, "and the leaders said to them," indicating a second address by the leaders, is absent in the LXX, and the jussive is interpreted as a future,

zēsontai, "they will live." Moatti-Fine notes that the MT and the LXX present a variety of problems (1996: 145). The new introduction in v. 21 of the MT, "and the leaders said to them," interrupts the discourse that began in v. 19. On the other hand, the incorporation of the etiological conclusion in v. 21b of the LXX as part of the speech of the leaders makes the concluding reference, "as the leaders said," unintelligible. Butler states that the opening line in v. 21, "and the leaders said to them," is unnecessary in the MT and thus was omitted in the LXX (1983: 98). Margolis suggests that the LXX of v. 21 should include "*and all the congregation did* as the leaders said to them" (1931–1938: 163).

9:22 *Why did you deceive us saying, "We are very far away from you," but you were dwelling in our midst?* The LXX translates the plural "us" and "our midst" in the singular, thereby focusing the narrative on Joshua and the Gibeonites.

9:23 *Slavery will not be cut away from you.* The use of the Niphal, *yikkārēt,* is unusual since the term often designates extermination (e.g., Gen 9:11; Isa 11:11) or excommunication from the community (e.g., Exod 12:15; Lev 17:4). The term may be a play on the making of covenant, which occurred earlier in the story, where the same word, *kārat,* is used. The LXX departs from any play on the act of covenant making, using *ekleipō,* "to leave," rather than *diatithēmi,* "to make a covenant."

You will be woodcutters and drawers of water for the house of my God. The LXX maintains the more narrow focus on Joshua and the Gibeonites: They will be a slave to him and his God. The LXX also eliminates the reference to a temple in the MT, "the house of my God," and replaces it with the focus on Joshua, *emoi kai toi theoi mou,* "for me and my God."

9:27 *until this day.* The LXX introduces a more complete etiological statement at this point in the story: *dia touto egenonto hoi katoikountes Gabaōn xulokopoi kai hudrophoroi tou thusiastēriou tou theou heōs tēs sēmeron hēmeras,* "On account of this the inhabitants of Gabaon became woodcutters and water carriers of the altar of God until this very day."

to the place which he would choose. The Hebrew *'el-hammāqôm 'ăšer yibḥār* is ambiguous—whether it is referring to an action of Joshua or God. The phrase is likely a reference to the technical expression from Deuteronomy about the indeterminate location of the divine sanctuary (e.g., Deut 12:5, 11, 14; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 7; 26:2). The LXX clarifies this by adding the subject *kyrios,* "in the place that the Lord should choose."

Composition

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The narrative of the Gibeonites in Josh 9:3–27 is firmly anchored in its literary context. The report of the coalition of kings hearing about Joshua and gathering for war in vv. 1–2 repeats in Josh 10:1, thus framing the story in the larger context of the war against the southern kings in Josh 10, where the Gibeonites also play a role. Yet interpreters have long debated the history of composition in Josh 9:3–27. The dominant assumption in the modern period of interpretation is that Josh 9:3–27 is an ancient story that provides insight into the earliest history of the Israelites. Given this assumption, the problem of composition is the pervasive influence of exilic and postexilic Deuteronomistic and Priestly literature throughout the narrative. The Deuteronomistic motifs include the Gibeonite speech in vv. 9–10, in which they recount having heard of the defeat of Og

and Sihon (Deut 2:31–3:11; see also Num 21:21–35); the confession of the Gibeonites in v. 24 that they know about the divine promise of the land to Moses and the demand to destroy the indigenous nations (e.g., Deut 7:12; 11:14; 23:5; 24:8); the fate of the Gibeonites to be woodcutters and carriers of water (Deut 29:10); the theme of covenant (e.g., Deut 7:1–4); and the location of the sanctuary as "the place which he [Yahweh] would choose" in v. 27 (e.g., Deut 12:5). The plot of the story, moreover, in which the Gibeonites masquerade as distant travelers to avoid extermination, follows the law of warfare for indigenous and nonindigenous nations in Deut 20:10–18. The influence of Priestly literature from the Pentateuch is evident in the use of the title "leaders of the congregation" (*nĕśî'ê hā'ĕdâ*) in vv. 15, 18, 19, 21 (e.g., Num 1:4; 7:3; 10:12–88); the designation of the Israelites as the "congregation" (*'ĕdâ*) in vv. 18 and 27 (e.g., Lev 8:3–5; Num 14:1–4) and the complaint of the congregation in v. 18 with the word *lûn* ("to complain," e.g., Exod 16:2; Num 14:27); and perhaps also the use of the motif of divine wrath (*qeṣ ep*) in v. 20 (e.g., Num 1:53; 17:11; 18:5). The themes of maintaining an unbreakable oath in v. 19 and of the Gibeonite temple service for the congregation are also Priestly concerns. Interpreters propose a variety of solutions to account for the distribution of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs in an ancient story.

Source critics identify different authors in Josh 9 by separating duplicate motifs into parallel stories, such as the sparing of the Gibeonites by Israel (v. 18) and by Joshua (v. 26) or the designation of the Gibeonites as woodcutters and carriers of water twice in vv. 21 and 27. The parallel versions of the story are each part of a larger hexateuchal narrative designated as J or JE, and P. Kuenen, for example, identified three authors on the basis of distinct motifs (1865; 1886). The JE narrative in Josh 9:1–15a, 16, 22, 23, 26 recounts the central story of the deception of the Gibeonites, in which they disguise themselves as travelers from a distant land in order to make a covenant with the Israelites (vv. 1–15a), the discovery of the trick (v. 22), Joshua's curse on them (v. 23), and the conclusion (v. 26). The Deuteronomistic portions of the story in Josh 9:24–25, 27b are not an independent narrative; rather, they are additions, which include the report of the Gibeonites to Joshua that they know about the divine promise of land to Moses (vv. 24–25) and the summary statement that the fate of the Gibeonites is to become servants for the altar of Yahweh (v. 27b). The Priestly composition in Josh 9:15b, 17–21, 27a is part of a narrative source from the Pentateuch, but it too is incomplete, exploring the role of the leaders of the congregation in resolving the problem of the Gibeonites. There are variations on the source-critical solution, but the basic analysis remains the same (see the extensive review by Noort, 1998a: 59–98). Wellhausen, for example, presents essentially the same source-critical solution as Kuenen (1899: 127–28). A lingering problem with the source-critical approach is that the parallel sources in Josh 9 are incomplete. This is even the case with the interpretation of Steuernagel, who does not identify the pentateuchal sources J and E but instead reduces the composition to two authors: D^2 constitutes the basic narrative in Josh 9:3–5, 8–13, 15a, 16, 22–27a; and P includes Josh 9:14, 15b, 17–21 (Steuernagel, 1923: 241). This reading represents a solution that continues into more recent redaction-critical studies.

Blenkinsopp notes that the narrative of Josh 9 "presents difficulties quite apart from the attempt to break it down into different sources" (1972: 34). The very nature of the story raises questions about the intent of the composition, which is not addressed by simply dissecting the narrative into separate strands. Most notable is the absurd na-

ture of the trick of the Gibeonites. As noted earlier, the story presents "a certain air of unreality and even detached humour especially with regard to the means chosen by the Gibeonites to authenticate their mission—as if anyone would believe that they could not have obtained fresh bread on the journey" (Blenkinsopp, 1972: 35). Yet, to the surprise of the reader, the Israelites are completely fooled by the dried bread, and then in the next scene they actually eat it in making a covenant with the Gibeonites. Noth rightly concluded that the literary style points to the polemical intent of the narrative to condemn the special cultic status of the Gibeonites through their deceit and the naïveté of the Israelites in allowing it to happen (1971b: 53). Once the polemical perspective is recognized, it provides the key for Noth to interpret Josh 9 as a single etiological story, rather than as one including parallel sources.

Noth concluded that the story presupposes a conflict over the appointment of the Gibeonites as cultic functionaries and the covenant that ensures their continuation in the role; this conflict drives the polemical tone of the narrative to its conclusion (1971b: 57). He traced the origin of the story to the role of the Gibeonites at the sanctuary in Gilgal and to a separate treaty between the tribe of Benjamin and the four Gibeonite cities that are listed in v. 17 (Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim). Although these issues were likely unrelated in the tribal history of Benjamin, they are merged early in the formation of the story of the Gibeonites and thus became one central theme (1971b: 53). The earliest form of the story was a critical etiology to explain how the Gibeonites achieved their special cultic status at Gilgal, even though they were not Israelites. Thus, unlike many of the other etiologies in Josh 2–9 that idealize a place or person, the story of the Gibeonites is meant to function as a polemic against the tribe of Benjamin for violating the ideal that foreign nations must be excluded from the promised land and from the cult of Yahweh. The demand for the exclusion of foreigners is the unstated presupposition of the story, according to Noth. All the characters in the tale know this law, including the Gibeonites. The narrator's evaluation of the role of the Gibeonites at Gilgal is expressed in the concluding judgment that their cultic service is in fact the result of a curse (1971b: 57).

Noth concluded that the polemical intent of the story requires the entire narrative, not just sections of it. For this reason, he rejected past source-critical solutions in favor of reading Josh 9 as a single story that is not part of a hexateuchal narrative. The literary formation of Josh 9 began when a collector incorporated the oral form of the *Sage* into a series of etiological *Sagen* in Josh 2–9 by the ninth century BCE (1971b: 55). Noth also identified subsequent minor additions to the story. The Deuteronomistic Historian, for example, expanded the speeches of the Gibeonites to include the reference to Og and Sihon (vv. 9bb–10) and the divine promise of land to Moses (v. 24), which ties the story more directly to the literature in Deuteronomy. A post-Deuteronomistic editor included some of the references to the "leaders of the congregation" and all of the occurrences of the "congregation" (vv. 15b, 18, 21), although Noth did not interpret these motifs as representing the Priestly source, since he excluded the influence of pentateuchal literature in the formation of Joshua. Further post-Deuteronomistic glosses include the reference to the kings at the outset (vv. 1–2) and to the "congregation" and the "place of the name" at the conclusion of the narrative (parts of v. 27).

Noth's recognition of the polemical intent of the story of the Gibeonites provides important insight into the composition and intent of the narrative. But subsequent

researchers question his evaluation of the literary motifs in the narrative. For example, in order to maintain the unity and antiquity of the narrative, Noth was forced to abandon a literary study in order to identify some references to the "leaders" (*nĕśî'îm*) as original to the *Sage* (vv. 14, 19?), while others are post-Deuteronomistic glosses (v. 18?), especially where they are combined with references to the "congregation" (*nĕśî'ê hā'ēdâ*) (1971b: 55–57). But, as Noth concedes (1971b: 55), such distinctions are not possible to maintain in a strictly literary study, such as that of Rudolph (1938: 202), who reflects the majority view that the introduction of the "leaders" represents the concerns of the late Priestly source. Subsequent interpreters have tended not to follow Noth, as R. K. Sutherland concludes: "[T]he consensus of literary studies assigns a postexilic date to this stratum" (1992: 72). Sutherland, like J. Halbe (1975a: 613–19), identifies Josh 9:15b, 17–21 as a Priestly addition; it represents a transition in leadership from the "men of Israel" (vv. 6, 7) to the "leaders of the congregation" (vv. 15, 18, 19, 21) so that the latter group is assigned the authority for the fate of the Gibeonites.

More recent redaction-critical studies identify other literary influences in the composition of Josh 9 that call into question the antiquity of the story. P. Kearny (1973) and C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger (1986) build on the insight of Noth that the plot of the story presupposes the exclusion of foreigners from the promised land; but they depart from Noth in arguing that the theme is dependent on the rules for war in Deut 20:10–18, suggesting instead a much later composition of Josh 9. They conclude that Josh 9 is an inner-biblical exposition of Deut 20:10–18 and that the masquerade is understandable only against the backdrop of this text. Deuteronomy 20:10–18 states that all indigenous nations in the promised land must be destroyed, while nations from a distinct land may negotiate peace. Mayes (1985) also identifies a series of literary connections between Josh 9 and Deut 29, including the phrase "woodcutters and water carriers" (Josh 9:21, 27; Deut 29:10), the motif of worn-out clothes and sandals (Josh 9:5; Deut 29:4), and the reference to bread and wine (Josh 9:12–14; Deut 29:5).

The redaction-critical studies show that Deuteronomistic and Priestly literature permeate the composition of Josh 9, thus providing a corrective to Noth, who paid too little attention to the literary character of the story. But the identification of the distinct redactions introduces the problem that Noth sought to resolve, namely, the fragmentation of the narrative into a series of supplements in which it is difficult to isolate an original and complete narrative. Recent interpreters tend to identify the original story as Josh 9:3–15 (e.g., Halbe, 1975a: 629–30; Butler, 1983: 99; Nelson, 1997a: 124–27). In this case, the narrative is not identified as an etiology, even though it functions as one by explaining the position of the Gibeonites among the Israelites. According to this view, the original narrative is composed from the Gibeonites' point of view (e.g., Butler, 1983: 99); it is neither a polemical story nor a call for change, but simply "an explanation" for the origin of the Gibeonites (Nelson, 1997a: 126).

Subsequent redactions in Josh 9 introduce different points of view on the status of the Gibeonites that qualify or correct the perspective in the original core narrative. Interpreters vary on the identification of the redactions, but the analysis follows similar procedures. Butler, for example, identifies Josh 9:16–21 as transforming the explanatory narrative of vv. 3–15 into a story of subjugation (1983: 100). Nelson argues that Josh 9:15b, 18–21 is a "P-like correction involving distaste over the idea of foreign temple servants" (1997a: 124). Sutherland (1992: 65–74) interprets the redactional history of

the chapter to reflect the changing political structures in Israel from the "men of Israel" in the oldest narrative (vv. 4–6, 7, 11–14, 16), to Joshua (vv. 3, 8–10, 15a, 22–27), and finally to the "leaders of the congregation" (vv. 15b, 17–21). In this way, the history of redaction reflects the shifting points of view in the narrative and the changing attitudes toward foreigners. But the problem of narrative coherence lingers, which is what Noth originally sought to overcome. Nelson states the problem in evaluating the core narrative of vv. 3–15, upon which all other redactions are based: "Disguises and pretenses are usually meant to be revealed, as the examples of 1 Sam 28:8, 12; 2 Sam 14:3–20; 1 Kings 14:2–6; 20:38–41 make clear. It is hard to imagine that the core story could really have been told without some sort of discovery of the masquerade" (1997a: 127).

COMPOSITION OF JOSH 9

Two insights from the history of research provide the starting point for identifying the composition of Josh 9: (1) Noth's argument that the story is intended to condemn the cultic role of the Gibeonites, and (2) the recognition that Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs are pervasive throughout it. The combination encourages a reading of Josh 9 as a polemical story about the cultic status of the Gibeonites, not at Gilgal in the premonarchic period, as Noth argued, but in the postexilic period from an author who is fashioning a story with a combination of Deuteronomistic and Priestly motifs. Knauf provides the starting point for interpreting the polemical aim of the author (2008: 94). He notes that the Deuteronomistic motifs dominate the first half of the narrative (vv. 1–15a) and that they establish the problem of the story, which is the violation of the rules for waging war from Deut 20:10–18. The problem occurs when the Israelites make a covenant with the Gibeonites as a result of the Gibionites' masquerade. The Priestly themes take over the second half of the narrative (vv. 15b–27), where the focus of the author is on the leaders of the congregation, who compound the problem of the covenant by sealing it with an unconditional oath, forcing them to fashion the solution that the Gibeonites will perform cultic service for the congregation (v. 21). Joshua condemns this arrangement with a curse (v. 22).

The central obstacle for interpreting Josh 9 as a unified narrative throughout the history of interpretation is that the story has too many characters: Joshua (vv. 2, 6, 8, 15, 22, 27), the "men of Israel" (vv. 6, 7, 14), the "leaders of the congregation" (vv. 15b, 18, 19, 21), the "Israelites" (vv. 2, 17, 18, 26), the "congregation" (vv. 18, 19, 21, 27), and the Gibeonites (vv. 3–5, 6, 8, 9–13, 17, 24–25). Joshua and the Gibeonites play a role throughout the narrative. The representatives of Israel, however, change in the unfolding plot of the story: The "men of Israel" (vv. 6, 7, 14) represent the Israelites in the first half of the narrative (vv. 1–15a), while the "leaders of the congregation" (vv. 15b, 18, 19, 21) take over in the second half (vv. 15b–27). The change in leadership is the central criterion for identifying separate Deuteronomistic and Priestly stages of composition. The unified reading of the narrative, however, shows that the change of leadership is intentional and that it is tied to a transition in theme from the "covenant" in vv. 1–15a to the "oath" of the "leaders of the congregation" in vv. 15b–27. The interpretation of the themes of "covenant" and "oath" in the book of Joshua suggests that the polemical intent of the narrative is directed toward the "oath" of the "leaders of the congregation."

Covenant in Josh 9:1–15a

The theme of covenant signifies a conditional alliance in the book of Joshua, rather than an unconditional pledge. The term *bĕrît,* "covenant," occurs twenty-two times in Joshua. Thirteen references are to the "ark of the covenant" (Josh 3:3, 6 [twice], 8, 11, 14, 17; 4:7, 9, 18; 6:6, 8; 8:33), where it symbolizes the conditional presence of Yahweh with the Israelite army. The conditional nature of covenant is illustrated in the story of Achan, where his breaking of the covenant results in the army's defeat. The Deity tells Joshua: "Israel has sinned; they have violated my covenant" (7:11, 15). Joshua's speech in Josh 23:16 and the subsequent covenant at Shechem in Josh 24:25 also reinforce its conditional nature: "If you transgress the covenant of Yahweh, your God, . . . you will perish."

The conditional nature of covenant in the book of Joshua aids in interpreting Josh 9, where the theme is concentrated in the first half of the narrative (9:6, 7, 11, 15, 16). The masquerade of the Gibeonites in Josh 9:1–15a is aimed at Joshua and the "men of Israel." The Gibeonites introduce the theme of covenant in Josh 9:6, when they say, "From a faraway land we have come. Now make a covenant with us." The theme reappears in the unfolding negotiations (vv. 7, 8), until the success of the trick is indicated in Josh 9:14–15a, when the men of Israel eat food with the Gibeonites and Joshua makes "peace" with them through a "covenant." Although Joshua violates the rules for war in Deut 20:10–18, the conditional nature of covenant in the book of Joshua indicates that it is not the central theme of the story. If the central theme of the chapter were the making of a covenant under false pretenses, Joshua would be free to destroy the Gibeonites, just as Yahweh was free to abandon the Israelite army at Ai after Achan broke the covenant (7:11, 15).

Oath in Josh 9:15b–27

The theme of swearing an oath signifies a permanent and irrevocable promise or curse in the book of Joshua that, once made, cannot be abrogated. The term *šāba',* "to swear," occurs sixteen times in the book: five times in the Hiphil form of the verb (2:12, 17, 20; 6:26; 23:7), and eleven times in the Niphal (1:6; 5:6 [twice]; 6:22; 9:15, 18, 19, 20; 14:9; 21:43, 44). The Niphal occurrences describe unconditional oaths that invoke the Deity or are stated by God. Yahweh promises the land to the ancestors with an oath (1:6; 21:43, 44) and denies the fulfillment of the promise to the first generation with a similar oath (5:6 [twice]). These promises are unchangeable. Caleb also demands land on the basis of Moses' unconditional oath (14:9). The Hiphil form of the verb describes the negotiations between Rahab and the spies for an oath of rescue (2:12, 17, 20), which, once agreed upon, also becomes irrevocable (the Niphal form of the verb in 6:22). Joshua's permanent curse on the city is also stated with the Hiphil form of the verb (6:26), as is the command not to make an oath by invoking any other deity than Yahweh (23:7).

The unconditional nature of the oath in the book of Joshua aids in interpreting Josh 9, where the theme is concentrated in the second half of the narrative (9:15, 18, 19, 20). It appears unexpectedly in v. 15b, when the leaders of the congregation suddenly and without clear cause swear an oath to the Gibeonites after Joshua had already made a conditional covenant with them in v. 15a. Once the oath is sworn, it becomes the central theme in the second half of the narrative, as opposed to the conditional cov-

enant Joshua and the men of Israel made in the first half. When the masquerade of the Gibeonites is discovered (9:16–17), the Israelites are forced to spare them—not because they had made a covenant with them, but "because the leaders of the congregation had sworn an oath to them by Yahweh the God of Israel" (9:18). The oath is unconditional. The leaders state: "We have sworn to them by Yahweh, the God of Israel. So now we are not able to strike them" (9:19). Thus, it is the leaders of the congregation, not Joshua, who create a condition in which the Gibeonites must be spared, because of their unconditional oath. The leaders wish to avoid the divine wrath that would accompany the breaking of the oath and thus they make the Gibeonites permanent cultic personnel: "And the *leaders* said to them, 'Let them live.' And they were woodcutters and drawers of water for the entire congregation, as the *leaders* stated to them" (9:21). The speech of Joshua in vv. 22–23 follows the decision of the leaders and thus must be read as commentary on the leaders' solution regarding the fate of the Gibeonites. Joshua reframes that solution as a curse: "Now you are cursed. Slavery will not be cut away from you. You will be woodcutters and drawers of water for the house of my God" (9:23).

Joshua 9 is a unified narrative. The setting of its composition is the postexilic period. The evidence is the author's interweaving of Deuteronomistic notions of holy war and conditional covenant (vv. 1–15a) with Priestly views of leadership and cultic service. The aim of the author is to write a polemical story against the "leaders of the congregation," who are judged to be responsible for the cultic service of the Gibeonites, which is a violation of the rules for holy war in Deut 20:10–18 that dominates the first half of the narrative. The rules for war represent the perspective of the author, who would prefer to destroy the foreign Gibeonites for making a covenant under false pretenses but is restrained by the unconditional oath of the leaders of the congregation that guarantees their cultic status. The best that the author can do is to curse this situation through the speech of Joshua.

Leaders of the Congregation

Interpreters have identified the "leaders of the congregation" with the postexilic Priestly literature in the Pentateuch since the nineteenth century (e.g., Wellhausen, 1899: 127–28). The term *nāśî'*, "leader," is not restricted to Priestly literature. It occurs, for example, in a law that forbids a person to curse a leader (Exod 22:27), which may reflect pre-Priestly usage (e.g., H. Niehr, 1999: 47). On this basis, Noth sought to separate the designation of the leaders in Josh 9 from Priestly tradition (1971b: 55–57). But the vast majority of the 130 references to the term "leaders," especially when used in conjunction with "the congregation" as in Josh 9, are in the Priestly literature (80 occurrences) and in Ezekiel (37 occurrences), which shares the vocabulary of the Priestly literature. In Priestly tradition, the leaders are rulers (Lev 4:22); they assist Moses and Aaron (Num 1:44), make offerings (Num 10:4), assemble the people (Num 10:4), adjudicate the legal claim to land by the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:2), evaluate booty in war (Num 31:3), and apportion the land to the tribes (Num 34:18). The leaders do not undertake these actions alone in the Priestly literature but act in conjunction with Moses and the priests, who are designated as either Aaron or Eleazar.

Knauf identifies the social location of the "leaders" in the Priestly literature and in Joshua as representing the ruling assembly in postexilic Yehud: those who along with the governor and the high priest make up the ruling body of the province in Jerusalem

(2008: 94). Sutherland also concludes that the narrative strategy of Josh 9 is to confer political power on the "leaders" (1992: 72–73). I agree with Sutherland but depart from his conclusion that Josh 9 is meant to legitimate the leaders. Rather, I think it is intended to criticize them, especially when they act alone. In this case, the polemical intent of the author of Joshua is against the ruling assembly of Jerusalem. The author targets this group as being responsible for the cultic participation of Gibeonites in Jerusalem. The priesthood plays no role in Josh 9, while Joshua is also separated from them by condemning the oath of the leaders that results in the cultic service of the Gibeonites.

The stories of the leaders in Joshua provide a broader context for interpreting their negative role in Josh 9. They appear in three narratives: (1) the account of the Gibeonites (9:15b–22), (2) the legal case of the daughters of Zelophehad (17:3–6), and (3) the altar that is built by the Transjordanian tribes (Josh 22). The repetition of the legal claim of the daughters of Zelophehad to land in Joshua (17:3–6) and in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch (Num 27:1–11) clearly identifies the leaders in Joshua with the same characters. The other two stories depart from the Priestly literature somewhat by accentuating more the role of the leaders in the cult. Joshua 22 underscores their positive role, when they assist Phinehas in evaluating the altar that Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh build. But Josh 9:15b–27 presents the leaders in a negative light, when they function independently of the priesthood and of Joshua and make a rash oath that leads to the permanent cultic service of the Gibeonites.

Gibeonites

The interpretation of the Gibeonites in postexilic literature further reinforces the conclusion that the author of Josh 9 is writing a polemical story about worship practice in Jerusalem. The summary of Gibeon in the "Notes" underscores its close relationship to Jerusalem already in the monarchic period, initially as a place of conflict between the houses of Saul and David (2 Sam 2:12; 3:30; 20:8; 21:1–9) and later as a place of worship for Solomon (1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2). Whether Solomon later enslaved the Gibeonites as "temple slaves" is inconclusive (see the enslavement of the Hivites in 1 Kgs 9:20–21, and the temple slaves of Solomon in Ezra 2:55–58 [J. Day, 2007: 118–19]).

The ties between the Gibeonites, Jerusalem, and cultic worship are somewhat clearer in postexilic texts. The Gibeonites are listed among the first group of exiles that return from Babylon to Jerusalem (Gibeon in Neh 7:25; but Gibbar in Ezra 2:20). They are described earlier in the list of Neh 7 as the people of the province of Yehud (Neh 7:6) and as "Israelites" (Neh 7:7). At least from the time of the Talmud (b. Yebam. 71A, 78b–79a), the Gibeonites have also been associated with Nethinim, who are in the list of returnees as well (Ezra 2:43, 58, 70; 7:7, 24; Neh 7:46, 60, 73). According to Neh 3:26, the Nethinim reside in Jerusalem, "living on the Ophel, as far as the point in front of the Water Gate in the east, and the jutting tower" (see also Neh 11:21), although some may have lived outside of Jerusalem in their own towns (Neh 11:3–4). Although interpreters debate the degree to which the Gibeonites, the Nethinim, and a third group, the "sons of Solomon" (Neh 11:3), overlap in meaning (see B. A. Levine, 1963:207–12), M. Haran (1961b) is likely correct in suggesting that the Gibeonites represent at least part of the Nethinim, who take an oath to follow Mosaic law (Neh 10:29–30) and assist the Levites in the cultic tasks of the Jerusalem temple (Ezra 8:20) (see also Day, 2007: 135–36).

The portrait of the Nethinim in Ezra and Nehemiah parallels that of the Gibeonites in Josh 9, who also serve in menial cultic tasks as woodcutters and drawers of water. But the positive portrait of the Gibeonites and the Nethinim in Ezra and Nehemiah contrasts to Josh 9, where the author identifies the Gibeonites as Hivites, who fall under the ban (9:7). The identification of the Hivites in Josh 9, moreover, is not limited to the city of Gibeon but extends to a larger region that also includes the cities of Kiriath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth (9:17). This grouping of cities appears in only one other text in the Hebrew Bible, within the same list of Israelites who return from exile: The registration of the 95 Gibeonites who return with Ezra (Neh 7:25) is followed by the record of an additional 743 from the cities of Kiriath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth (Neh 7:29 = Ezra 2:25). The repetition suggests that Josh 9 and Neh 7 reflect the same postexilic setting but that the authors evaluate the strong tie between the Benjaminite region of Gibeon, Kiriath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth and Jerusalem differently—that is, what is a positive relationship in Nehemiah is a curse in Joshua. The positive relationship of the Gibeonites to Jerusalem is further strengthened in Nehemiah when they are included with the groups who assist in repairing the wall of Jerusalem: "Repairs were made by Melatiah the Gibeonite and Jadon the Meronothite—the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah—who were under the jurisdiction of the governor of the province Beyond the River" (Neh 3:7).

The Chronicler cements the relationship between Gibeon and Jerusalem into a single genealogy of Jeiel, which appears twice: first in the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:29–32) and a second time in the list of the postexilic residents of Jerusalem who work in the temple (1 Chr 9:35–44). In each case, the genealogy progresses from Jeiel, the father of Gibeon, who lives in Gibeon, to Mikloth, the father of Shimeah, who lives in Jerusalem. M. Oeming is likely correct that the Gibeonites are included in the list of the residents of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 9 because they are temple personnel (1990: 204). Chronicles provides background for the polemical narrative in Josh 9. The author of Josh 9 idealizes worship in the north on an open-air altar of uncut stones at Ebal and Gerizim; this same author judges the temple service of the Gibeonites at Jerusalem as a curse (9:23). Joshua's curse on the Gibeonites is the last of the three curses in the book: (1) the cities in the promised land (6:26), (2) the kings who are hung on trees (8:29; 10:26–27), and (3) the Gibeonite temple slaves (9:23).

Comments

9:1–5. MASQUERADE OF THE GIBEONITES

Joshua 9:1–5 may be divided into two parts: the theme of war between the kings and Joshua (vv. 1–2), and the separation of the Gibeonites from the kings (vv. 3–5). The focus in Josh 9 is on the masquerade of the Gibeonites, when they impersonate distant travelers even though they are indigenous to the promised land. The foregrounding of the Gibeonites tends to separate vv. 1–2 from vv. 3–5, but the entire section of vv. 1–5 functions as an introduction to the conquest stories in Josh 9–12. The three main characters in Josh 9:1–5—Joshua, the kings, and the Gibeonites—frame the stories of conquest that reappear in Josh 11:18–20. The summary statement of Josh 11:18–20 says that Joshua exterminated all the kings of the promised land, except "the Hittites, who dwelt in Gibeon." The summary is followed by the list of defeated kings in Josh 12, thus

completing the conquest in Josh 9–12. Two themes require comment in Josh 9:1–5: the kings and the Gibeonites' masquerade.

Kings

The antagonists throughout the book of Joshua are kings and their cities. The author introduces the conflict between the indigenous kings and Joshua by providing the reaction of the kings to the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land in Josh 5:1 and 9:1–2. The texts share five motifs: (1) Both focus on kings (5:1; 9:1). (2) The ethnic identity of the kings is clarified. In Josh 5:1 the kings are Amorite and Canaanite, whereas in Josh 9:1 they are Hittite, Amorite, Canaanite, Perizzite, Hivite, and Jebusite. (3) The geographical location of the kings is spelled out in a general way to emphasize that they represent the entire scope of the promised land. In Josh 5:1 the Amorite kings live west of the Jordan River, and the Canaanite kings are by the sea; in Josh 9:1 the kings are dispersed from the highland to the coast. (4) In both texts, the kings hear of a past event. The Amorite and Canaanite kings hear of the events of the exodus (Josh 5:1); Josh 9:1 does not state specifically what the kings hear, although it is likely the defeat of Jericho and Ai (Josh 9:1; cf. Josh 10:1). (5) Both notices also include the reaction of the nations. In Josh 5:1 the nations fear and are not able to war against Joshua; in Josh 9:1 they join forces to war against Joshua and Israel.

The first reaction of the kings in Josh 5:1 is not a response to the threat of Joshua but to the power of Yahweh in the more distant event of the exodus. Jericho and Ai do not initiate war with Joshua but respond defensively. The second reaction of the indigenous kings in Josh 9:1–2 is more immediate; it appears to focus on Joshua and his defeat of the neighboring cities of Jericho and Ai. As a consequence, the reaction is no longer the fear of Yahweh but preparation for war against Joshua. The change of theme in the reaction of the nations from fear (5:1) to war (9:1) signals a transition in the book of Joshua, from the procession of the ark and the destruction of Jericho and Ai (Josh 3–8) to the broader conquest of the promised land (Josh 9–11). The response of the kings in Josh 9:1 is repeated two more times in Josh 9–11, with more specific information about the kings in Josh 10:1–5 and 11:1–5, including their names and cities.

Gibeonite Deception

The Gibeonites are contrasted to the kings. They are introduced collectively as "the inhabitants of Gibeon" (9:3). Although the city of Gibeon is compared at a later point to other "royal cities" (10:2), no king of Gibeon is mentioned in the book of Joshua; "elders" rule instead (9:11). The Gibeonites also function very differently from the kings in Josh 9:1–2. They too "hear" what Joshua did to Jericho and Ai, but instead of preparing for war, they act "in cunning" toward the Israelites to trick them into making a covenant of peace. The word *ʿŏrmâ,* "cunning," is ambiguous in the Hebrew Bible. It can mean treachery, as in the law of Exod 21:4: "But if someone willfully attacks and kills another in cunning [*bĕʿŏrmâ*], you shall take the killer from my altar for execution" (see also Job 5:13). Cunning, however, can also mean insight, especially in the book of Proverbs, where wisdom is able "to teach shrewdness [*ʿŏrmâ*] to the simple, knowledge and prudence to the young" (Prov 1:4; see also 8:5, 12). Thus, the author has chosen an ambiguous term to describe the motivation of the Gibeonites. A comparison with the story of Rahab, the other account in the book of Joshua where a foreigner acts as

a trickster, suggests that the author judges the cunning of the Gibeonites negatively. Rahab tricks the king of Jericho, an action she later describes as an act of kindness (*ḥesed*) toward the Israelite spies (2:12); the Gibeonites, on the other hand, trick the Israelites, not out of kindness toward them, but for their own survival, which Joshua later curses (9:23).

The cunning of the Gibeonites is rooted in their knowledge of Torah, especially the rules for waging holy war in Deut 20:10–18. They deceive the Israelites by making themselves look like travelers from a distant nation that sends diplomats to Joshua for the purpose of entering into a covenant of peace with the Israelites. They travel to the camp at Gilgal with torn clothes, dried bread, and worn-out wineskins; the disguise functions as a mask of concealment. R. L. Grimes (1975) notes that masks of concealment tend to be used in social roles, often giving power to marginalized people through the masquerade. The danger of the mask of concealment is that the wearer may manipulate social power for personal advantage or to create social confusion, as in the masquerades of Mardi Gras, Halloween, or Purim. This is exactly how the disguise of the Gibeonites functions in Josh 9. Their masquerade creates social confusion (R. Vulcanescu, 1986), which gives them power over the Israelites.

Kearny (1973) and Schäfer-Lichtenberger (1986) conclude further that the Gibeonites' masquerade is based on Deut 20:10–18 and that their deception represents a narrative illustration of the law. The rules for holy war in Deut 20:10–18 distinguish between nations that live outside of the borders of Israel (Deut 20:10–15) and those that live within the boundaries of the promised land (Deut 20:16–18). The indigenous nations fall under the ban, requiring the extermination of all people (Deut 20:16). These nations include the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut 20:17). The Israelites are allowed to offer peace to distant nations outside of the promised land in exchange for their service as slaves (Deut 20:10–11).

The Gibeonite trick is patterned on the rules for holy war in Deut 20:10–18. The plan is to appear as a nation that dwells outside of the borders of the promised land (Deut 20:15–16) in order to escape the ban on indigenous nations (Deut 20:16–18). Joshua 9 even repeats motifs from Deut 20:10–18. The list of indigenous nations is the same in each text: Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut 20:17; Josh 9:1), and the Gibeonites are identified in the MT as Hivites (Josh 9:7). The claim of the Gibeonites to be from a "land very far away" repeats the central motif for distinguishing indigenous and nonindigenous nations in the rules of war in Deut 20:15: Moses states to the Israelites that the nonindigenous nations are "towns very far away from you, which are not cities of the nations here." The distinction allows the Israelites to make "peace" with nations that are far away: "And Joshua made peace with them" (9:15). Thus, as noted by Knauf, the masquerade is based on the Gibeonites' knowledge of Torah (2008: 92). This knowledge is also evident when they reveal to Joshua in Josh 9:24 that they are aware of the divine promise of land to Moses.

9:6–15. COVENANT AND OATH

The success of the Gibeonite ruse is recounted in this section, which is divided into unequal parts that explore three themes: (1) the setting of the camp (v. 6a), (2) the request

for a covenant by the Gibeonites (vv. 6b–15a), and (3) the offer of an unconditional oath by the leaders (v. 15b).

Camp

The camp setting is crucial for interpreting the Gibeonites' masquerade. The camp is referred to sixteen times in the book of Joshua, almost exclusively in the first half: fifteen times in Josh 1–12 (1:11; 3:2; 5:8; 6:11, 14, 18, 23; 8:13; 9:6; 10:5, 6, 15, 21, 43; 11:4) and one time in Josh 13–24 (18:9). The camp provides a stark contrast to the royal city-states that Joshua and the Israelites seek to destroy. Rather than a permanent fortress, the camp is mobile and thus not restricted to any one location like a city. It is located first on the east side of the Jordan (1:11), then on the west side, most frequently at Gilgal but also at Shiloh (18:9).

Four functions of the camp provide background for interpreting its role in the story of the Gibeonites. First, residency in the camp is restricted to Israelites, conceived as the twelve tribes, who have experienced the exodus and now cross the Jordan with Joshua to conquer the promised land (1:11–18; 3:2). The identity of the camp residents as Israelites is sealed in the rite of circumcision immediately after the crossing of the Jordan (5:8). The restriction of camp residency to the Israelite tribes is underscored when even Rahab is not allowed to enter the camp after her rescue from Jericho. Instead, she and all her family are given rest "outside of the camp of Israel" (6:23). The one occurrence of the camp in Joshua 13–24 relates camp residency and land possession, when Josh 18:9 states that the survey of the land is brought back to Joshua in the camp, now located at Shiloh.

Second, the camp is the location from where Joshua and the Israelites wage holy war against the indigenous kings and city-states of the land. The Israelites march around Jericho and return nightly to the camp (6:11, 14, 18). Joshua wages war against the coalition of southern kings from the camp at Gilgal (10:6), even traveling repeatedly between the camp at Gilgal and the cave of Makkedah in the MT version to kill the five kings (10:15, 21; absent in the LXX), while also returning to the camp at Gilgal at the conclusion of the battle (MT 10:43; absent in the LXX). The camp can even be a metaphor for the army (8:13; 11:4).

Third, the camp has a sacred quality that must be protected from pollution. This sacred quality may be tied to the unique character of the people, who are circumcised and observe Passover in the camp (5:2–9), or it may be the result of the ark, which resides in the camp as it processes to Ebal and Gerizim (3:2–3; 6:11, 14, 18). Whatever the source of its sacred quality, the camp must be protected from pollution. This is illustrated in the warning of Joshua during the siege of Jericho that the Israelites not take devoted property because it would "designate the Israelite camp to be devoted to destruction" and "make it taboo" (6:18), and in the sacrilege of Achan in hiding forbidden booty in his tent in the camp (LXX of 8:22).

Fourth, the political structure of the camp lacks a king; it is governed by Joshua, elders (e.g., 7:6; 8:10, 33), officials (e.g., 1:10; 3:2; 8:33), and the leaders of the congregation (e.g., 9:14, 15, 18, 19, 21).

The restriction of the camp to Israelites, its importance as the setting for waging war against indigenous kings and royal city-states, the need to protect it from pollution, and the absence of a king in its political structure provide the background for interpret-

ing the story of the Gibeonites. The author of Josh 9:6–15 forefronts the setting of the camp to underscore that the most dangerous aspect of the Gibeonites' masquerade is that "they went to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal" (9:6a). Even though the Gibeonites lack a king and are ruled by elders (9:11), thus mirroring the political structure of the camp, they violate the restriction of the camp to Israelites. Once inside the camp, the success of the Gibeonites' masquerade undermines the command that the Israelites wage holy war against the indigenous city-states. Thus, the penetration of the Gibeonites into the camp creates a threat to its purity. Achan also threatened to pollute the camp by stealing booty that was dedicated to the sacred, hiding it in his tent, and violating the rules of holy war (Josh 7). The Gibeonites threaten to pollute the camp by disguising the fact that they are indigenous Hivites in order to penetrate the camp and subvert the rules of holy war. The process of the discovery of the trespass leads the reader through a series of false covenants and foolish oaths. But once the true identity of the Gibeonites is uncovered, they, like Achan and his stolen booty, are dedicated to the sacred. In the case of the Gibeonites, this means temple slavery rather than extermination, but only because of the foolish oath of the leaders, which results in a non-Israelite people becoming cultic personnel—a fact that the author curses through the speech of Joshua (9:23).

Many interpreters note the parallels between Rahab and the Gibeonites (e.g., Hess, 1996a: 177; Nelson, 1997a: 131; C. Pressler, 2002: 72). Creach writes that "the residents of Gibeon are like Rahab and should be classified with her," since they acknowledge the power of God and seek refuge from the ban (2003: 86). However, the central role of the camp setting indicates that the story of the Gibeonites is only superficially similar to the story of Rahab. Both are foreigners; both are tricksters; both know traditions about Yahweh; and both escape the absolute demands of the ban. But the similarities end at this point. Rahab functions as a positive character. Her trick is aimed at the king of Jericho, and it takes place in the city of Jericho. Her intention is to save the Israelite spies through an act of kindness. Her reward is rescue from the destruction of Jericho, and she is allowed to live "in the midst of Israel until this day" (6:25). But she is never allowed into the camp: "All her family they brought out and gave them rest outside of the camp of Israel" (6:23). The Gibeonites function as negative characters in the book of Joshua. Their trick is aimed at the Israelites, and it takes place in the camp.

Covenant

The covenant between the Gibeonites and the Israelites is described in vv. 6b–15a. The establishment of the covenant unfolds in three sections: (1) The Gibeonites introduce the theme of covenant, to which the Israelites and Joshua respond with caution, not knowing their identity (vv. 6b–8); (2) the Gibeonites lie about their identity (vv. 9–13); and (3) a covenant of peace is established (vv. 14–15a).

The Gibeonites initiate the theme of covenant based on their knowledge of the rules for holy war in Deut 20:10–18. The author provides the background motivation for their request, stating that they heard about Joshua's extermination of Jericho and Ai and devised a cunning plan (v. 3). Their language, "now make a covenant with us" (v. 6b) and "we are your servants" (v. 8), is terminology from the tradition of ancient Near Eastern vassal treaties that appears throughout the second and first millennia in a variety of empires, including Hittite and Neo-Assyrian diplomacy (e.g., F. C. Fensham, 1964; P. Kalluveettil, 1982: 113–22). The more technical translation of the Hebrew

kirtû-lānû bĕrît is "make a treaty with us." The additional statement of the Gibeonites to be the "servants" or "slaves" of Joshua indicates that the proposed treaty is between unequal parties and that the Gibeonites are the weaker party (Halbe, 1975b: 241–53). Twice the Israelites and Joshua respond to the request for a treaty with caution. The response of the men of Israel is also based on Deut 20:10–18; they too state that it is forbidden for them to make a covenant with an indigenous nation (v. 7). Joshua follows the statement of the men of Israel by inquiring about the residency of the Gibeonites: "Who are you and from where do you come?" (v. 8).

The reluctance of the men of Israel to make a treaty and the question of Joshua about the homeland of the Gibeonites set the stage for the extended reply in vv. 9–13. The Gibeonites never identify their homeland but simply say that it is "very far away" (v. 9), the proof of which is dry bread and old wineskins (vv. 12–13). This is hardly compelling evidence, but it is bolstered with a theological motivation for their journey. The Gibeonites state that they seek the name of Yahweh, because of what they heard about the power of Yahweh in the events of the exodus and the defeat of Og and Sihon (vv. 9b–10). Pressler notes the parallels between the speech of the Gibeonites (9:9b–10) and that of Rahab (9:9–11); both include references to the exodus and to the defeat of Og and Sihon (2002: 72). Creach thus concludes that Rahab and Gibeon should be "classified" together as "non-Israelites who acknowledge the power of Yahweh" (2003: 86). This is true to some extent, since the Gibeonites are presented as a nation that knows the Torah; their masquerade after all is fashioned upon the rules for holy war in Deut 20:10–18. But a closer examination of the parallel texts reveals significant differences in the author's presentation of the two characters. The speech of Rahab is grounded in confession; she begins it by stating, "I know that Yahweh has given you the land" (2:9a), and she concludes it with an even broader confession, "Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below" (2:11b). The speech of the Gibeonites lacks confession; it is restricted instead to the more general references to the exodus and the defeat of Sihon and Og. The motivation of the Gibeonites is provided in the MT of v. 3: They "heard what Joshua did to Jericho and to Ai." The success of the masquerade leads to the establishment of a covenant in vv. 14–15a with a meal consisting of the dried bread. D. J. Wiseman interprets the exchange of food within the framework of the vassal treaty, where it indicates that the men of Israel accept the Gibeonites as vassals, thus sparing their lives (1982: 318–19).

The author of Josh 9 may be presenting an ironic story by weaving the Gibeonite trick on the Israelites with motifs from the covenant between the Israelites and Yahweh in Deut 29. The covenant in Deut 29 begins with a review that includes the events of the exodus and the defeat of Og and Sihon (29:1–8), which are also mentioned by the Gibeonites, as well as the wonder that the Israelites' clothing never wore out during the wilderness journey, during which they ate no bread and drank no wine (29:5–6). The review is meant to provide the basis for establishing the covenant, to which the Israelites swear allegiance with an oath (29:11–12) and which carries curses for disobedience (29:20). The author of Deut 29 is quick to add, however, that the Israelite people have never really had a "mind to understand, or eyes to see, or ears to hear" (29:4). This fact is illustrated all too clearly in Josh 9, where a number of the motifs from Deut 29 reappear as reversals. For example, the people accept worn-out clothing as evidence of a long journey, despite their own experience to the contrary. Then they eat bread and drink wine in making a covenant with the indigenous Gibeonites, even though they

abstained from eating and drinking during their own journey. To make matters worse, no one consults Yahweh (Josh 9:14) before violating the covenant from Deut 29. The author concludes the episode by underscoring that the trick of the Gibeonites not only fools the men of Israel, but also Joshua, who "made peace with them" and a "covenant . . . to let them live" (9:15).

Oath

The aim of the Gibeonite trick is to enter into a vassal treaty or covenant with Israel in order to survive the execution of the ban; it is not to receive an unconditional oath from the leaders of the congregation. Therefore, the ceremony between the Gibeonites and Israel reaches its conclusion in v. 15a when the covenant of peace between the men of Israel and Joshua is established. For this reason, the concluding comment in v. 15b that the leaders of the congregation "swore an oath" to the Gibeonites appears out of place, as though it is an addition to the covenant ceremony that occurs after the fact. In "Composition" we saw that many commentators view the change in theme from covenant to oath and the change in central characters from Joshua and the men of Israel to the leaders of the congregation as a compositional addition to the story by an author representing the perspective of the Priestly literature from the Pentateuch. The changes, however, are not compositional; they provide insight into the polemical aim of the author against the "leaders of the congregation," who voluntarily secure the cultic role of the Gibeonites with an unconditional oath. The unconditional oath of the leaders contrasts to the conditional covenant or vassal treaty made by Joshua and the men of Israel (see "Composition"). The volunteering of this oath by the leaders of the congregation becomes the central theme for the remainder of the narrative, rather than the conditional covenant. The problem is that the unconditional oath of the leaders cannot be taken back even after Joshua and the Israelites uncover the Gibeonite trick: "The Israelites did not slaughter them because the leaders of the congregation had sworn an oath to them by Yahweh the God of Israel" (9:18).

9:16–27. TEMPLE SERVICE AS A CURSE

The central theme in this section is the assigning of the Gibeonites to temple service as "woodcutters and drawers of water." The theme repeats three times (9:21, 23, 27) from distinct points of view: (1) The first scene provides the perspective on the leaders in assigning the Gibeonites to cultic service (vv. 16–21); (2) the second introduces Joshua's point of view on the action of the Gibeonites (vv. 22–25); and (3) the third is the narrator's conclusion to the present state of affairs (vv. 26–27).

Leaders

Even though the Israelites discover that the Gibeonites live in the neighboring tetrapolis of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim, they are unable to kill them because of the unconditional oath volunteered by the leaders (vv. 16–19). The leaders take over the story at this point; they state the problem and they provide the solution in vv. 20–21.

The problem is that the leaders cannot break the unconditional oath without activating divine "wrath" (*qeṣep*) on the congregation, even though the congregation is

already rebelling against them: "and the entire congregation complained against the leaders" (v. 18). The motif of divine wrath appears in both Deuteronomy and Priestly literature. In Deuteronomy, the term represents more the emotional response of God to Israel. When Israel refuses to invade the promised land, Deut 1:34 states that Yahweh heard their words and responded with wrath, meaning rage. Moses states in Deut 9:19 that he feared the divine wrath against Israel after the incident of the golden calf. In the Priestly literature, wrath represents less an emotional reaction from the Deity than a plague that results from pollution in the camp. For example, Moses cautions Aaron not to mourn after the death of his sons, Nadab and Abihu, lest he die and "wrath strike all the congregation" (Lev 10:2; see also Num 16:22). The reference to the "congregation" and to the "leaders" suggests the influence of Priestly literature, but the intended meaning of the divine wrath, whether it represents rage or a plague, is unclear from the text. The same ambiguity is evident in Josh 22:18, where the motif reappears in the warning of the leaders and of Phinehas to the western tribes after they construct an altar: "And now you are turning this day from following Yahweh. And it will happen that you will rebel this day against Yahweh and tomorrow he will be angry at the entire congregation of Israel."

The leaders' solution to the problem is to assign the Gibeonites to the task of cutting wood and carrying water for the congregation. There is no mention of cultic service in the solution; the leaders simply state that the Gibeonites will work for the congregation. The solution reflects the law of the alien in Deut 29:11, where those who enter into covenant with Yahweh include Israelites and "the aliens who are in your camp, both those who cut your wood and those who draw your water."

Joshua

Joshua qualifies the decision of the leaders in three ways in v. 23: (1) he curses the Gibeonites; (2) he makes them permanent slaves rather than resident aliens; and (3) he assigns their service of slavery to the cult rather than to the community. I noted above that the cursing of the Gibeonites is the third instance of this action in Josh 1–12: (1) Joshua first curses the person who rebuilds Jericho: "Cursed is the man before Yahweh who raises up and builds this city, Jericho" (6:26); (2) he curses the king of Ai symbolically by hanging him on a tree (8:29); and (3) he curses the Gibeonites: "Now you are cursed" (9:23). The result of the curse is the permanent slave status of the Gibeonites: "Slavery will not be cut away from you." This curse echoes Noah's curse on Canaan: "Cursed is Canaan, lowest of slaves he shall be to his brothers" (Gen 9:25).

In cursing the Gibeonites, Joshua also transfers their service from the congregation to the temple, described as the "house of my God." The Hebrew *bêt ʾĕlōhîm,* "house of God," occurs nearly ninety times in the Hebrew Bible, with the vast majority of the references appearing in 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, where the phrase almost always designates the Jerusalem temple (nearly seventy occurrences). The edict of Cyrus provides an example: He encourages exiles to return with "freewill offerings for the house of God in Jerusalem" (Ezra 1:4; see also 2:68; 3:8, 9). The "house of God" is identified with the "house of Yahweh" in Jerusalem within Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 25:6; 2 Chr 5:1), while in Nehemiah the citizens of Yehud bring offerings to the "house of God" in Jerusalem (Neh 10:33–40). David even describes the temple in Chronicles as the "house of my God" (1 Chr 29:2), thus using the same words of Joshua. The iden-

tification of Shiloh as the location for the "house of God" in Judg 18:31 also raises the question of whether the phrase in Josh 9:23 may refer to some other cultic temple. Yet the largest concentration of references to the "house of God" outside of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is the Psalms, which further reinforce the identification of the "house of God" with the Jerusalem temple (Pss 42:5; 52:10; 55:15; 84:11; 135:2). The vast majority of references to the Jerusalem temple suggest that the author of Josh 9 has fashioned Joshua's curse to be a polemical judgment on the postexilic Jerusalem temple and its non-Israelite cultic personnel. In this case, the identification of Joshua with the "house of my God" suggests a critical evaluation of the worship practice of Jerusalem without a complete rejection of the cultic site.

Narrator

The conclusion in vv. 26–27 provides the narrator's perspective on the cultic service of the Gibeonites into the present time, "until this day." The narrator adds two additional points of information about the Gibeonite service at the "house of God": (1) they serve the "altar of Yahweh" (2) at the place that Yahweh would choose. The "place of worship that Yahweh chooses" is anchored in Deuteronomy, especially in the law of cultic centralization, where the location of the Jerusalem temple is not explicitly stated as the one place of worship (e.g., Deut 12:14, 18, 26). Yet the phrase reappears in the account of Solomon's dedication of the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8:29, 44), suggesting a close relationship between the law of cult centralization in Deuteronomy and the building of the Jerusalem temple in 1 Kings.

The construct phrase *mizbēăḥ yhwh,* "altar of Yahweh," supports the conclusion that the narrator's summary statement is directed at the Gibeonites' role in the Jerusalem temple. The phrase "altar *of* Yahweh" contrasts to the more general expression *mizbēăḥ layhwh,* "altar *to* Yahweh." The construction of the "altar to Yahweh" is not restricted to any particular location. Noah builds an "altar to Yahweh" after the flood (Gen 8:20), Abraham does so at Shechem (Gen 12:7), Joshua at Shechem (Josh 8:33), Gibeon at Ophrah (Judg 6:24), and Samuel at Ramah (1 Sam 7:17), while the prophet Isaiah envisions such an altar even in Egypt (Isa 19:19). The identification of the "altar *of* Yahweh," however, is more restricted, and it tends to overlap with the clause "the place he would choose." The clause occurs once in Leviticus in association with the tabernacle (17:6) and another time in the story of Elijah (1 Kgs 18:30). But in the majority of instances, the expression "altar *of* Yahweh" is associated with the Jerusalem temple of Solomon (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:22, 54; 2 Kgs 23:9; 2 Chr 6:12; 8:12; 15:8; 29:19, 21; 33:16; 35:16). Nehemiah 10:35 even links the "altar of Yahweh" to the "house of God," thus relating Joshua's speech in v. 23 with the narrator's conclusion in v. 27. The author of Joshua does not state explicitly that the cultic service of the Gibeonites is located at Jerusalem. But the central motifs used in the curse of Joshua (e.g., "house of God") and in the concluding summary of the narrator (e.g., "altar of Yahweh" and "place he would choose") suggest that Gibeonite service at the Jerusalem cult likely looms in the background of the polemical story in Josh 9 and that the author views the cultic arrangement as a source of pollution.

War Against the Southern Kings (10:1–43)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 10 recounts the Israelite rescue of the Gibeonites from the five Amorite kings and the subsequent destruction of the southern cities of the promised land. The author models the story of war on the royal conquest accounts (see the "Introduction"). The shared themes include the active role of the Deity in the war, the terror of the enemy, the overwhelming victory, and the execution of the enemy kings. The author of Josh 10 uses the genre as a reversal of the royal conquest accounts to describe the overthrow of kings, rather than their divine right to rule. A further contrast is that the war of Joshua is one of extermination, not conquest or submission. In this way the author of Joshua underscores the need to purge the promised land of all kings and their royal cities, rather than simply conquer them. Thus, the central theme of the chapter is the execution of the ban on the southern cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, and Debir (Josh 10:1, 28, 35, 39, 40). The emptying of the land of royal cities and kings, according to the author, leads to peace (see 11:23).

The narrative may be divided into four parts. The story begins with the attack on the Gibeonites by Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, and a coalition of kings that draws Joshua into the battle (vv. 1–15). The army of the Amorite kings is defeated, and the five kings are executed at Makkedah (vv. 16–27), after which Joshua launches a campaign of extermination against a series of southern cities (vv. 28–39). The conclusion notes the elimination of all southern cities and the return of Joshua and the Israelites to the camp at Gilgal (vv. 40–43). Joshua 10 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Formation of a Coalition and Initial War (vv. 1–15)
2. Exemplary Execution of the Kings (vv. 16–27)
3. General War (vv. 28–39)
4. Summary (vv. 40–43)

Translation

10:1–15. FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

10 [1]And when Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, heard that Joshua had taken Ai and that he had devoted it to destruction, doing to Ai and its king as he had done to Jericho, and that the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel and were in their midst, [2]they became very afraid, for Gibeon was a great city, like one of the royal cities, and it was greater than Ai and all of its men were warriors. [3]Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, sent to Hoham, king of Hebron, Piram, king of Jarmuth, Japhia, king of Lachish, and Debir, king of Eglon saying, [4]"Come up to me and help me, so that we can strike Gibeon, because it made peace with Joshua and the Israelites."

[5]And the five kings of the Amorites—the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon—gathered together and went up, they and all of their armies, and they camped against Gibeon and they waged war against it. [6]And the men of Gibeon sent to Joshua in the camp of Gilgal saying, "Do not slacken your hand from your servants. Come up to us quickly, save us and help us, for all the kings of the Amorites who dwell in the mountain, are gathered against us."

[7]And Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty warriors. [8]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Do not fear them for into your hand I have given them. Not a man of them will stand before you."

[9]And Joshua came upon them suddenly, going up all night from Gilgal. [10]Then Yahweh created panic in them before the Israelites. And he slaughtered them in a great massacre at Gibeon. And he pursued them on the road that ascends to Beth-horon. And he slaughtered them to Azekah and Makkedah. [11]And as they fled from before Israel descending from Beth-horon, Yahweh threw great stones from heaven on them as far as Azekah. And more died from the great stones than the Israelites killed with the sword.

[12]Then Joshua spoke to Yahweh on the day when Yahweh gave over the Amorites before the Israelites. And he said before the eyes of Israel,

"Sun at Gibeon stand still;
moon at the Valley of Aijalon."
[13]The sun stood still and moon stood
until he took vengeance on the nation of his enemy.

Is it not written in the Book of Jashar? And the sun stood in the middle of the heavens and it did not hasten to set for a whole day. [14]There has not been a day like that before or after, when Yahweh obeyed the voice of a human, for Yahweh fought for Israel.

[15]And Joshua and all the Israelites with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

10:16–27. EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KINGS

10 [16]These five kings fled and they hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. [17]And it was reported to Joshua, saying, "The five kings have been found hiding in the cave at Makkedah."

[18]And Joshua said, "Roll great stones before the mouth of the cave and set men by it to guard them. [19]But you should not stand. Rather pursue after your enemies and attack their rear. Do not let them enter their city, for Yahweh, your God, has given them into your hand."

[20]And when Joshua and the Israelites had completed slaughtering a very great slaughter until they wiped them out, the survivors escaped from them and they entered the fortified cities. [21]Then all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace. No one threatened the Israelites.

[22]And Joshua said, "Open the mouth of the cave and bring out to me these five kings from the cave."

[23]And they did so. And they brought out to him these five kings from the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon. [24]And when they brought out these five kings to Joshua, Joshua called to each man of Israel and he said to the chiefs of the men of war, who went with him, "Come near and place your feet on the necks of these kings."

They came near and they placed their feet on their necks.

[25]And Joshua said to them, "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Be courageous and strong because thus Yahweh will do to all of your enemies against whom you fight."

[26]And Joshua slaughtered them after this. He put them to death and he hung them on five trees. And they hung on the trees until evening. [27]And at sunset Joshua commanded and they took them down from the trees and they threw them in the cave, in which they were hidden. And they placed great stones at the mouth of the cave until this very day.

10:28–39. GENERAL WAR

10 [28]And Joshua captured Makkedah on that day. He smote it with the edge of the sword and its king. He devoted them to destruction, every life that was in it. He did not allow a survivor to remain. And he did to the king of Makkedah as he did to the king of Jericho.

[29]And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Makkedah to Libnah and he fought against Libnah. [30]And Yahweh gave even it into the hand of Israel and its king. And he smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it. He did not allow a survivor to remain. And he did to its king as he did to the king of Jericho.

[31]And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Libnah to Lachish. And he camped against it and he fought against it. [32]And Yahweh gave Lachish into the hand of the Israelites. And he took it on the second day. And he smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it, according to all that he did to Libnah.

[33]Then King Horam of Gezer went up to help Lachish. And Joshua slaughtered him and his people until no survivor remained to him.

[34]And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Lachish to Eglon. And they camped against it and they fought against it. [35]And they took it on that day. And they smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it on that day, he devoted to destruction according to all that he did to Lachish.

[36]And Joshua and all Israel with him went up from Eglon to Hebron and they fought against it. [37]And they took it and slaughtered it with the edge of the sword and

its king, and all of its cities, and all life in it. He did not leave a survivor according to all which he did to Eglon. He devoted it to destruction.

[38]And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to Debir and he fought against it. [39]And he took it, its king, and all its cities. And they slaughtered them with the edge of the sword. And they devoted all life that was in it to destruction. And he did not leave a survivor. As he did to Hebron, thus he did to Debir and to its king and as he did to Libnah and to its king.

10:40–43. SUMMARY

10 [40]And Joshua smote the entire land, the highland, the Negeb, the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings. He did not leave a survivor, but he devoted to destruction all breath, as Yahweh the God of Israel commanded. [41]Joshua slaughtered them from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, and all the land of Goshen until Gibeon. [42]And all these kings and their land Joshua took at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel. [43]And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

Notes

The MT and the LXX diverge in many details throughout Josh 10. Noth argued that the different names for the king of Jerusalem, Adoni-zedek in the MT and Adoni-bezek in the LXX, indicate a change in the LXX to relate the story of Josh 10 to Judg 1:5–15, since Adoni-bezek also plays a prominent role in the opening chapter of Judges (1960: 172). Butler identified additions in the MT, such as the great size of the city of Gibeon in v. 2, as devices that are intended to enhance the story beyond the details of the LXX (1983: 109). Tov underscored a series of midrash-type additions in the MT, including "on the same day" (10:35) and the afterthought "and as he had done to Libnah and its king" (10:39), as well as the reference to the Book of Jashar in Josh 10:13 (1986: 391–93). All interpreters note the wide-ranging differences in the names of the kings and place-names in the opening episode (vv. 1–15) and in the summary conclusion (vv. 40–43). In the opening section, the MT and the LXX diverge in naming three of the five kings (MT Adoni-zedek/LXX Adoni-bezek; MT Hoham/LXX Ailam; MT Piram/LXX Phidon), one of the cities (MT Eglon/LXX Odollam), the name of the road upon which the battle is fought (MT Beth-horon/LXX Horonin), and even in the more general identification of the coalition of the five kings (MT Amorite/LXX Jebusite). The tendency toward divergent names reappears in the conclusion, when the MT "lowland" (*šĕpēlâ*) is "plain" (*pedinos*) in the LXX, and the general region in the MT "land of Goshen" (*gōšen*) is "Gosom" (*gosom*) in the LXX.

The differences between the MT and the LXX continue into the structure of Josh 10. Auld detected a "pedantic concern for the location of the camp and the precise whereabouts of Joshua himself" in the MT, which is absent in the LXX (1998a: 10). K. De Troyer built on this insight, noting that the MT incorporates a series of expansions in vv. 15, 17, and 23 that fashion the narrative into the structure of command and execution, even though it creates problems of narrative logic in the placement of Joshua at Gilgal and at the cave of Makkedah (2003: 571–79). The differences yield distinct plot structures in the MT and the LXX in the rescue of the Gibeonites (vv. 1–15

[LXX vv. 1–14]) and the execution of the five kings (vv. 16–27). In the MT, the pausing of the sun for a day in vv. 12–14 concludes in v. 15, when Joshua and the Israelites return to the camp at Gilgal. Joshua's return to Gilgal, however, fits awkwardly into the plot structure of the MT, because it creates confusion concerning his location and his role in the execution of the five kings by the cave at Makkedah (vv. 16–27). The execution of the five kings could be read as a flashback. If not a flashback, then a sequence of travel from Gilgal to Makkedah must be assumed to account for Joshua's speech at the cave (v. 18). The LXX lacks the account of Joshua's return to Gilgal, so that the execution of the five kings at Makkedah follows immediately after the battle without a change of setting. This sequence also influences the pausing of the sun in vv. 12–14, which continues in the LXX through the execution of the five kings in vv. 16–27, who are hung on five trees until the sun finally sets (v. 27). See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

10:1 *Adoni-zedek.* The MT *'ădōnî-ṣedek,* "my lord is righteous" (Noth, 1928: 114) or "my lord is Zedek" (S. C. Layton, 1990: 140), is rendered in the LXX as *adonibezek,* "my lord is bezek," creating a literary link to Judg 1:5–7, where Adoni-bezek is defeated at Bezek by the tribe of Judah and brought to Jerusalem. Interpreters debate the direction of the change. Moatti-Fine views the LXX as the original reading and states that the MT is intended to accentuate Jerusalem (1996: 147). Auld suggests that the MT Adoni-zedek may indicate a change that points to Melchizedek, "my king of righteousness," in Gen 14:17–24, which is intended to accentuate a more positive pre-Israelite legend of Jerusalem (2005: 159). But the change could also be in the other direction, with the LXX moving away from a direct reference to Jerusalem. The possible reconstruction of Adoni-zedek in 4QJosh[a] would support the secondary character of the LXX (van der Meer, 2004: 515).

Jerusalem. The Hebrew *yĕrûšālayim* is likely a combination of *yrw,* "to establish," and *šlm,* the name of the patron deity of the city Salem, "founded by/of Salem." The LXX translates as *ierousalēm.* Historical geographers have confirmed that Jerusalem was an established city already in the second millennium. J. Cahill describes its location as the middle range of the Judean Hills, bound on the west by the Shephelah in general and the Sorek and Ayalon valleys in particular, and on the east by the Judean desert and the Kidron Valley (2003: 14). Jerusalem appears already in the Egyptian Execration texts of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries BCE and later in the Amarna letters of the fourteenth century BCE.

Jerusalem is prominent in the Hebrew Bible, occurring more than six hundred times. But despite this prominence, the city is absent in Genesis–Deuteronomy. Joshua 10:1 is the first reference to Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible, although Gen 14:17–24, when Melchizedek is described as the king of Salem, may also be a reference to Jerusalem. The story of Melchizedek illustrates that the city is remembered in tradition as being non-Israelite in origin. The non-Israelite origin of Jerusalem continues in the tribal story of Benjamin (Judg 1:21) and in the stories of David's conquest of the city (2 Sam 5; 1 Chr 11). The residents are Jebusites, and this accounts for the alternative name of the city as Jebus (Judg 19:10; 1 Chr 11:46; Josh 18:28).

B. Ollenburger (1987) explored the religious significance of Jerusalem and its temple. The prominence of Jerusalem as a religious center for Judah originated during the monarchic period, when it became the location of the central temple and the

ark (1 Kgs 8; 1 Chr 11). Thus, Jerusalem was designated as the royal city of God (Ps 48; J. J. M. Roberts, 2003). Its destruction by the Neo-Babylonians signals a religious crisis (Ps 137), yet the city continues to be significant in Second Temple Judaism. The rebuilding of the temple (Ezra 3) and the city walls (Neh 3–4, 12) in the postexilic period are the central tasks of the returnees of Yehud, and these activities occupy a prominent role in postexilic Prophetic literature (e.g., Haggai, Zechariah, Second and Third Isaiah).

The presentation of Jerusalem in the book of Joshua provides a contrast to its idealization as the city of God. Jerusalem occurs eight times in the book, and none of the references participates in the mythology of Jerusalem as the city of God. The ark and the central cultic center in Joshua are associated with the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem, not Jerusalem. Joshua 10:1 casts Jerusalem in a negative light as one of the royal cities in the promised land that must be destroyed. Yet there is no account of its destruction under the ban (see vv. 28–39). The king of Jerusalem, Adonizedek, leads a coalition of cities in war against the Israelites, resulting in his death (10:1, 3, 5, 23; 12:10). But unlike the other royal cities that are represented in the coalition, Jerusalem is not burned. The absence of destruction is not a positive evaluation of the city, however. Twice the narrator makes a negative assessment of Jerusalem because of its Jebusite population, which the tribe of Judah was unable to exterminate (15:8, 63). Jerusalem is designated once in passing as a city in the territory of Benjamin (18:28).

the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel and were in their midst. The MT *hišlîmû* is rendered in the LXX as *automolēsan,* "they deserted" or "they changed sides." The LXX lacks the phrase "were in their midst."

10:2 *they became very afraid.* The plural lacks context, possibly referring to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The LXX also translates in the plural, *ephobēthēsan,* "they became afraid."

one of the royal cities. The Hebrew *kĕ'aḥat 'ārê hammamlākâ* is rendered in the LXX as *hōsei mia tōn mētropoleōn,* "one of the capital cities."

10:3 *Hoham.* The reference to the king of Hebron is a hapax legomenon. The LXX translates as *ailam*. Layton suggests that the Hebrew *Hoham* may derive from the root *hhm,* which would represent a pun on the reference to confusion in Josh 10:10, *wayhūmmēm,* "and Yahweh confused them" (1990: 182); while Hess relates the name to the Hurrian *huh(h)a,* meaning "grandfather" (1996d: 209).

Hebron. The Hebrew *hebrôn* may mean "place of alliance" (Noth, 1971b: 144). The LXX translates as *chebrōn.* The city of Hebron is identified with modern el-Halil approximately twenty miles due south of Jerusalem. Hebron has an uneven distribution in the Hebrew Bible. It is absent in the Prophetic literature. Hebron is introduced in the stories of Abraham, where it is identified as a Hittite city, also known as Kiriath-arba (Gen 22:2), located in the vicinity of the Oaks of Mamre (Gen 13:18), where Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah as a burial site (Gen 23:19; see also 35:14). Hebron occurs fifteen times in the book of Joshua (10:3, 5, 23, 36, 39; 11:21; 12:10; 14:13, 14, 15; 15:13, 54; 20:7; 21:11, 13). In addition to the account of its destruction (10:3, 5, 23, 39; 11:21; 12:10), it is associated with the mythical Anakim (see Num 13:22), whose ancestor Arba is credited with founding the city, formerly named Kiriath-arba (Josh 14:13–15). The pastureland of Hebron is identified as the possession of the non-Israelite Caleb, one of the heroes of the spy story (Num 13:22; Josh 14:13–15), while the city itself becomes the property of the Levites (Josh 21:11, 13; 1 Chr 6:40, 42) and is designated as a city

of refuge (Josh 20:7). The annihilation of Hebron in Joshua contrasts to the narrative of David, who makes a covenant with the king of Hebron (1 Chr 11:1–3) in a cycle of stories where David emerges as a ruler (1 Sam 30:31; 2 Sam 2–5). The association of Hebron with kingship is extended into the story of Absalom, who declares himself king in Hebron (2 Sam 15:7–10).

Piram. Piram, *pir'ām,* the king of the city of Jarmuth, is mentioned only in Josh 10:3 and is rendered in the LXX as *phidon*.

Jarmuth. The MT *yarmût* means "swelling of the ground" (Noth, 1971b: 146). The ancient site may be identified with Khirbet Yarmouk, a location approximately twenty miles southwest of Jerusalem. Jarmuth occurs six times in the book of Joshua. It is part of the coalition of cities opposed to Joshua, whose king is slaughtered (10:3, 5, 23; 12:11). Jarmuth is also listed as one of the towns of Judah (15:35; Neh 11:29) and as a Levitical city (21:29). The LXX translates the name of the city as *ierimouth* in every instance except Josh 21:29, where it is rendered *remmath*.

Japhia. King Japhia, *yāpîa',* "tall," of Lachish is mentioned only in Josh 10:3, although the name returns in the book as a location within Zebulun in Josh 19:12. The LXX translates the name of the king of Lachish in Josh 10:3 as *iephtha,* and the city in Josh 19:12 as *phaggai.*

Lachish. The Hebrew *lākîš* is translated in the LXX as *lachis.* Lachish is identified with contemporary Tell ed-Duweir, a location approximately twenty-five miles southwest of Jerusalem. Lachish was a significant city in the Shephelah region of Judah during the monarchic period. Rehoboam is credited with fortifying the city (2 Chr 11:9). The most significant portrayal of Lachish in the Hebrew Bible is the account of the siege of Sennacherib during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:14–17; 19:8; Isa 36:2; 37:8; 2 Chr 32:9). Lachish occurs nine times in the book of Joshua, predominantly as a member of the coalition of cities opposed to Joshua that the Israelites destroy (10:3, 5, 23, 31, 33, 34, 35; 12:11). The city reappears in Josh 15:39 in the list of Judean towns. Lachish is also mentioned as a city occupied by the returnees from the exile (Neh 11:30).

Debir. The use of Debir as the name for a king is confined to Josh 10:3. Debir reappears as a city later in the chapter. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:38. Interpreters debate whether the reference in Josh 10:3 is also to the city Debir. The LXX translates as *dabir.*

Eglon. The Hebrew *'eglôn* is translated in the LXX as *odollam.* Historical geographers identify the biblical Eglon with Tell Aitun, but the identification has not been confirmed. The references to the city of Eglon are confined to the book of Joshua, where it occurs seven times (10:3, 5, 23, 34, 36; 12:12; 15:39), whereas in Judg 3, Eglon is a Moabite king. The city of Eglon is devoted to destruction in Josh 10 and listed as one of the cities destroyed by Joshua in Josh 12:12. It returns in Josh 15:39 as a city in Judah.

10:5 *the five kings of the Amorites.* The LXX renders the Hebrew *hā'ĕmōrî* as *iebousaiōn,* "of the Jebusites."

gathered together and went up. The LXX has one verb, *anebēsan,* "went up."

they and all of their armies. The LXX writes "they and all their people."

10:6 *the men of Gibeon.* The LXX writes "inhabitants of Gibeon."

in the camp. The LXX adds "of Israel."

10:10 *Beth-horon.* The Hebrew *bêt-hôrōn* means "place of the god, Horon" (Noth, 1971b: 121). Beth-horon is located northwest of biblical Gibeon and is often referred to

in two parts, Lower Beth-horon and Upper-Beth-horon (2 Chr 8:5). The contemporary site is identified with two Arab villages on the West Bank, Beit 'Ur al-Foqa, "upper house of straw," and Beit 'Ur al-Tahta, "lower house of straw." Beth-horon occurs seven times in the book of Joshua (10:10, 11; 16:3, 5; 18:13, 14; 21:22). In addition to being the location of Joshua's battle against the coalition of kings (10:11–12), Beth-horon is also identified as a city in Ephraim (16:3, 5) and Benjamin (18:3) and is designated as a Levitical city (21:22; 1 Chr 6:53 [Eng. 68]). In the Hebrew Bible, Sheera, the daughter of Ephraim, is designated as the builder of Lower and Upper Beth-horon (1 Chr 7:24), and Solomon is credited with rebuilding the city (2 Chr 8:5). The LXX translation of Beth-horon varies. In Josh 10:10, the LXX renders the city as *ōronin,* which is a location in Moab (Isa 15:5; Jer 48:3, 5, 34). The other occurrences of Beth-horon in the LXX of Joshua are rendered *batthōron.*

he slaughtered them. The subject of the verb is ambiguous in the MT. Joshua 10:10 makes Yahweh the subject of the verse, initially stating that the Deity is the one confusing the enemy ("Yahweh confused them"). The subject of the remaining singular verbs is not stated. The translation assumes that the subject is either Israel or Joshua. The LXX makes the Lord (*kyrios*) the subject of both the act of confusing the enemy and their slaughter, perhaps anticipating v. 11, where the Deity hurls stones from heaven on the enemy.

Azekah. The Hebrew *ʿăzēkâ* is translated in the LXX as *azeka.* The ancient site is identified with contemporary Tell Zakariyeh, a location approximately sixteen miles northwest of Hebron, a strategic location for entering the Elah Valley. Azekah occurs three times in the book of Joshua. In addition to the location for Joshua's battle (10:11, 12), it is also a town in Judah (15:35). In the Hebrew Bible, Azekah is a location for war with the Philistines (1 Sam 17:1); it is (re)built by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:9); and it is identified as one of two fortified cities during the Babylonian invasion at the time of King Zedekiah (Jer 34:7). Azekah is also a city of the returnees from the exile (Neh 11:30).

Makkedah. The Hebrew *maqqēdâ* is translated in the LXX as *makēda.* Historical geographers have long been uncertain of the location of this site. Makkedah is confined to the book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible and occurs nine times (seven times in Josh 10:16–27; 12:16; 15:41). The cave of Makkedah is a central motif in the story of the slaughter of the five kings in Josh 10:16–27; the king of Makkedah is in the list of defeated kings in Josh 12:16; and the location is also cited as belonging to Judah (15:41). Eusebius identifies Makkedah with the Greek *machda,* located eight miles east of Eleutheropolis (*Onomasticon* 127). F.-M. Abel judged the identification to be legendary (1967, vol. 2: 378). D. A. Dorsey (1980) argued for the identification of Makkedah with Tell el-Qom, a location seven miles southeast of Lachish and nine miles west of Hebron. B. Porten and A. Yardeni (2007: 127–28) support this identification on the basis of the ostraca recovered at the location, which state "to the storehouse of Makkedah." They conclude that "sometime between the fall of the kingdom of Judah in 586 and the late fourth century BCE, Makkedah, together with large parts of the southern Shephelah and the hill country, was inhabited by Idumeans, Arabs and members of other groups, eventually being included in the province of Idumea" (2007: 128 n. 4).

10:11 *great stones.* The LXX writes "hailstones," *lithous chalazēs.* Noort states that the Hebrew "great stones," *ʾăbānîm gĕdōlôt,* is introduced in the MT to relate the weapons of Yahweh's war against the soldiers to the stones at the cave of Makkedah that are

used to capture the kings (2007b: 391): "The stones kill the soldiers, the kings think they are safe in the cave, but this safe place will be their grave with the help of the self-same stones" (2007: 388–89).

And more died from the great stones than the Israelites killed with the sword. The LXX translates "hailstones" and adds "in the battle."

10:12–13 The beginning and the ending of the poetic fragment are debated (see "Composition"). Boling and Wright begin the poem with the MT v. 12b, "And he said before the eyes of Israel," in which case the subject is Yahweh, rather than Joshua (1982: 282–83). However, there appears to be a change of subject from Yahweh defeating the Amorites (v. 12a*b*) to Joshua speaking (v. 12b*a*), signaling v. 12b*b* as the beginning of the poem, "Sun at Gibeon stand still." This is reinforced by the LXX, which explicitly refers to Joshua, "and Iesous said." The reference to the Book of Jashar indicates that the original poem likely ends at v. 13a*a,* "on the nation of his enemy." The internal structure of the poem is then three bi-cola in which there are three paired motifs: sun/moon, stand still/stood, and took vengeance/enemy. This is the poetic analysis of P. D. Miller (1973: 123) and J. S. Holladay (1968: 168–69), who provides a possible reconstruction of the archaic form of Josh 10:12c–13b.

10:12 *Then Joshua spoke to Yahweh.* See the "Notes" to Josh 8:30 for discussion of the syntactical construction in which *'āz,* "then," is followed by the prefixed form of the verb to introduce a literary unit.

on the day when Yahweh gave over the Amorites before the Israelites. The LXX refers to the Deity as *ho theos.* The LXX also adds "when he [God] shattered them at Gabeon, and they were shattered before the sons of Israel."

And he said before the eyes of Israel. The "he" in the MT is likely Joshua, as is reflected in the LXX, which states explicitly, "and Iesous said." Boling and Wright take Yahweh as the subject (1982: 282–83).

Sun. The reference to the sun, *šemeš,* lacks a definite article, encouraging the personification of the sun in direct appeal or command to it (Dus, 1960b: 353). The reference to the sun without a definite article occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible: in this poem (10:12a*a*), in the ritual impalement of the Israelites after the sin of Baal-Peor (Num 25:4), and in the LXX version of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8:53 = MT 1 Kgs 8:12, where the reference to the "sun" is absent). See "Composition" for discussion of the possible relationship between the three texts.

at Gibeon . . . at the Valley of Aijalon. The prepositional phrases in Hebrew, *bĕgib'ôn,* "at Gibeon," and *bĕʿēmeq ʿayyālôn,* "at the Valley of Aijalon," could also be translated "over Gibeon" and "over the Valley of Aijalon," as in the LXX, *kata gabaon* and *kata pharagga ailōn.*

stand still. The Hebrew imperative *dôm* means "to be still," from the root *dmm.* Noort (2007b: 389–90) notes that the action could be in contrast to speech, in which case the meaning "to be silent" is preferred, as in the description of Aaron after the death of his sons in Lev 10:3: "And Aaron was silent [*wayyidōm*]." The contrast can also be to motion, thus meaning "to stand still," as in the speech of Jonathan in 1 Sam 14:9: "If they say to us, 'Stand still [*dōmmú*] until we come to you,' then we will stand [*wĕ'āmadnû*] in our place." Both meanings are possible in the poem, but the reference to the sun and moon favors the cessation of motion as in 1 Sam 14:9, which also uses

the paired verbs *dmm,* "to be still," and *ʿmd,* "to stand," as in the second line of the poem in v. 13a*a*.

Valley of Aijalon. The Hebrew *bĕʿemeq ʾayyālôn* occurs only in this text. The LXX translates as *pharagga ailon.* The city of Aijalon occurs three other times in Joshua: as a city in the territory of Dan (19:42, 43) and as a Levitical city of the Kohathites (21:24). Judges 1:35 also locates the city in the territory of Dan, stating that Amorites retained control of it. The LXX translates as *ailōn* in Josh 19:43 and 21:24 but as *ammōn* in Josh 19:42.

10:13 *until he took vengeance on the nation of his enemy.* The MT does not identify the subject but does identify the object, *ʾōyĕbāyw,* "his enemy." The NRSV interprets the nation as the subject: "until the nation took vengeance on their enemies." The LXX identifies the subject of the action as God (*ho theos*); changes the Hebrew *ngm,* "take vengeance," to *ēmunato,* "rescue"; and associates the "enemy" most likely with Israel by using the plural *tous exthrous autōn,* "their enemy": "until God defended against their enemy." F. M. Cross concludes that the prefixed form of the Hebrew verb *yiqqōm* is archaic and has past meaning in this instance (1973: 130 n. 67).

Is it not written in the Book of Jashar? The reference to the Book of Jashar is absent in the LXX. The Book of Jashar also occurs in 2 Sam 1:18, when David refers to it as the source of a dirge (2 Sam 1:19–27). The reference to the Book of Jashar appears in the LXX of 2 Sam 1:18 as *epi bibliou tou euthous,* "in a book of the upright." Auld suspects that the LXX reflects the more original form of Josh 10:13 and that the reference to the Book of Jashar entered the MT under the influence of 2 Sam 1:18 (1979b: 13).

10:14 *when Yahweh obeyed.* The Hebrew *lišmōaʿ yhwh bĕqôl* indicates more than simple listening; it means obedience and represents language of law and covenant. In Exod 15:26, for example, Moses says to the Israelites, "If you will obey [*šāmôaʿ tišmaʿ*] the voice [*bĕqôl*] of Yahweh your God" (see also Deut 9:23 or Josh 5:6). The LXX writes, "when God [*ho theos*] paid attention or obeyed [*epakousai*]." When applied to the Deity, the clause accentuates the authority of Joshua, but such authority is not unique to him, as noted by S. L. Hall (2010: 174–75). Yahweh also listens to the voice of the Israelites in the war against Arad (Num 21:3), for example, and to the request of Elijah to revive the son of the widow at Zarephath (1 Kgs 17:22).

10:15 *And Joshua and all the Israelites with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.* The sentence is absent in the LXX. De Troyer interprets this verse as a late addition, as well as vv. 17, 23 (2003). The absence of v. 15, according to De Troyer, also raises a question of whether v. 17 is not a later addition to the textual tradition, since there is no need to report events to Joshua if he is not in Gilgal (2003: 579–80). Auld interprets the MT addition of v. 15 as a later concern to anchor the story in the traditions of Gilgal (1979b: 11). The emphasis on the camp of Gilgal in the MT as the residence of Joshua and the Israelite tribes also provides insight into the polemical ideology that is aimed at royal cities (see "Comments"). The LXX, on the other hand, suggests a focus on military strategy. The absence of Joshua's return to the camp at Gilgal in the LXX ties the miracle of the sun standing still (10:12–14) with the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (10:16–28), whose burial at sunset (v. 27) marks the end of the miracle.

10:18 *great stones.* The LXX lacks the adjective "great."

10:19 *attack their rear.* The Hebrew *zānab* means to attack the rearguard. The LXX clarifies with *katalabete tēn ouragian autōn,* "overtake their rearguard." But see K. van

Bekkum, who also notes the importance of preventing the enemy from reaching their cities and thus translates "cut off their retreat" (2011: 101).

10:21 *Then all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace.* The MT is unclear as to why the people would return to Joshua when he was fighting with them. The LXX follows the MT but lacks the phrase "to the camp." The MT appears to emphasize the camp of Joshua as opposed to the royal cities of the Amorite kings. The Hebrew *bĕšālôm,* "in peace," means safely. The LXX translates as *hygieis,* "healthy."

No one threatened the Israelites. The MT is unclear. The clause *lō'-ḥāraṣ . . . 'et-lĕšōnô,* "he did not point/move the tongue," is an idiom perhaps meaning "to threaten." The idiom occurs only one other time in the Hebrew Bible in Exod 11:7, *lō' yĕḥeraṣ-keleb lĕšōnô,* "a dog will not move his tongue," where the subject, "dog," may represent the full and original form of the idiom. The LXX of Exod 11:7 renders the Hebrew *ḥāraṣ* with the verb *gruxei,* "to growl," resulting in the translation "a dog will not growl." The idiom in Josh 10:21 presents a problem for translation because of the double use of the preposition *lĕ* in the phrase *libnê yiśrā'ēl lĕ'îš,* "to the Israelites to a man." Soggin interprets the *lĕ* as emphatic, "absolutely no one" (1972: 120).

10:22 *Open the mouth of the cave and bring out to me these five kings from the cave.* The LXX lacks "the mouth" and "to me."

10:23 *And they did so.* The clause is absent in the LXX.

these five kings from the cave. The LXX lacks the Hebrew demonstrative *ha'ēlleh.*

10:24 *And when they brought out these five kings to Joshua.* The LXX writes "and when they brought them [*autous*] out to Iesous."

Joshua called to each man of Israel. The Hebrew *'el-kŏl-'îš yiśrā'ēl* could also be translated as "all the Israelites."

who went with him. The use of the definite article *he* with the perfect verb *hālĕkû'* as a means of forming a relative clause is unusual but does occur in the later books of the Hebrew Bible (*BHS* 19.7c). Boling and Wright suggest that the final aleph in *hehālĕkû'* may be dittography: *hehālĕkû' 'ttô* (1982: 277). B. Waltke and M. O'Connor state that it may be "an example of a double *mater lectionis* type of writing, found frequently at Qumran" (1990 339 n. 31; see also GKC 23i). The LXX translates the Hebrew with the dependent clause *tous sumporeuomenous autōi,* "who went with him."

Come near and place your feet on the necks of these kings. The LXX lacks "of these kings."

10:25 *Fear not!* The general formula of courage in holy war in the MT is applied more specifically to the five kings in the LXX, *me phobēthēte autous,* "do not fear them." For discussion of the call to courage, see the "Notes" to Josh 1:6 and 8:1.

10:26 *And Joshua slaughtered them after this.* The LXX lacks the phrase "after this."

he hung them on five trees. The Hebrew "trees," *'ēṣîm,* is rendered in the LXX as *xulōn,* "crosses."

10:27 *And they placed great stones at the mouth of the cave.* The LXX omits "great" and "mouth" (see also the "Notes" to Josh 10:18).

10:28 *He smote it with the edge of the sword and its king.* The Hebrew *wĕ'et-malkāh,* "and its king," fits only loosely into the syntax. The phrase is absent in the LXX. The LXX also translates the verse in the plural, in contrast to the MT, where the focus is exclusively on Joshua.

10:29 *to Libnah.* The MT lacks the preposition *lĕ,* "to." The LXX writes *ek makeda eis lebna,* "from Makkeda to Libna."

Libnah. The Hebrew *libnâ* means "white." The LXX translates as *lebna.* Historical geographers propose a number of locations for the city, including Tell es-Safi, Tell el-Judeideh, and most commonly Tell Burnat, a location sixteen miles south of Lachish. Libnah occurs seven times in the book of Joshua. It appears unexpectedly in the context of Josh 10 (vv. 29, 31, 32, 39), since it was not listed as one of the cities of the five kings, who were noted at the outset of the chapter. It also appears as a destroyed city (12:15), as a city within the territory of Judah (15:42), and as a Levitical city of the Aaronide priests (21:13; see also 1 Chr 6:42 [Eng. 57]). Libnah also functions in the broader literature of the Hebrew Bible, where it is associated with Lachish during the Assyrian invasion of Judah (2 Kgs 8:22; Isa 37:8), is the residence of Zedekiah's mother (Jer 52:1; 2 Kgs 23:31; 24:18), and is a partner with Edom in a revolt against Judah (2 Kgs 8:22), which the author of Chronicles extends into the postexilic period (2 Chr 21:10). Ezra 2:45 and Neh 7:48 list Libnah as one of the locations where the exiles returned.

10:30 *And Yahweh gave even it into the hand of Israel and its king. And he smote it with the edge of the sword.* The LXX adds a clause between the two sentences, *kai elabon autēn,* "and they took it."

10:33 *Then . . . went up.* The section begins with *'āz,* "then," plus the perfect form of the verb *'ālâ,* "to go up." The syntax separates the section concerning King Horam of Gezer from the more stereotyped report of the destruction of the cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir.

Horam. The reference to King Horam is limited in the MT to this verse. Horam is the only king mentioned by name in the military action of Josh 10:16–39. Hess states that the name means "mountain" or "the deity is a rock" (1996d: 207). The LXX writes *ailam.*

Gezer. The Hebrew *gezer* means "barricaded" or "locked room" (Noth, 1971b: 144). The LXX translates as *gazer.* Historical geographers identify biblical Gezer with Tell Gezer, a site approximately eighteen miles west of Jerusalem that has been extensively researched. Archaeologists have discovered inscriptions identifying the site and a tablet listing the months of the year, the Gezer Calendar. Gezer is also mentioned in the Egyptian records by Thutmose III, in the Amarna letters, and by Merneptah. Gezer occurs five times in the book of Joshua. Its king opposed Joshua (10:33) and was executed (12:12). It is also associated with the territory of Ephraim (Josh 16:3; 1 Chr 7:28) and is designated a Levitical city (Josh 21:21; 1 Chr 6:67). Judges 1:29 states that Gezer remained under Canaanite rule, while many of the remaining references indicate that it was a place of battle with the Philistines (2 Sam 5:25; 1 Chr 16:16; 20:4). First Kings 9:15–17 identifies Gezer as a gift to Solomon from Pharaoh.

And Joshua slaughtered him. The LXX adds "with the mouth of the sword."

10:35 *And they took it on that day.* The LXX prefaces the clause with the comment "the Lord gave it over into the hand of Israel" and lacks the reference "on that day."

10:36 *And Joshua and all Israel with him went up from Eglon to Hebron.* The LXX lacks "from Eglon."

10:37 *And they took it.* The clause is absent in the LXX.

and its king, and all of its cities. The phrase is absent in the LXX.

10:38 *Debir.* The Hebrew *dĕbîr* means "the place behind" (Noth, 1971b: 145). The LXX translates as *dabir.* Historical geographers are uncertain of the location. Albright suggested Tell Bet Mirsim, a location twelve miles southwest of Hebron (1961: 77–78), while Noth pointed tentatively to Tell Tarrame as another possibility (1971b: 90). Debir occurs seven times in the book of Joshua in a variety of different contexts (10:38; 11:21; 12:13; 15:7, 15, 49; 21:15). It is devoted to destruction in Josh 10:38. It is identified as the residence of the mythical Anakim (11:21) and is included in the list of cities Joshua destroys (12:13). The remaining references to Debir move in a different direction: It is included in Judah and in the Valley of Achor (15:7); its destruction is credited to Caleb in Josh 15:15, where it is also identified as Kiriath-sepher; it is a city of Judah in Josh 15:49, where it is identified with Kiriath-sannah; it is a Levitical city (21:15); and finally, it is conquered by Judah in Judg 1:11.

10:39 *And they devoted all life that was in it to destruction.* The LXX includes a reference to the city, *autēn,* as well as "all life" as the object of total destruction.

As he did to Hebron. The LXX adds "and its king."

10:40 *the highland.* The Hebrew *hahār* translates literally as "the mountain." But in referring to geographical regions, it can also mean "highland." The LXX translates as *oreinēs,* "hill country." The translation follows Boling and Wright, who describe the area as extending "from Gibeon (3–4 km to the northwest of Jerusalem) as far as Debir, the last important hill-country town before descending rapidly into the vicinity of Beersheba" (1982: 297). In this case, the highland refers to the Judean mountain region. The geographical reference to the highland occurs forty-six times in the book of Joshua in a variety of contexts. The highland appears initially in the story of the spies and Rahab as the place where the spies flee for safety (2:16, 22, 23), and it returns as the location of the Amorite kings who attack Gibeon (9:1; 10:6). Other references to the highland identify the area as the territory of the Amorites, Hittites, and Jebusites (11:3); as the home of the Anakim (11:21); and as including the cities of Shamir, Jattir, and Socoh (15:48). The highland is also given more specific geographical definition when it is associated with the territories of Judah and Ephraim in Josh 17:15–16.

Negeb. The Hebrew *negeb* means both "south" and "the southern desert region." The Negeb is introduced in the Hebrew Bible in the Abraham cycle, where it designates the general southern desert region (Gen 12:9; 13:1, 3, 14; 20:1). The term occurs frequently in the book of Joshua (twenty times) to indicate the direction south. It occurs five times with the definite article to indicate the southern desert region (10:40; 11:16; 12:8; 15:19, 21). As a region, the Negeb describes the area south of the Judean hill country extending into the Sinai Peninsula. The Negeb extends eastward to the Arabah. The LXX translates the southern region as *nageb* in Josh 10:40; 11:16; 12:8; 15:19, and as *erēmos* in Josh 15:21.

lowland. The Hebrew *šĕpēlâ* means "low." It designates a territory that consists of the lower land on the western edge of the Judean Hills. The name may originate from the more elevated plateau of the Judean highland. The Shephelah or lowland was separated from the Judean highland by a valley that runs north to south. Other valleys running east and west provide the location for crossroads and walled cities, which had military significance. The region is mentioned five times in the book of Joshua to describe the victories of Joshua (9:1; 10:40; 11:2, 16; 12:8). Joshua 15:33 identifies three cities in the region: Eshtoal, Zorah, and Ashnah. The limited references outside

of Joshua associate the region with Judah and at times with Benjamin and Jerusalem (Judg 1:9; Jer 17:26; 32:44; 33:13; Obad 1:9; Zech 7:7). The LXX translates the Hebrew *šēpēlâ* as *pedinos,* "plain."

slopes. The Hebrew *'āšad* means "to pour out." Soggin notes that the root is attested in the Elephantine papyri and in the Aramaic of Judaea with the meaning of "pouring" liquids. He speculates that the territorial term *'ăšēdot* may mean "partings of water" (1972: 121). The noun is translated "slopes" (*HALOT* 8258) and is used most frequently in the phrase *'ašdôt happisgâ,* "the slopes of Pisgah" (Deut 3:17; 4:49; Josh 12:3), where it designates a territory east of the Jordan. Only Josh 10:40 and 12:8 use the term alone to designate a region on the west side of the Jordan. In both instances the region is used in a sequence of three areas: the first includes the Negeb, the lowlands, and the slopes (10:4); the second consists of the Arabah, the slopes, and the wilderness (12:8). H. N. Rösel concludes that the "slopes" likely refers to the deep valleys and canyons on the west side of the Dead Sea (2011: 178). The LXX renders the location as *tēn asēdōth,* which Soggin (1972: 121) suggests may designate the city of Ashdod (see for example Josh 11:22), but it need not, since the same Greek word is used in the phrase *asēdōth phasga,* "slopes of Pisgah" (12:3; 13:20).

and all their kings. The LXX writes *kai tous basileis autēs,* "and its kings."

10:41 *Kadesh-barnea.* The Hebrew *kādeš* means "sanctuary" or "holy place." Noth suggests that Kadesh-barnea may mean "holy place of conflict" (1971b: 150). Historical geographers locate the biblical site approximately forty-eight miles southwest of Beersheba. The location occurs with a variety of names in the Hebrew Bible, including Kadesh (the story of Hagar, Gen 16:14; 20:1; and an itinerary stop in the wilderness journey, Num 13:26; 20:1, 14, 16, 22; 33:37; Deut 1:46); the wilderness of Kadesh (Ps 29:8); and Kadesh-barnea (Num 32:8; 34:4; Deut 1:2, 19; 2:14; 9:23). The book of Joshua contains two names for the location. *Kadesh-barnea* occurs four times in the book of Joshua (10:41; 14:6, 7; 15:3). It provides the southernmost boundary of conquest (10:41); it is the place of the Mosaic promise to Caleb about land (14:6, 7); and it is a possession of Judah (15:3). The LXX translates as *kadēs barnē. Kedesh* occurs five times in the book of Joshua (12:22; 15:23; 19:37; 20:7; 21:32), but it designates at least two different locations: First, Kedesh is a territory of Judah (15:23) and a city of refuge (20:7), which may signify the same city as Kadesh-barnea. The LXX translates as *kadēs.* Second, Kedesh in Josh 12:22 may also refer to the same southern city, although its association with Taanach and Megiddo suggests a northern location. The LXX translates as *magedōn.* Third, Kedesh is a northern city in the territory of Naphtali (19:37), which is also designated as a Levitical city of the Gershonite priests (21:32). The LXX translates as *kadēs.*

Gaza. The Hebrew *'azzâ* means "strong." The LXX translates as *gaza.* Historical geographers identify Gaza with Tell Harube, a location in southwest Palestine approximately three miles from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. In the ancient Near East, Gaza was situated on an important trade route that connected Egypt and Asia. The road is identified as "the way of the land of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17) and as "the way of the Sea" (Isa 8:23 [Eng. 9:1]). Gaza is the capital of the Egyptian province of Palestine already under the reign of Thutmose III in the mid-second millennium (*ANET* 235). It became the main city of the Philistines after the invasion of the Sea Peoples. The city of Gaza is a Philistine fortress throughout biblical literature, forming one of their

five strongholds: Ashdod, Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, and Ekron. Gaza is identified as a Canaanite or a Philistine city in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:19), and it provides the background for many stories, including Samson (Judg 16), Israelite kings (2 Kgs 18:8) and prophetic judgment oracles by Jeremiah (Jer 25:20; 47:1, 5), Amos (Amos 1:6), Zephaniah (Zeph 2:4), and Zechariah (Zech 9:5). Gaza occurs four times in the book of Joshua (10:41; 11:22; 13:3; 15:47), creating a conflicting portrait of the city. It is identified as Judean territory (15:47), conquered by Joshua (10:41), yet partially populated by the mythical Anakim (11:22), or not conquered at all (13:3). Gaza continues to be a central city in the postexilic period, as indicated by Herodotus, who notes its vast size (*Hist.* 3.5).

all the land of Goshen. The Hebrew *gōšen* is an important geographical location in the story of the exodus, as the Israelites' place of settlement in Egypt. Historical geographers point to the Delta region of Egypt as the setting of the story, although firm archaeological evidence for the Israelite presence in Egypt is lacking. Genesis narrates the migration of Jacob's family to "the land of Goshen" (*'ereṣ gōšen,* Gen 45:10; 46:28, 34; 47:1, 4, 6, 27; 50:8). The location is also important in the plague cycle of stories, where the phrase "toward the land of Goshen" (*'arṣah gōšen*) is used to separate the Israelites geographically from the Egyptians who populate the rest of the land (Exod 8:18; 9:26). Outside of the story of the exodus, Goshen occurs only in Joshua, where it provides the southernmost boundary of Joshua's conquest, with Gibeon as the northern point: "And all the land of Goshen as far as Gibeon" (10:41). It is also listed as one of the cities of the highland of Judah (15:51). The Hebrew *'ereṣ gōšen,* "land of Goshen," in the book of Joshua repeats the same geographical phrase from the story of the exodus, relating the story of Joshua's southern conquest with the geographical references from the Israelite sojourn in Egypt (R. G. North, 1967: 83). The LXX loosens the connection to the story of the exodus by introducing the distinctive spellings of *gesem* for the region in the story of the exodus and *gosom* as the geographical southern border of the conquest of Joshua.

10:42 *And all these kings.* The LXX has "and all of their kings."

10:43 *And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.* The sentence is absent in the LXX.

Composition

Research on the composition of Josh 10 focuses on three topics: (1) the literary unity of the chapter, that is, whether or not the battle at Gibeon (vv. 1–15), the execution of the five kings at Makkedah (vv. 16–27), and the extermination of the southern kings and cities (vv. 28–39) represent distinct literary compositions; (2) the meaning of the poem to the sun in vv. 12–14; and (3) the inner-biblical relationship between Josh 10 and Judg 1 with regard to the war against Adoni-zedek.

LITERARY UNITY OF JOSH 10

Wellhausen interpreted Josh 10 as a combination of sources (1899: 128–29), identifying the rescue of the Gibeonites in vv. 1–15 as a separate narrative from the execution of the kings in vv. 16–27. He related the war at Gibeon in Josh 10:1–15 to the masquerade of

the Gibeonites in Josh 9 as a single story, which provides the conclusion to the episode of the Gibeonites (Josh 9) in the JE source. The evidence for the conclusion to the story is the notice in v. 15 that "Joshua and all the Israelites with him returned to the camp at Gilgal" after the battle at Gibeon. The JE narrative undergoes Deuteronomistic revision with the reference to Jericho and Ai (v. 1), the divine command not to fear (v. 8), and the incorporation of the independent poem about the sun and the moon (vv. 12–14). The execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah in vv. 16–27 does not fit the geography of Josh 10, since Joshua is in Gilgal at the outset of the episode (v. 15). Thus, the execution of the kings is an independent source that the Deuteronomistic author attaches to the story of war at Gibeon, while also fashioning the narrative of the southern conquest in vv. 28–39 and adding the conclusion in vv. 40–43. The Deuteronomistic composition creates parallel campaigns in the south (Josh 10) and in the north (Josh 11); in each case a detailed description of one particular battle (10:1–15; 11:1–9) is followed by an account of large-scale conquest (10:28–43; 11:10–20).

Steuernagel qualified Wellhausen's research by including the textual versions in his analysis of the history of composition (1923: 245–50). With this broader perspective, he noted that the statement of Joshua's departure to Gilgal in v. 15 and again in v. 43 is absent in the LXX, suggesting that the motif is a late addition to the MT and not the original conclusion to the battle at Gibeon in Josh 10:1–15, as Wellhausen assumed. The absence of Josh 10:15 allows the battle at Gibeon to continue directly into the story of the five kings at Makkedah (10:1–11, 16–27), without the geographical problem of the camp at Gilgal that influenced Wellhausen's reading. The repetition of the same five kings in the battle (vv. 1–11) and in the execution at Makkedah (vv. 16–27) reinforces the unity of the narrative, which Steuernagel attributed to the composition of the source D^2, written in the tradition of E (1923: 194). Literary tension in the names of the conquered cities in Josh 10:28–39 indicates that the conquest of the south is a separate source of unknown origin that is included in the narrative by the Deuteronomist, who also adds vv. 40–42. The combination of sources creates a series of tensions: (1) Jerusalem and Jarmuth are absent in the list of conquered cities, even though they are part of the coalition of five kings in Josh 10:1–11, 16–27; (2) the cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Debir, and Gezer are new to the narrative; and (3) the king of Hebron is killed twice, in Josh 10:23 and 37.

Noth favored the literary unity of the entire chapter of Josh 10 by focusing on the preliterary traditions behind the present form of the text, rather than the literary sources (1971b: 60–67). Although he identified the battle near Gibeon (vv. 1–15) and the death of the five kings at Makkedah (vv. 16–28) as separate traditions, he assumed their combination into a single story already by the pre-Deuteronomistic collector of the stories, which accounts for the unity of the material. Noth broadened the argument for the unity of the chapter by arguing that the war of conquest in Josh 10:28–39 was neither an independent tradition nor a separate source, as argued, for example, by Steuernagel; rather, it was an original part of the Makkedah tradition. Thus, for Noth, the broad outline of the chapter, including the war at Gibeon, the death of the five kings at Makkedah, and the story of conquest, was already fashioned into a unified story at the pre-Deuteronomistic stage of development. Later Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic redactions created many of the tensions in the present form of the narrative, including the different naming of the cities in the separate sections of the

story; the conflicting etiologies for the stones at the cave (vv. 18 and 25); the tension between the divine leadership in battle and the prominence of Joshua as the heroic leader; and the emphasis on Gilgal as the residence of Joshua and Israel throughout the chapter, although the central events of the narrative are far removed from this location (vv. 15, 43).

Subsequent interpreters build on the research of Noth, while also departing from his more unified reading of Josh 10. P. Weimar, for example, followed Noth in interpreting the war at Gibeon (10:1a*a***, b*b***, 2a*a,* 8a, 9a, 10ab*a*) and the execution of the kings at Makkedah (10:17, 18, 19a*a,* 20a*a,* 22, 23a, 24a*a,* 26a*a***, 27a*g,* b*a*) as originally separate stories combined at an early stage of development (1976: 51–62). But Weimar accentuated more the literary tensions in Josh 10 by concentrating on the process of redaction, in which the Deuteronomistic redactor significantly reworks the account of divine war from the early monarchic period while also extending the story to include the conquest in vv. 28–42 (1976: 70–73). B. Margalit (1992: 467–72) departed even further from Noth by avoiding tradition history altogether in favor of a strict literary analysis. He separated the war at Gibeon in vv. 1–15 into two separate stories. Verses 1–7 represent the genre of the heroic sage (*Heldensagen*). The story includes the war against Gibeon by a coalition of kings (vv. 1–5), the request of the Gibeonites for aid (v. 6), and Joshua's decisive response (v. 7). The heroic presentation of Joshua continues most clearly in the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (vv. 16–27). Verses 8–15 originate in the genre of the war epic, not the heroic sage. In this story Yahweh emerges as the hero rather than Joshua. The motifs indicate that the Israelites are threatened in some way, which prompts the Deity to reassure Joshua not to fear (v. 8), preparing for a series of divine interventions in war (vv. 10–11). The juxtaposition of the two stories creates problems in narrative logic and in the setting of events. The result is that there is no motivation for the divine reassurance in the war epic (vv. 8–15), when Joshua has already acted decisively (vv. 1–7), while the setting of the present form of the narrative, with Joshua simultaneously at Gigal (v. 15) and Makkedah (v. 16), creates "geographic nonsense."

The comparison of Josh 10 to ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts shows that the juxtaposition of heroic actions and divine intervention in the same story of war is commonplace and not the result of a history of composition. In the royal campaigns of Ashurbanipal, for example, the gods are frequently mentioned as bringing victory in battle, while Ashurbanipal and his army are also described as waging a heroic and overwhelming assault on the enemy (see the "Introduction"). The juxtaposition of the two motifs is simply part of the tradition. The same is true of Josh 10, according to Van Seters (1990), who noted a series of shared motifs that include the active role of the divine in the battle, the terror of the enemy, the execution of kings, obstacles to be overcome in the battle, and a summary of the victory. Younger (1990: 197–237, 357–61) reinforced the conclusion of Van Seters. He demonstrated further that the unified literary design of the stories of conquest goes beyond Josh 10 to include all of Josh 9–12, in which the same combination of motifs is repeated in the other battle narratives. The entire section, moreover, is held together by the repeated reference to the fear of the indigenous nations in Josh 9:1–2; 10:1; and 11:1 (see the "Introduction").

The research on composition suggests that a single author has composed Josh 10 as an episode in the larger account of conquest in Josh 9–12 and that the author models

the narrative on the ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts. But the research also indicates that Josh 10 includes sources and that it has undergone revision that disrupts the unity of the narrative in its present form. The revision is evident in the MT, as noted by Steuernagel, who rightly concludes that an author originally composed the war at Gibeon (vv. 1–14) and the death of the five kings at Makkedah (vv. 16–28) as a seamless story; this is evident from the consistent identification of royal cities (e.g., Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon). The relocation of Joshua to Gilgal in v. 15, which presently disrupts the transition between the two stories, is limited to the MT and thus is a late addition to the story, which, as Noort pointed out, reflects an emphasis on the camp throughout the MT version of the conquest ("camp at Gilgal," 10:15, 21, 43; and "camp," 11:4) that is absent in the LXX (2007b: 391). The result is a contrast in the MT between the Israelite camp and the royal cities that they destroy (see "Comments" on Josh 9:6–15). The conquest report in Josh 10:28–39 is also likely a source document of unknown origin, as noted already by Steuernagel, which the author has incorporated into the narrative, since the geography of the campaign departs significantly from the five cities in Josh 10:1–28, lacking reference to Jerusalem and Jarmuth, while adding the cities of Libnah, Gezer, and Debir.

POEM TO THE SUN

The poem to the sun in Josh 10:12–14 raises a further question about the author's use of sources in the composition of Josh 10. The MT introduces the poem in v. 12 with the Hebrew *'āz,* followed by the imperfect form of the verb, *yĕdabbār yĕhôšūă',* "then Joshua spoke." I. Rabinowitz concludes that the syntactical construction often indicates the insertion of a literary unit to provide commentary on the previous narrative or the larger literary context (1984). The same technique occurs in the story of the exodus, when the song of Moses (Exod 15:1–17) provides commentary on the narrative version of the event (Exod 14); again in the wilderness journey when the song of the spring (Num 27:17) interprets the discovery of water at Beer (Num 27:16); and also in the dedication of the Jerusalem temple when Solomon recites a poem about the cultic presence of Yahweh (MT 1 Kgs 8:12–13; LXX 1 Kgs 8:53) after the description of the iconography of the temple (1 Kgs 8:1–11). In all of these instances, an older liturgy or poem is inserted to provide commentary on a preceding narrative.

The poem in the MT of Josh 10:12–14 is similar to the poems in the stories of the exodus, the wilderness journey, and the building of the Jerusalem temple. It too is intended to provide commentary on a preceding narrative, in this instance the war at Gibeon in vv. 7–11, where Yahweh is described as defeating the Amorite army by throwing large stones on the troops. Noth provides the road map for interpretation when he concludes that the study of inset poems like Josh 10:12–14 requires two stages of research: the analysis of the poem as an independent unit of literature, and the interpretation of the poem in its present context as commentary on a related narrative (1971b: 64–65).

The boundaries of the poetic fragment are debated (see the "Notes"). Boling and Wright begin the poem with the MT of v. 12b, "and he said before the eyes of Israel," in which case the subject is Yahweh, rather than Joshua (1982: 282–83). But Holladay is likely correct that the poem begins in v. 12b*b,* "sun at Gibeon stand still" (1968:

168–69). S. L. Hall includes v. 13a*c* as part of the poem, "is it not written in the Book of Jashar" (2010: 168 n. 19). M. K. Hom rightly concludes, however, that the phrase is not poetry, but a reference to the source that is being used by the author of Josh 10 (2004: 220). The original poem, therefore, likely ends at v. 13a*b,* "until he took vengeance on the nation of his enemy." As summarized in the "Notes," the poetic structure of Josh 10:12b*b*–13a*b* may consist of three bi-cola composed with the paired motifs sun/moon (v. 12b*b*), stand still/stood (v. 13a*a*), and took vengeance/enemy (v. 13a*b*); or it may be structured as two bi-cola that emphasize the themes of the sun and war: sun at Gibeon/moon at Aijalon (v. 12b*b*), and vengeance on the enemy (vv. 13a*a*–a*b*) (Noth, 1971b: 64; Noort, 2007b: 389, 392 n. 11). Both poetic structures raise the question of the role of the sun within the Israelite cult at the time of the poem's composition.

The interpretation of the sun in the poem requires the clarification of the verb *dmm,* "be still/silent," and the possible identification of the speaker, who is not Joshua in the independent version. The verb *dmm* in the poem's first line is an imperative addressed directly to the sun, which is referenced without a definite article, suggesting its personification (see the "Notes"). The imperative, moreover, is performing double duty and thus functions as the verb in each part of the line to describe both the sun and the moon: "Sun at Gibeon *dôm;* moon at the Valley of Aijalon." Interpreters suggest a variety of meanings for the verb *dmm,* including "to be dark" (J. F. A. Sawyer, 1972: 140), "to wait" (J. H. Walton, 1994: 188), and "to be speechless in terror" (Nelson, 1997a: 144). But the most likely meaning is for the sun and moon "to be motionless" (*HALOT* 10105). This meaning is reinforced by the pairing of *dmm* with *ʿmd,* "to stand," in the second line: "the sun stood still [*wayyidôm*] and the moon stood [*ʿāmad*]" (Noort, 2007b: 390).

The meaning of the poem changes somewhat depending on whether Yahweh or the poet is the speaker. If Yahweh is the speaker, the divine command indicates the power of God over cosmic forces in waging war. The halting of the sun is then similar to the role of the sea in Exod 15:4–10, where Yahweh also harnesses the chaotic waters as a weapon of war against the enemy (Exod 15:8, 10). P. D. Miller (1973: 123–28), and to a lesser extent Nelson (1997a: 144), interprets the poem as a divine command to the sun that reflects the same mythological tradition as the sea, in which cosmic powers are part of the divine entourage. The poem might then be part of a hymn or an epic tradition that celebrates Yahweh as a divine warrior, in which the command for sun and moon to halt their movements is no different from Yahweh's miraculous piling up of the deep with the blast of his nostrils (Exod 15:8) so that the sea covers the enemy (Exod 15:10). In both instances, the cosmic power is personified but is under the control of Yahweh.

If the speaker is a human, the poem is an incantation or an omen directed to the sun as a cosmic power in its own right. This is the interpretation of Dus (1960b), who understands the sun to be a cultic deity. Blenkinsopp extends the interpretation to emphasize the motif of war, in which case the incantation may be aimed at preventing the sun from participating in a battle (1972: 41–52). J. G. Taylor moves in a different direction, concluding that Yahweh and the sun are equated in the poem, so that the "sun at Gibeon" reflects a Yahwistic cult of the sun in which Yahweh is called upon to help in war (1993: 114–18). The poem may also be an omen, especially if the reference to sun and moon is not simply a poetic word-pair with the focus on the sun but is directed

equally to the sun at Gibeon in the east and to the moon at the Valley of Aijalon in the west (Holladay, 1968: 175–76). When read in this way, the poem may reflect ancient astrology, with the author seeking an omen of good fortune from the sun and moon before waging war. J. H. Walton provides examples of the mythological interpretation of astrology in Mesopotamia and, more specifically, the important role of the sun and moon in celestial omen texts (1994: 183–86). If the poem is read as an omen, the alignment of the sun in the east and the moon in the west suggests the early morning period (Holladay, 1968: 170; Walton, 1994: 182).

A range of interpretations of the independent poem is possible. The most problematic is the poem as an omen, since it would not require the sun and moon to stop their movement and thus conflicts with the meaning of the verb *dmm.* The more important conclusion about the independent form of the poem, however, is that whether the sun is part of the divine entourage, the object of an incantation, or the revealer of omens makes little difference in recognizing its mythological power. All of these variations point to some form of solar worship most likely in the monarchic period. The address to the sun without a definite article reinforces this conclusion. Dus (1960b: 366), Taylor (1993: 257), and H.-P. Stähli (1985: 52) interpret the text somewhat differently, but they agree that the sun represents a form of solar worship, which functions as an important feature of royal religion associated with the king. The geographical references to Gibeon and the Valley of Aijalon, moreover, explicitly associate the solar ritual with the region of Gibeon.

The Hebrew Bible provides no explicit information on a solar cult at Gibeon. Yet the reference to the sun at Gibeon in the poem of Josh 10:12a*b*–13a*b* has prompted interpreters to search for evidence of sun worship. J. Heller, for example, favors the presence of a solar cult in the region of Gibeon at Aijalon (1958, esp. 653–55). Dus focuses on the literary relationship between the execution of Israelites at Baal Peor in Num 25:4 and the Gibeonite act of vengeance against Saul in 2 Sam 21:6 (1960b). He notes that the command to execute in Num 25:4 with the verb *yāqaʿ,* "to impale," describes a ritual action involving the sun: "Take all of the leaders of the people and impale [*wĕhôqaʿ*] them to Yahweh before the sun." The vengeance of the Gibeonites against Saul in 2 Sam 21:6 appears to repeat the ritual, but it lacks mention of the sun in the MT, when the Gibeonites state, "we will impale them before Yahweh." Dus points out, however, that the LXX uses the clause *exēliasōmen autous,* "let us hang them in the sun," thus making the reference to the sun explicit. Taylor expands the inner-biblical connection from Num 25:4 and 2 Sam 21:6 back to the sun in Josh 10:12a*b*–13a*b* by noting that the LXX of 2 Sam 21:6 identifies Yahweh with Gibeon, *tōi kyriōi en gabaōn,* "Lord at Gabaon," in the same manner as the poem associates the sun with Gibeon, "Sun at Gibeon." The parallel, for Taylor, suggests an equation between the sun and Yahweh in the Gibeonite cult (1993: 120).

The evidence for solar worship at Gibeon in the Hebrew Bible is obscure at best. More certain is the influence of solar religion in the Jerusalem cult during the monarchic period. The prophet Ezekiel indicates the presence of solar worship in the Jerusalem cult through his criticism of it. He attributes the destruction of the temple in part to the worship practices of twenty-five men who "prostrate themselves to the sun toward the east" (Ezek 8:16). The account of Josiah's reform reflects previous monarchic support of solar worship in the Jerusalem cult, when he is described as removing "the horses that

the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun" (2 Kgs 23:11). The origin of solar worship in the Jerusalem cult may reach back to the dedication of the temple in the poetic fragment of 1 Kgs 8:13, which is preserved in the account of Solomon's dedicatory prayer in 1 Kgs 8. Although the MT version of the poetic fragment lacks a reference to the sun, "Yahweh has said that he would dwell in thick darkness" (1 Kgs 8:13), the LXX places Yahweh and the sun in poetic parallelism: "Sun he placed in the heavens; but Yahweh himself has decided to dwell in thick cloud" (translation from Taylor, 1993: 143). The prayer may provide a window into the early cultic practice of the monarchy, according to Dus (1960b: 366), who also identifies the origin of solar worship in ancient Israel at Gibeon, rather than Jerusalem, because of the tradition of Solomon journeying there before constructing the temple (1 Kgs 3). Whatever the origin, Taylor is certainly correct that worship of the sun is a part of royal religion during the monarchic period, which is also likely the background of the independent poem (1993: 257).

The author of Josh 10 introduces a polemic against the royal solar worship reflected in the independent poem with three additions: (1) the narrative context displaces the poem as a description of war; (2) Joshua is identified as the speaker of the poem; and (3) the miraculous event is reinterpreted from the pausing of the sun to the unique authority of Joshua's voice.

The two central themes in the independent poem of Josh 10:12a*b*–13a*a* are the direct address to the sun and the victory in war that follows. The narrative account of war in Josh 10:1–15 displaces the poem so that it no longer functions as an account of war; instead, it becomes a speech to the sun after Yahweh has already successfully waged war. The narrative account of the war against the Amorite coalition occurs in vv. 9–11; it progresses in three stages: (1) Joshua journeys from Gilgal all night (v. 9); (2) Yahweh confuses the enemy, allowing Joshua to slaughter them at Gibeon, Azekah, and Makkedah (v. 10); and (3) Yahweh destroys the Amorite army at Azekah (v. 11). The miraculous event in the narrative is the fact that Yahweh hurls "great stones" from heaven, so that "more died from the great stones than the Israelites killed with the sword." The poem follows the battle as a fourth episode in vv. 12–14, which, in the context of the narrative, introduces yet another miraculous event, with the sun and moon stopping their motion. The displacement of the poem after the battle, however, introduces tension with the poem's content, since the address to the sun and moon no longer precedes a battle. The conflict in meaning indicates that the author of Josh 10 is reinterpreting the poem for a different function in the narrative.

The intent of the author of Josh 10 comes into clearer focus from the narrative introduction to the poem in v. 12, which states that Joshua is the speaker. The independent poem is unclear whether the speaker is Yahweh, who addresses the sun and moon as part of the divine entourage, or the poet, who recites an incantation of some sort to the sun. The identification of Joshua as the speaker in the present narrative context and Yahweh as the object of his speech indicates that the author of Josh 10 is using the poem to underscore Joshua's authority. His role throughout the narrative reinforces this conclusion. The focus on Joshua is signaled at the outset of the battle in the divine address to him in v. 8: "Do not fear them for into your hand I have given them." Joshua remains at center stage in the battle in vv. 9–10: "Joshua came upon them suddenly. . . . And he slaughtered them." The lens remains firmly fixed on Joshua after the battle, when he becomes the speaker of the poem in v. 12: "Then Joshua spoke to Yahweh on

the day when Yahweh gave over the Amorites before the Israelites. And he said before the eyes of Israel, 'Sun at Gibeon . . .'" Agamemnon requests a similar miracle from Zeus in the *Iliad* (II.414–15).

For the author of Josh 10, the poem now illustrates the power of Joshua's speech to influence Yahweh. The miracle associated with the poem is no longer the sun ceasing its motion; rather, it is that Yahweh obeyed the voice of Joshua: "There has not been a day like that before or after, when Yahweh obeyed the voice of a human" (v. 14). Nelson rightly notes that the shift in focus from the sun to Joshua is "an act of demythologizing" the role of the sun in the independent version of the poem (1997a: 145). The sun and moon now provide little more than the background to illustrate Joshua's favored status with Yahweh. The intent of the author goes beyond the idealization of Joshua, however; it also likely includes a polemic against kings and sun worship, which was presupposed in the independent form of the poem. In this case, the message of the narrative of Josh 10 is that the voice of Joshua is more authoritative than royal solar cults, since his command to Yahweh can control the sun to defeat kings.

WAR AGAINST JERUSALEM

The superior power of Joshua over kings is reinforced in the story of the war against the king of Jerusalem and his coalition. The author states that the coalition of kings against Joshua is led by Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem (Josh 10:1–3), whose identification is loosely related to Judg 1:4–7, where the tribe of Judah wars against Adoni-bezek, also associated with the city of Jerusalem. The LXX makes the literary relationship even more explicit by identifying the king of Jerusalem as Adoni-bezek, as in Judges. In commenting on the separate forms of the name in the MT of Josh 10:1–3 and in Judg 1:4–7, Miller and Tucker write, "The variation is a simple one, so it seems most likely that the texts have in mind the same king" (1974: 83). The literary tie between the two books is further strengthened when the theme of Jerusalem returns in Josh 15:63 and in Judg 1:21, where both texts state that Jebusites remain in Jerusalem. Miller and Tucker write of this repetition: "The two verses correspond almost word for word, except that the Joshua version attributes the failure to drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem to *the men of Judah,* while the Judges version attributes it to 'the Benjamites'" (1974: 128).

Many interpreters agree with Miller and Tucker, while differing on the direction of the literary dependence that influences the evaluation of the author's intent in each text. Wellhausen states a common interpretation among nineteenth-century source critics that the entire book of Joshua and the introductory section of Judg 1:1–2:5 represent parallel versions of the conquest and that Judg 1:1–2:5 is the later account. Thus, for Wellhausen, the book of Joshua was the source for the author of Judg 1:1–2:5, in which case the reference to Adoni-zedek in Josh 10:1–3 (and presumably the reference to the failed conquest of Jerusalem in Josh 15:63) are reinterpreted in Judg 1:4–7, 21 (1899: 214). But E. Meyer reversed the literary relationship and evaluated Judg 1:1–2:5 as the source for the parallels in Joshua, so that the author of Joshua introduces the parallels by reinterpreting stories in Judges (1881: 134–38). The debate continues into more recent redaction-critical studies, where the comparison is narrowed to the specific texts, rather than larger blocks of literature. Auld (1998a: 79–101) and M. Rake (2006: 77–79), for example, argue for the priority of Josh 10:1–3 and 15:63 as the source for Judg 1:4–7,

21, while Noth (1971b: 63) and U. Becker (1990: 37–38) reverse the direction of dependence. I follow the latter reading, that the author of Joshua is dependent on Judges and intends a polemical reinterpretation of the pro-Judean version of the story of conquest in Judg 1:1–2:5. Comparison between Josh 10 and Judg 1 provides illustration.

Judges 1:1–2:5 contains a series of independent literary traditions fashioned into a pro-Judean introduction to the book of Judges. The independent traditions include the legend of war against the king of Jerusalem, Adoni-bezek, in Judg 1:4–7 (Budde, 1887: 94–96) and the list of unconquered territories in Judg 1:21, 27–35 (Alt, 1953d: 116). Exilic and postexilic editors use the source material to fashion the pro-Judean introduction in Judg 1:1–2:5 (Rake, 2006: 1–35). Becker, for example, notes the positive portrayal of Judah in the present form of Judg 1, when the tribe is singled out first for conquest in Judg 1:1–2, followed by the successful war against Adoni-bezek in vv. 4–7 (1990: 37–38). The pro-Judean point of view is likely original to the legend of Adoni-bezek, since the story recounts his battle against Judah at Bezek (v. 4), his defeat (v. 5), and the removal of his thumbs and big toes (v. 6); the story likely ends with the saying of Adoni-bezek about his previous rule over seventy kings and the notice that he was brought back to Jerusalem (v. 7). The concluding statement, "they brought him to Jerusalem," however, is likely a reference to his people and not to the tribe of Judah, against whom he was fighting (so Budde, 1887: 5; cf. Rake, 2006: 79). The editors of Judg 1 accentuate the pro-Judean perspective of the story with the introduction of Judah in Judg 1:1–2 and the further statement in Judg 1:8 that Judah destroyed Jerusalem, which creates confusion with the original legend by giving the impression that Judah also returned Adoni-zedek to the city.

Becker is likely correct that Judg 1:8 is a very late addition to Judg 1:1–2:5 (1990: 77–78). The evidence is not the pro-Judean perspective, since the entire introduction is pro-Judean; rather, it is that the Judean conquest of Jerusalem in v. 8 contradicts Judg 1:21, which implies that Jerusalem was not conquered and that the fault belongs to Benjamin, not Judah, who allowed the Jebusites to live in the city (1990: 38–39). The criticism of Benjamin in v. 21 is part of a larger literary unit, perhaps reflecting an independent source, that recounts the failure of the northern tribes in general—including Benjamin (v. 21), Manasseh (v. 27–28), Ephraim (v. 29), Zebulun (v. 30), Asher (vv. 31–32), Naphtali (v. 33), Dan (v. 34), and Joseph (v. 35)—to complete the conquest. Becker identifies a pro-Judean perspective in the editing of the unit, which is evident in the general criticism of the northern tribes and in the more specific blame directed at Benjamin for allowing the Jebusite population to remain living in Jerusalem: "But the Jebusites who dwell in Jerusalem, the people of Benjamin did not dispossess. And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Benjamin in Jerusalem until this very day" (v. 21). The criticism of Benjamin and the northern tribes is meant to underscore the disunity of the northern tribes and hence the need for the Judean monarch, David, who conquers the Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:6–10) and, in so doing, completes what the tribe of Benjamin failed to do (1990: 60). The statement in Judg 1:8 that Judah destroyed Jerusalem undercuts the criticism of Benjamin in v. 21 and indicates at least two stages of composition in Judg 1.

The author of Joshua identifies Adoni-zedek as the king of Jerusalem (10:1–3). This identification, as any number of interpreters have noted, is parallel to Judg 1 (Auld,

1998a: 90–92; de Vos, 2003: 166–67; Rake, 2006: 35–42). Unlike Judg 1, however, Adoni-zedek leads a coalition of five kings against Joshua, rather than the more narrow focus on Judah in Judg 1:4–7. The coalition includes Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon (v. 3). Joshua kills the five kings in front of the cave at Makkedah (10:22–26), and the death of the king of Jerusalem is later confirmed in the list of executed kings (12:10). Joshua's war against the cities of the kings follows, including Hebron, Lachish, and Eglon, along with the cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Gezer, and Debir. The list of conquered cities may be a source that the author has incorporated (10:28–39); yet in the context of Josh 10, it is noteworthy that Jerusalem is not destroyed, even though its king is executed. The author of Joshua returns to the topic of Jerusalem's continued existence later in the book, at the end of the description of Judah's territory in Josh 15:63, in what appears to be an inner-biblical interpretation of Judg 1:21.

Josh 15:63	*Judg 1:21*
But the Jebusites who dwell [*yôšĕbê*] in Jerusalem, the *people of Judah* were unable [*lō' yûkĕlû*] to dispossess them.	But the Jebusites who dwell [*yôšēb*] in Jerusalem, the *people of Benjamin* did not dispossess.
And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Judah in Jerusalem until this very day.	And the Jebusites dwell with the people of Benjamin in Jerusalem until this very day.

Both texts agree that Jerusalem has of a mixture of ethnic groups and that Jebusites dwell in Jerusalem "until this very day." The texts differ somewhat in grammar: The Jebusites are referred to in the plural (*yôšĕbê*) in Josh 15:63 as compared with the singular (*yôšēb*) in Judg 1:21; and Josh 15:63 states that the Jebusites were unable (*yûkĕlû*) to be driven out of Jerusalem, while Judg 1:21 simply states that they were not driven out. The most significant difference, however, is the contrasting judgment concerning the tribe responsible for the presence of Jebusites in Jerusalem. The author of Judg 1:21 blames the tribe of Benjamin for the mixed population of the city, while the author of Josh 15:63 attributes the problem to Judah, thus presenting an anti-Judean version of Judg 1:21. The polemic against Judah and Jerusalem in Josh 10:1–3 and 15:63 may account for the addition of Judg 1:8 to the battle against Adoni-bezek in Judg 1:4–7, in which an editor emphasizes Judah's destruction of Jerusalem, even though it creates confusion in the meaning of the legend of Adoni-bezek in vv. 4–7, produces tension with the later assessment in v. 21 that Jebusites remain in Jerusalem, and undercuts the point of the story in 2 Sam 5:6–10 of David as the one who conquers the Jebusite fortress of Jerusalem. The important point for the interpretation of Joshua is that it reinforces the anti-Jerusalem perspective of the author.

The comparison of Josh 10 with ancient Near Eastern royal accounts of conquest indicates that it is not unusual for an author to juxtapose heroic actions and divine intervention in the same story of war. This suggests that the narrative is essentially unified. The study of composition also indicates that the author of Josh 10 used sources, including the list of conquered cities in Josh 10:28–39, the poem to the sun in Josh 10:12b*b*–13a*b,* and the account of war against Adoni-bezek in Judg 1. The use of sources provides insight into the author's point of view. The incorporation of the poem suggests a polemic against royal solar cults, when the author emphasizes that the voice of Joshua controls the sun to defeat kings. The reinterpretation of the war against

Adoni-bezek and Jerusalem in Judg 1 extends the polemic of the author from royal solar religion to Judah and Jerusalem. The author uses the entire story of Gibeon in Josh 9–10 polemically against Judah, Jerusalem, and the temple personnel. The aim of Josh 9 is to clarify that the cultic personnel of the temple are non-Israelites, Gibeonites, who achieved their position through trickery and a foolish oath made by the leaders of the congregation (9:15, 18), which Joshua curses (9:23). The war against the coalition led by the king of Jerusalem in Josh 10 leads to the death of the king, but not the destruction of the city; this situation evolves eventually into the mixed population of Jerusalem, for which the author of Joshua faults the tribe of Judah (15:63), rather than the tribe of Benjamin (Judg 1:21). The most recent redaction-critical studies of Becker (1990: 21–72) and Rake (2006: 35–42, 143–52) date the late composition of Judg 1 to either the exilic or the postexilic period, which leads to the conclusion that Josh 10 is composed in the postexilic period as well.

Comments

10:1–15. FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

The rescue of the Gibeonites may be divided into four themes, which follow the outline of the story: (1) the identification of the enemy and their reaction to the treaty between Gibeon and the Israelites (vv. 1–6), (2) the account of the war and the defeat of the enemy (vv. 7–11), (3) the authority of Joshua (vv. 12–14), and (4) the return to the camp at Gilgal (v. 15).

Identification of the Enemy

The author names the enemy kings in Josh 10: Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem; Hoham, king of Hebron; Piram, king of Jarmuth; Japhia, king of Lachish; and Debir, king of Eglon. In previous stories, the only foreign kings named are Og and Sihon, the Transjordanian Amorite monarchs, identified first by Rahab (2:10) and a second time by the Gibeonites (9:10). In Josh 10, it is the narrator who names the five foreign kings, while also identifying them as Amorites, this time locating their kingdoms west of the Jordan River in the mountains (see the "Notes" to Josh 2:10).

The focus of the narrator is on Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem: He is the first king to be named (v. 1); his reaction to the execution of the ban on Ai and Jericho and the peace treaty between Gibeon and Joshua is singled out (v. 1); and he organizes the coalition against the Gibeonites with the command, "Come up to me and help me, so that we can strike Gibeon, because it made peace with Joshua and the Israelites" (v. 4). The name of the king of Jerusalem in the LXX of Josh 10 and in Judg 1:3–7 is Adoni-bezek, rather than Adoni-zedek, which raises a question about the original version of the story (see "Notes" and "Composition"). Whether original or not, the MT version recalls the priest of El-Elyon, Melchizedek of Salem, who blesses Abram (Gen 14:17–20) and reappears in a royal psalm of David in which the king receives the divine oath, "You are a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110:4). Both Gen 14 and Ps 110 suggest a positive interpretation of the non-Israelite origin of Jerusalem, which is absent in Josh 10. Knauf suggests that the MT of Josh 10 reflects an anti-Jerusalem point of view by fashioning a polemical story against the royal theology associated with Melchizedek (2008: 99).

The reaction of the king of Jerusalem in Josh 10:1 ties the story of war to the earlier narratives in Josh 1–9. The response of fear by the kings in Josh 10:2 reaches back to the speech of Rahab in Josh 2:7–11 and the same reaction of the nations in Josh 5:1 after the Israelites cross the Jordan (Josh 3–4). The references to the destruction of Jericho and Ai, as well as the peace treaty with Gibeon, link the story of war in Josh 10 to Josh 6 (Jericho), Josh 7–8 (Ai), and Josh 9 (the peace treaty with the Gibeonites). The king of Jerusalem's call for war in Josh 10:4 also repeats the same theme from Josh 9:1, which originally inaugurated the story of the Gibeonites. The new motif in Josh 10 is that the fear of the kings is directed toward Gibeon, not Joshua: "they became very afraid, for Gibeon was a great city, like one of the royal cities, and it was greater than Ai and all of its men were warriors" (v. 2).

Defeat of the Enemy

The fear of the coalition of kings and the threat of their attack against Gibeon allow Joshua and the Israelites to function in the role of rescuers who are faithful to the covenant treaty from Josh 9. The account of the war begins at the camp of Gilgal, where the Gibeonites request the help of the Israelites (v. 6), prompting Joshua to prepare the people for battle (v. 7). As in ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts, the war against the enemy is a mixture of heroic action and divine intervention. Joshua's preparation for battle is accompanied by a divine address not to fear the enemy. The Deity promises, "Not a man of them will stand before you" (v. 8). The command "do not fear" is part of the war oracle in the Hebrew Bible, which indicates both the victory over the enemy and the revelation of God in the event (Conrad, 1985: 143–45). The war oracle first appears in the book of Joshua at the outset of the battle against Ai, where the Deity commands Joshua not to fear, promises to participate in the battle, and also predicts victory (8:1). The same motifs are present in Josh 10:8; the command not to fear is followed by the divine promise to participate in the war and the prediction of victory.

The mixture of human and divine action continues in the account of the battle in vv. 9–11, creating confusion at points in identifying the actors. The story begins with Joshua marching through the night from the camp at Gilgal to execute a surprise attack on the enemy (v. 9). The notice that Yahweh created panic (*hmm*) in the enemy immediately follows the attack of Joshua (v. 10a). The motif is a standard feature in war stories, especially when the Deity participates in the battle. In the conflict at the Red Sea, for example, Yahweh creates panic (*hmm*) in the Egyptian army (Exod 14:24), leading to their destruction in the sea; Yahweh also promises Moses that the divine terror will throw the enemy into panic until they are destroyed (Exod 23:27; Deut 7:23). The same action occurs in Josh 10:10a, emphasizing the active role of Yahweh in the battle: "Then Yahweh confused them before the Israelites." The extent of the divine participation in the battle is unclear in the remainder of v. 10, since it is difficult to determine whether Yahweh or Joshua is the actor who "strikes" the enemy at Gibeon, "pursues" them to Beth-horon, and again "strikes" them as far as Azekah and Makkedah. The description of the enemy fleeing before the "Israelites" in v. 11 suggests that Joshua or Israel is the subject of the action in the MT, although the LXX makes the Deity the subject. Yahweh is once again the clear subject of action at the end of v. 11, as the one who throws stones from heaven on the enemy: "Yahweh threw great stones from heaven on them as far as Azekah."

The central miracle in the narrative version of the war is the "great stones" from heaven that kill the enemy. The motif of stones is not limited to the war against the army but plays an important role throughout the book of Joshua. Stones mark the crossing of the Jordan River (Josh 4), and they form the altar at Mount Gerizim (8:31–32). They also memorialize divine punishment. Noort (2007b: 391) points out that the motif of "great stones" links the story of the divine attack on the army (10:11) with the following account of the death of the five kings at the cave (10:18, 27), when the "great stones" that Yahweh hurls on the army (10:11) are recycled in the narrative, first to seal the cave where the five kings hide (10:18) and then to mark the site of their execution (10:28). A "great heap of stones" also marks the execution site of the king of Ai (8:29) and of Achan (7:26), who, like the army of the coalition, is killed by stones: "And they burnt them with fire, and they stoned them with stones. And they raised on him a great heap of stones, which remain until this day" (7:25–26).

The "great stones" are clarified in Josh 10:11 as hailstones (*bĕ'abnê habbārād*). Noth suspects a secondary addition (1971b: 64). The clarification, according to Noort, is intended to naturalize the miracle of the "great stones" (2007b: 388). Boling and Wright pursue the same interpretation, stating that an "unusually severe hailstorm—and especially an unseasonable one—seems to be in the picture" (1982: 282). But Younger notes that hailstones are a common motif in ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts, such as the heavenly stones by which the god Adad destroys the enemies of Sargon II (1990: 211). Hailstones also signify the power of Yahweh as the storm-god in the Hebrew Bible. Yahweh informs Job that hail and snow are stored for battle (Job 38:22), which is described in Ps 18:13–18 and again with more detail in the plague cycle of Exod 9:18–34; 10:5–12. Isaiah 28:2 provides interpretation: "See, Yahweh has one who is mighty and strong; like a storm of hail, a destroying tempest, like a storm of might, overflowing waters; with his hand he will hurl them down to the earth." The miraculous attack of Yahweh brings the battle between Joshua and the armies of the five kings to a conclusion: "And more died from the great stones than the Israelites killed with the sword" (v. 11b).

Authority of Joshua

The narrative focuses on Joshua in vv. 12–14 after the battle is finished. The author highlights Joshua's central role at the outset of the section, stating that he addresses Yahweh publicly in the presence of the Israelites (v. 12a*a*) before summoning the sun and moon to cease their motion (vv. 12a*b*–13a*a*). The consensus among interpreters is that the poem originally functioned as some form of oracle during a battle and that Joshua is not original to the poem (see "Composition"). The author of Josh 10 has inserted the poem after the battle so that the invocation of Joshua is no longer related to the preceding war. Instead, the poem is now meant to highlight Joshua's authority after the battle. Yahweh "obeys" his voice. The LXX and the MT present distinct interpretations of the episode, however, that influence the poem's function in Josh 10. In the MT, the miracle in vv. 12–14 is an isolated event at the conclusion of the war against the coalition, while in the LXX the event provides the introduction to the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (vv. 16–27). The contrasting interpretations of the miracle of Joshua can be illustrated in the following manner:

MT	*LXX*
Joshua summons the sun and moon to cease their movements (vv. 12–13a).	Joshua summons the sun and moon to cease their movements (vv. 12–13a).
The authenticity of the event is confirmed by the Book of Jashar (v. 13b).	—
The uniqueness of the event and the authority of Joshua (v. 14) are declared.	The uniqueness of the event and the authority of Joshua (vv. 13b–14) are declared.
Joshua and the Israelites return to the camp at Gilgal (v. 15).	—
—	The five kings hang all day and are buried in the cave at sunset (vv. 26–27).

Four motifs may be distinguished in the MT version of the miracle: (1) Joshua speaks to Yahweh and summons the sun and moon to cease their movements (vv. 12–13a); (2) the authenticity of the event is confirmed by an authoritative text, the Book of Jashar (v. 13b); (3) the uniqueness of the event underscores the authority of Joshua (v. 14); and (4) Joshua and the Israelites return to the camp at Gilgal (v. 15). The conclusion to the episode in the MT of Josh 10:15 means that the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (vv. 16–27) begins a new episode, whose relationship to the preceding war (vv. 7–11) and the miracle of Joshua (vv. 12–15) is unclear.

The LXX likely represents the more original version, in which the war (vv. 1–14) and the execution of the kings (vv. 16–27) are one narrative. In the LXX, the miracle of Joshua is not isolated in its literary context; it provides the introduction to the execution of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (vv. 16–27), as Steuernagel recognized (1923: 245–50). The LXX progresses through three stages: (1) Joshua summons the sun and moon to cease their movements (vv. 12–13a); (2) the uniqueness of the event underscores the authority of Joshua (vv. 13b–14); and (3) the miracle leads directly into the pursuit and execution of the five kings, which is completed at sunset (vv. 26–27), following the timeframe of the miracle that introduces the episode. The structure illustrates how the miracle of the sun staying in place for a whole day (vv. 12–14) allows for the hanging of the kings during the day (v. 26) and their burial in the cave at sunset (v. 27).

The miracle of Joshua in Josh 10:12–14 is related to Moses through an inner-biblical tie to the account of the battle against Amalek in Exod 17:8–16, where Joshua first appears in the Pentateuch as a warrior. In that story, Joshua fights the Amalekites all day, while the outstretched hands of Moses influence the outcome of the battle, requiring Aaron and Hur to hold up his hands "until the sun set" (Exod 17:12). The emphasis in Josh 10:12–14 on Yahweh listening to the voice of Joshua and even stopping the sun upon his command indicates that the power of Moses to intercede with the Deity in battle is now transferred to Joshua and even intensified to include the power of Joshua's speech. The result is that Joshua the warrior also becomes a mediator like Moses. The comparison between Exod 17:8–16 and Josh 10 is even closer in the LXX, where the miracle of halting the sun allows for the execution of the five kings and their burial in the cave of Makkedah at sunset (Josh 10:26–27).

In Josh 10 Joshua emerges as an ideal leader in the tradition of Moses. The authority of each character is authenticated in writing: Moses in the Torah and Joshua in the

Book of Jashar. But the authority of Joshua is not equal to that of Moses in the Pentateuch. Moses is a unique human, whose authority resides in his person. He is invaded by the Deity in the Tent of Meeting and must wear a mask at all times outside of the cultic site (Exod 34:29–35). The unique status of Moses is stated twice in the Pentateuch: in Num 12:6–8 and in Deut 34:10–12. The Deity rebukes Miriam and Aaron for challenging Moses' authority in Num 12:6–8, stating that only Moses speaks "mouth to mouth" with God and sees the very "form of Yahweh," as compared with prophets, who merely hear divine words "in riddles" and see God only indirectly "in visions." The Pentateuch ends with the same message: After Moses anoints Joshua as his successor (Deut 34:8–9), the book of Deuteronomy ends by underscoring the uniqueness of Moses, whom God knew "face to face," which is evident in the signs, wonders, and powerful deeds that he displayed in the presence of the Israelites (Deut 34:10–12). Joshua is not a unique human, according to the author of Joshua; that status is reserved only for Moses. The multiple references to the Torah of Moses throughout the book of Joshua as the source of authority for Joshua (e.g., 1:7–8; 8:31–34) maintain a distinction between the characters. Yet Joshua does perform a uniquely powerful act by invoking Yahweh to stop the sun: "And the sun stood in the middle of the heavens and it did not hasten to set for a whole day. There has not been a day like that before or after, when Yahweh obeyed the voice of a human" (10:13b–14a). Thus, according to the author, Joshua is an idealized leader in the charismatic tradition of Yahwism: His voice is persuasive with the Deity, and his authority is confirmed in the Book of Jashar.

Camp at Gilgal

Joshua and the Israelites return to the camp at Gilgal after the war. The camp plays a prominent role in the account of the Gibeonites' masquerade in Josh 9:6–15 (see "Comments"), and it remains a central theme in the MT version of the war in Josh 10. The Gibeonites request the help of Joshua and Israel at the Gilgal camp (10:6); Joshua undertakes the nighttime march to wage war from the camp (10:7); he returns to the camp after the miracle of stopping the sun and moon (10:15); and the story ends by once again noting the return of Joshua and the Israelites to the camp after the defeat of the southern cities (10:43). Throughout the account of the war, the camp provides a contrast to the royal city-states that Joshua and the Israelites destroy. The association of Gilgal with the criticism of kings further reinforces the role of the camp as an antimonarchic symbol in the book (see "Notes" on Josh 4:19).

10:16–27. EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KINGS

The idealization of Joshua over against monarchs remains the central focus in the story of the execution of the five kings at Makkedah. The unit may be divided into three parts: (1) the sealing of the cave and the pursuit of the enemy (vv. 16–21), (2) the exhortation not to fear the kings (vv. 22–25), and (3) the execution and burial of the five kings (vv. 26–27).

Sealing the Cave and Pursuing the Enemy

Joshua 10:16–21 separates into three parts: vv. 16–17 establish the new setting of the cave at Makkedah; vv. 18–19 present a speech of Joshua; and vv. 20–21 recount another

war against the remaining army of the five kings. The setting of the cave at Makkedah signals a transition in the narrative of Josh 10 from Gilgal in the MT (v. 15) and from Gabeon in the LXX (v. 12). Soldiers report to Joshua, "The five kings have been found hiding in the cave at Makkedah" (v. 17). The cave is central to the story, more so than the war against the army, which was already defeated in the previous battle (vv. 7–14). The cave functions initially as a place of refuge for the kings and then as their burial site. Its function as a grave is illustrated most clearly in the Hebrew Bible by the cave of Machpelah, the burial site of the ancestors (Gen 23:9; 25:9; 50:13). But caves also provide refuge from distress in the Hebrew Bible. Lot and his daughters flee to a cave in Zoar to escape the destruction of the city (Gen 19:30). The Israelites (1 Sam 3:16), Gideon (Judg 6:2), and even David (1 Sam 22:1; 24:3; Pss 57:1; 142:1) flee to caves for safety. The motif reappears in prophetic eschatological discourse. The prophet Isaiah predicts that all arrogant people who worship idols will hide in caves to avoid the wrath of Yahweh on the eschatological day (Isa 2:19), when Yahweh "rises to terrify the earth" (Isa 2:21). Knauf focuses on Isa 2:10–21 as an especially close parallel to the function of the cave in Josh 10, arguing that the story of the kings fleeing to the cave of Makkedah is in the tradition of eschatological prophetic discourse in which the future destruction of Yahweh's opponents is predicted as a completed action (2008: 102). The role of the "great stones" throughout the narrative supports this interpretation. Yahweh initially throws the great stones from heaven to destroy the army, suggesting the tradition of the Deity warring against his enemies (Josh 10:11), which causes the kings to flee to the cave (10:16), as the text in Isaiah predicts. The great stones seal the cave to trap the kings (10:18) and later mark the grave of the kings (10:27). The references to the stones illustrate the fate of the arrogant from Isa 2—how God wars from heaven, causing the enemy to "enter the caves of the rock and the holes of the ground from the terror of Yahweh and from the glory of his majesty, when he rises to terrify the earth" (Isa 2:19).

Joshua 10:20–21 recounts the war against the remaining army of the enemy. It fits uneasily in the chapter, since the army was already defeated in Josh 10:7–11. The war is introduced with the command that the Israelites attack the fleeing enemy from the rear to keep them from entering their cities (v. 19). Joshua provides assurance: "Yahweh, your God, has given them into your hand." The unfolding battle, however, is ambiguous. Joshua appears to be part of the battle (v. 20), even though the Israelites return to him at Makkedah (v. 21). The enemy is wiped out, yet there are survivors, who escape to their fortified cities, which undercuts the reason for the pursuit. It is unclear whether the battle in v. 20 is meant to be a positive story in which the Israelites carry out the command of Joshua from v. 19, or a negative story in which the Israelites fail by allowing survivors to escape to their cities, even though Yahweh had given the enemy over to them. The ambiguity continues into v. 21, where the idiom *lō'-ḥāraṣ . . . 'et-lĕšōnô,* "he did not point/move the tongue," could be read in different ways (see "Notes"). Noth interprets the idiom as a complaint, suggesting a negative interpretation of the battle in v. 20, as an instance when the Israelites did not fulfill Joshua's command. The meaning of the phrase would then be that no one in the camp criticized the warriors, even though the enemy survived (1971b: 58). My translation suggests a more positive reading of the battle: "Then all the people returned . . . in peace. No one threatened the Israelites." Either reading remains tentative, however, since the focus

of the author is on the kings in the cave at Makkedah and not on the war against the remaining enemy soldiers.

Subjugation of the Kings

Joshua 10:22–25 is organized around three speeches of Joshua. The section begins with the command to open the cave and bring out the kings (v. 22), and it concludes with the exhortation that the Israelites not fear the kings (v. 25). The central speech in v. 24 is the instruction to the chief warriors: "Come near and place your feet on the necks of these kings." The imagery in this speech depicts the complete subjugation of the enemy (e.g., Pss 18:39; 47:3), as usually undertaken by the triumphant king (Noth, 1971b: 66). Boling and Wright identify the image more broadly in ancient Near Eastern royal conquest accounts (1982: 286), especially in bas-reliefs (e.g., *ANEP* 351, 355). First Kings 5:17 (Eng. 5:3) illustrates the monarchic background of the imagery in the Hebrew Bible: "You know that my father David could not build a house for the name of Yahweh his God because of the warfare with which his enemies surrounded him, until Yahweh put them under the soles of his feet." The royal imagery is also evident in Ps 110:1, where Yahweh identifies the king to be of the priesthood of Melchizedek, while promising victory in war: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool." Given the royal association of the image, the emphasis on the military leaders in Josh 10 is noteworthy; it may represent the antimonarchic intention of the author. Auld goes further, stating that the narrative is a commentary on "the hopeless inadequacy of kingship" (1985: 73). Joshua concludes the ritual act of subjugation by exhorting the leaders not to fear the kings but to remain courageous and strong (v. 25), repeating the encouragement of the Deity to him (1:7, 9; 8:1; 10:8). S. L. Hall may be correct in noting the priestly function of Joshua's speech, since the same role of exhortation is performed by priests in the preparation for war in Deut 20:2–4 (2010: 176).

Execution and Burial of the Kings

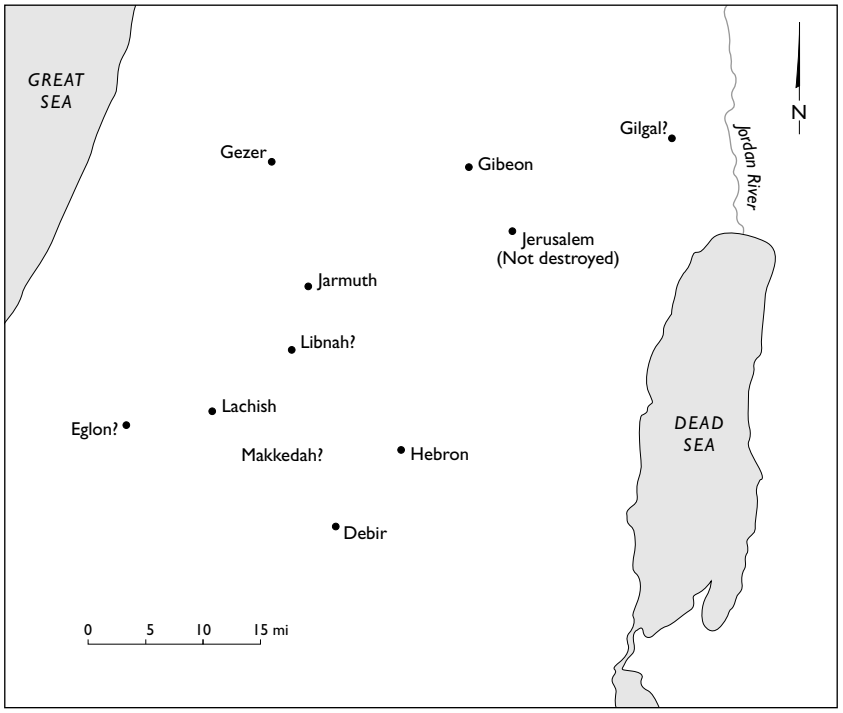
Joshua 10:26–27 describes the fate of the kings. Joshua executes them, impales their bodies on five trees, and throws them in the cave at sunset. These acts repeat the fate of the king of Ai (8:29), and, as in the previous instance, the execution also fulfills the law of Deut 21:22–23 (see "Comments" on Josh 8:29).

10:28–39. GENERAL WAR

The war against the southern cities has seven episodes: (1) Makkedah (v. 28), (2) Libnah (vv. 29–30), (3) Lachish (vv. 31–32), (4) Gezer (v. 33), (5) Eglon (vv. 34–35), (6) Hebron (vv. 36–37), and (7) Debir (vv. 38–39). The list includes three cities from the coalition of kings that attacks Gibeon (Hebron, Lachish, and Eglon); two cities are absent from the narrative (Jerusalem and Jarmuth), and four are new (Makkedah, Libnah, Gezer, and Debir). The lack of correspondence between the coalition of kings and the cities of the southern invasion suggests that the account of war in Josh 10:28–39 may have been a separate narrative that has been incorporated into Josh 10. The annalistic style reinforces this conclusion, since it is distinct from the preceding narrative style of Josh 10:1–14.

The seven episodes are only loosely related, indicating that if Josh 10:28–39 ever was a separate annalistic account, it has undergone revision. Episodes 1, 2, 3, and 5 are clearly related in structure. These episodes are linked with the verb "to cross" (*ʿābar*), which relates the cities from one episode to another: After the destruction of Makkedah (v. 28, episode 1), Joshua and the Israelites "cross over" (vv. 29, 31, 34) "from Makkedah to Libnah" (v. 29, episode 2), "from Libnah to Lachish" (v. 31, episode 3), and "from Lachish to Eglon" (v. 34, episode 5). Knauf argues that the destruction of Makkedah in episode 1 is not original to the list, since it is intended to tie the annalistic account of conquest to the story of the five kings at the cave of Makkedah (2008: 108–9). The sequence of episodes 1, 2, 3, and 5 is interrupted, moreover, with the particle "then" (*ʿaz*) in v. 33 and a statement that Horam of Gezer assisted Lachish, leading to his death but not the destruction of his city (episode 4). The episode of Gezer now functions as the central event in the sequence of the attacks, separating episodes 1–3 and 5–7 (Boling and Wright, 1982: 292). Episodes 6 and 7 also depart from the structure of the initial sequence: In episode 6 Joshua "ascends" (*ʿālâ*) from Eglon to Hebron (v. 36), while in episode 7 he "returns" (*šûb*) to Debir (v. 38). The result of the addition of episodes 6–7 is the extension of the conquest account farther into the southern region. The chronology of the invasion is also loosely woven in to the annalistic account through three references: (1) Makkedah is captured "on that day" (v. 28); Lachish is taken on the "second day" (v. 32); and (3) Eglon is also taken "on that day" (v. 34). The references may signify a time period of two or three days, depending on whether the defeat of Eglon "on that day" refers to day two or the following day; or the references to time may simply signify the period that was required to defeat a particular city. Map 4 shows the cities of the invasion.

The intention of the author in creating the southern invasion is difficult to interpret. The meaning and function of the geography of the invasion are especially debated. Hess concludes that the geographical sequence of the towns, with the conclusion at Debir, is because Debir reflects "the most important Late Bonze Age site in the hill country south of Hebron" (1996a: 205). H. N. Rösel questions the historical reliability of the invasion, noting in particular the stereotyped composition with the clear additions to the sequence (1992: 11). The multiple and conflicting accounts of the conquest of Debir and Hebron in the Hebrew Bible, by Joshua (Josh 10:36), then Caleb (Josh 15:13–19), and finally Judah (Judg 1:10–15), lend support to Rösel's conclusion. Miller and Tucker note that the geographical locations, with the exception of Gezer, represent Judean territory, either in the Shephelah region (Makkedah?, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon) or in the hill country (Hebron, Debir), which, they add, contrasts to the prominence of northern Benjaminite sites in the book of Joshua up to this point (1974: 88–89). The aim of the author in the selection of the itinerary of the southern invasion, however, remains unclear. Soggin detects similarity between the geography of Josh 10:28–29 and the invasions into Judah of Sennacherib (2 Kgs 18:13) and Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 34:7), which lay the groundwork for the siege of Jerusalem (1972: 130–31). J. Barr detects a "zigzag track" to the invasion, especially in the extension of the itinerary to Debir (1990: 60). Knauf states that the lengthening of the invasion south to Hebron and Debir reflects the postexilic period, when this area was controlled by Edom, in which case the author is narrating the reclaiming of the Edomite territories (2008: 109).



Map 4. The southern campaign of Joshua

The style of the southern invasion in Josh 10:28–39 is repetitive. Hawk notes that the annalistic style and the fast pace of the invasion are meant to elevate the status of Israel as a powerful nation (2000b: 167). The repeated central motifs throughout the seven episodes reinforce this conclusion. The point of the conquest narrative is to underscore that all the cities are destroyed and that their populations are exterminated, with the exception of Gezer, the one northern site. The language of war and destruction is stereotyped for the most part. In each episode the narrator reports that Joshua and the Israelites slaughtered their opponents with the edge of the sword (vv. 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39). Other central motifs include the description of battle (vv. 29, 31, 34, 36, 38), the siege against cities (vv. 31, 34), the absence of survivors (vv. 28, 30, 33, 37, 39), divine aid (vv. 30, 32), and the execution of the ban (vv. 28, 35, 37, 39). The emphasis on the ban clarifies that the southern invasion is not a story of conquest; rather, it is a story of identity formation, which is articulated through the imagery of extermination as an act of sacrifice to the Deity (see the "Introduction"). The author of Joshua uses the ban throughout the book to separate Israelites from the indigenous kings and city-dwellers, whose extermination represents a religious rite of purification, followed by a new form of rural life in the land, which is restricted to the twelve tribes, the clan of Rahab, and the Gibeonites.

10:40–43. SUMMARY

The concluding section provides two distinct summaries of the conquered region in vv. 40 and 41, along with the further conclusion that the victory occurred "at one time" (v. 42). The emphasis in the summary of v. 40 is on the totality of the destruction and completeness of the extermination: all the land, all the region, all the kings, and no survivors.

The geographical summaries of the war in vv. 40 and 41 differ in scope and in the manner of description, raising questions of authorship (see H. N. Rösel, 2011: 177–78; Knauf, 2008: 110). The initial summary of the invasion in v. 40 describes the conquered land in four regions: the highland, the Negeb, the lowland, and the slopes, which is characterized as the "entire land" (see the "Notes"). The four regions are limited to the area of Judah and they likely indicate the four cardinal directions:

North
Highland
West — East
Lowland — Slopes
South
Negeb

The second summary of the conquered land in v. 41 changes from regions in Judah to borders, and it includes a larger land area that may reach as far south as Egypt, depending on the meaning "land of Goshen," and north to Gibeon. The composition may once again indicate the four cardinal directions: "from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza" indicating the eastern and western points of the southern border, and "all the land of Goshen until Gibeon" referring to the southern area and the northern boundary.

North
Gibeon
Western Point — Eastern Point
Gaza — Kadesh-barnea
South
Land of Goshen

The location of Kadesh-barnea and the identification of Goshen create confusion in discerning the boundaries of the conquered land in v. 41. Kadesh-barnea does not provide a clear eastern border to Gaza but instead represents a southern boundary (see the "Notes"). Kadesh designates the southern border of the land in Josh 15:3 and again in Num 34:4, while it is also the location for the spying out of the land (Num 14:6–7; Deut 1:19–33). Knauf notes, however, its identification with Petra in later rabbinic tradition, which would then place the eastern border in the Transjordanian region (2008: 110). The "land of Goshen" could correspond to a southern border, but three possibilities emerge in the book of Joshua: the Delta of Egypt, a city in the highland region of Judah, or simply a region in the Negeb. The phrase "land of Goshen" as the southern border of the conquest may refer to the Delta region of Egypt, where Goshen is an important geographical location in the story of the exodus, as the Israelites' place of settlement in Egypt (see the "Notes"). The literary tie to the Delta region of Egypt

raises the question of whether the author is making an allusion to the exodus, perhaps suggesting that Joshua is completing the story, which the first generation failed to do under Moses (Num 13–14). S. L. Hall (2010: 181–83) strengthens this reading, noting a series of motifs that tie the conquest of Joshua in Josh 10 to the story of the exodus: the hailstones (Josh 10:11; Exod 9:18–34; 10:5–15), the proclamation that Yahweh fights for Israel (Josh 10:14, 42; Exod 14:14, 25), and the wars against Amorite kings—the coalition in Josh 10:1–14 and Sihon and Og in Num 21 and Deut 2–3. The comparisons are meant to underscore "Joshua's suitability as successor to Moses" (2010: 183). The reference to Kadesh-barnea in the same geographical description could strengthen this reading, since it is the location for the first failed mission into the promised land, in which Joshua and Caleb emerge as the only faithful Israelites (Num 13–14; Deut 1). In this case, the southern border reaches south into Egypt, recalling the large boundaries of the promised land in Josh 1:4. Goshen, however, is also a city in District 7 of the highland region of Judah (Josh 15:51). H. N. Rösel favors this reference as the identification for Josh 10:42, writing: "'the land of Goshen' was the name of a geographical step on the way from the highest part of the 'mountain of Judah' down to the Negeb" (2011: 178).

The chapter concludes in vv. 42–43 by noting (1) the divine aid in victory, "Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel," and (2) in the MT version, the notice that Joshua and the Israelites returned "to the camp at Gilgal," thus maintaining the contrast between the Israelite form of rural life as opposed to the cities that they destroy.

War Against the Northern Kings (11:1–23)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 11 describes the final battles of Joshua and the Israelites against the royal cities in the promised land. The story opens with a coalition of kings gathered by King Jabin of Hazor to fight Joshua and the Israelites (vv. 1–5). Joshua defeats the army (vv. 6–9). He also destroys the city of Hazor and the other cities of the coalition, and executes the king (vv. 10–15). Joshua 11:16–22 serves as a broad conclusion to the wars of extermination, noting Joshua's elimination of the Anakim and the destruction of the remaining cities in the promised land. The conquest of the land fulfills Mosaic law and results in peace (11:23). Joshua 11 can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Formation of a Coalition and Initial War (vv. 1–9)
2. Exemplary Execution of the King (vv. 10–15)
3. General War (vv. 16–22)
4. Summary (v. 23)

Translation

11:1–9. FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

11 [1]And when Jabin, the king of Hazor, heard, he sent to Jobab, the king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, [2]and to the kings who were from the north, in the highland and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, in the lowland, and in Naphoth-dor from the west, [3]the Canaanites from the east and from the west, the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites in the highland, and the Hivites below Hermon in the land of Mizpah.

[4]They and all their camp with them went out, many people like the sand that is on the seashore in number, horse and chariot in very great number. [5]All these kings were joined together, and they went, and they camped as one by the waters of Merom to fight with Israel.

[6]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Fear not before them! For tomorrow at this time I am causing all of them to be slain before Israel. Their horses you will hamstring and their chariots you will burn in fire."

[7]And Joshua and all the people of battle with him came on them suddenly by the waters of Merom. And they fell upon them. [8]And Yahweh gave them into the hand of Israel. And they slaughtered them and they pursued them until great Sidon and Misephoth-maim and eastward to the Valley of Mizpeh. And they slaughtered them until there was not a survivor remaining to them. [9]And Joshua did to them as Yahweh said to him. Their horses he hamstrung and their chariots he burned in fire.

11:10–15. EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KING

11 [10]And Joshua returned at that time and he captured Hazor, and he slaughtered its king with the sword, because Hazor in former times was head of all those kingdoms. [11]And they slaughtered every life that was in it by the edge of the sword, devoting it to destruction. There was not any breath remaining. And Hazor he burned in fire. [12]And all the cities of those kings and all their kings Joshua took and he slaughtered them by the edge of the sword, devoting them to destruction as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded. [13]But Israel did not burn all the cities that stood on their mound, except Hazor. Joshua burned it alone. [14]And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the Israelites plundered for themselves. All the humans, however, they slaughtered by the edge of the sword until they had destroyed them and no breath remained.

[15]As Yahweh commanded Moses, his servant, thus Moses commanded Joshua. And thus Joshua did. He did not deviate at all from all which Yahweh commanded Moses.

11:16–22. GENERAL WAR

11 [16]So Joshua took all that land: the highland, all the Negeb, all the land of Goshen, the lowland, the Arabah, the highland of Israel and its lowland, [17]from Mount Halak, which rises above Seir, to Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon. And all its kings he took and he slaughtered them and he killed them. [18]Many days Joshua made war with all of these kings. [19]There was not a city that made peace with the Israelites except the Hittites, who dwelt in Gibeon. They took them, all in battle. [20]For it was Yahweh's doing to harden their heart to encounter Israel in battle so that he might devote them to destruction, without mercy, in order to destroy them as Yahweh commanded Moses.

[21]And at that time Joshua entered and exterminated the Anakim from the highland, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, from all the highland of Judah, and from all the highland of Israel. Joshua devoted them to destruction with their cities. [22]No Anakim remained in the land of Israel. They remained only in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod.

11:23. SUMMARY

11 [23]So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Yahweh spoke to Moses. And Joshua gave it as an inheritance to Israel according to their tribal divisions. And the land had rest from war.

Notes

The MT and the LXX diverge in a variety of details throughout Josh 11. Boling and Wright note the different way in which the indigenous nations are distributed in v. 3 of the two versions (1982: 301). Soggin agrees and extends the conclusion to the geographical places (1972: 133–34). In the MT of Josh 11:2–4, the Canaanites live on the east and west sides of the promised land; the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, and Jebusites live in the highland (*bāhār*); and the Hittites dwell north by Mount Hermon. In the LXX, the Canaanites and Amorites flank the two sides of the promised land on the coasts (*paralious*); the Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizzites dwell in the highland (*en tōi orei*); and the Hittites reside north by Mount Hermon. Differences in geography continue in the account of Joshua's battle against the coalition of kings in v. 8.

Butler notes the confusion between the singular and the plural in the description of the slaughter of the coalition in v. 11 (1983: 213). The shifting perspective may be tied to distinct ideologies of holy war in the MT and the LXX that appear throughout Josh 11. The divine promise in the MT of v. 6, that Yahweh was giving the kings to Joshua "slain" (*ḥălālîm*), is a stronger statement, for example, than in the LXX, where the Deity predicts that they will "turn away" (*tetropōmenous*) from Israel. The statement in the MT of v. 19 that no nation made peace with Israel is absent in the LXX. The plunder from the war is also different. In the MT the rules of plunder are applied to all the cities, and the plunder includes cattle, whereas plunder is limited to Hazor in the LXX and does not include cattle. The extermination of the Anakim in vv. 21–22 also appears to have a different rationale in the MT and the LXX. The MT states that the Anakim are exterminated from the entire land so that "no Anakim remained in the land of Israel" (*bĕ'ereṣ bĕnê yiśrā'ēl,* v. 22). The LXX focuses instead on ethnicity, stating that the Anakim were purged "out of the entire race of Israel" (*ek pantos genous Israēl,* v. 21). The result in the LXX is that "none of the Enakim was left out of the sons of Israel" (*apo tōn hyiōn Israēl*). The genitive of separation may be intended to contrast the Israelites and the Anakim, or perhaps it suggests that until this time Anakim lived among the Israelites or were considered to be part of Israel in some way.

There may also be a difference in the function of Mosaic instruction in the MT and the LXX of v. 15, perhaps reflecting different views of Mosaic authority. In the first half of the verse, both versions emphasize that Moses instructed Joshua, "As Yahweh commanded Moses, his servant, thus Moses commanded Joshua." The transmission of Mosaic instruction is different in the two textual traditions, however. In the MT, the faithfulness of Joshua is not tied to a direct divine command to him, nor does it arise from his memory of past oral instruction from Moses; instead, it is anchored in the record of Yahweh's past instructions to Moses: "He [Joshua] did not deviate at all from all which *Yahweh commanded Moses.*" The LXX, by contrast, emphasizes more the immediacy of Mosaic instruction to Joshua, as oral teaching that he must recall from his lived experience with Moses: "He did not transgress from all which *Moyses commanded him.*" The contrast continues the different readings of Mosaic authority from Josh 1 and 3–4, where the MT also distinguishes the Mosaic age from the time of Joshua by emphasizing the Torah of Moses as the source of revelation for Joshua, while the LXX emphasizes more the recollection of past oral instruction of Moses that Joshua must recall. See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

11:1 *Jabin.* The Hebrew *yābîn* could be from the root *byn,* meaning, "one who is intelligent" or "may [God] pay attention to" (Hess, 1996d: 207); it could also derive from the root *bānâ,* in which case the name represents the shortened form of the sentence name "the god N has created/built" (Boling and Wright, 1982: 304). The LXX translates as *iabin.* A. Malamat notes the reference to Ibni-Adad, king of Hazor, already in the Mari texts (1960; and later, 1989: 58). J. J. Bimson concludes that Jabin may be a dynastic name for kings of Hazor, thus supporting the historicity of the story (1978: 195). The correspondence of Ibdi-Tirshi, a later king of Hazor, has also been recovered in the fourteenth-century BCE Amarna letters. The interpretation of Jabin as a dynastic name may account for the repetition of the defeat of King Jabin of Hazor in the Hebrew Bible, first in Josh 11, where Jabin is the leader of a broad northern coalition of kingdoms, and a second time in Judg 4, where Sisera is Jabin's commander. Judges 5 records the same battle as Judg 4, recounting the defeat of Sisera but without reference to Jabin. The defeat of Jabin and Sisera in Judg 4 appears again in Ps 83:10. Knauf (2008: 111–12) notes further that the king of Hazor is always named Jabin, just as the king of Gerar is always named Abimelech (Gen 20:2; 26:1); the king of Damascus, Ben-Hadad (1 Kgs 15:18; 20:1; 2 Kgs 6:24; 8:7; Jer 49:27; Amos 1:4); and the king of Egypt, Pharaoh (e.g., in Exodus, where the reference is a name and not a title).

Hazor. The Hebrew *ḥāṣôr* means "enclosed space." The LXX translates as *asōr.* The book of Joshua identifies a northern and a southern city of Hazor.

1. Hazor is a northern city in the territory of Naphtali (Josh 19:36; cf. also En-Hazor in 19:37) that Joshua conquers and destroys (11:1, 10, 11, 13; 12:19). Historical geographers associate the northern city of Hazor with contemporary Tell el-Qedah/Waqqas in the upper Jordan Valley, approximately eight miles south of the former lake of Huleh. The site was originally excavated by Y. Yadin (1956) and continues to undergo extensive excavation by the Hebrew University. The expeditions have uncovered a thriving city already in the Middle Bronze period (ca. 2000–1550 BCE). The fact that it was destroyed in the Late Bronze period (ca. 1600–1100 BCE) shows that Josh 11 is not an historical account. The prominence of Hazor as a Canaanite city before its destruction is indicated from its appearance in the Egyptian Execration texts (ca. 2000–1800 BCE) and from El-Amarna texts (1400–1300 BCE). The discovery of six chambered gates and administration buildings indicates reconstruction in the ninth century BCE attributed to the Israelite Omride Dynasty. The city was destroyed again in the eighth century BCE. Archaeologists associate the destruction with the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser III during his conquest of the northern kingdom in 732 BCE (2 Kgs 15:29). In the Hebrew Bible, Joshua is credited with the destruction of Hazor (Josh 11–12); Solomon is identified with its reconstruction (1 Kgs 9:15); and the Maccabean ruler Jonathan battles against Demetrius I at the "plain of Hazor" (1 Macc 11:67; ca. 150 BCE).
2. Hazor is a southern city in the region of Judah in Josh 15:23, 25. This southern city is described with a variety of names, including Hazor, Hazor-hadattah, and Kerioth-hezron (Josh 15:25).
3. Hazor (Baal Hazor) may also designate yet another city in Ephraim where the returnees from the exile settle (Neh 11:33; see also 2 Sam 13:23; absent in Joshua).

Jobab. Noth derives the name from a Semitic root *wbb,* "to prepare for battle" (1928: 226). Hess notes a parallel to an Amorite name, *e-bi-bu-um* (1996d: 209). The reference to Jobab, king of Madon, is limited in the book of Joshua to Josh 11:1. Jobab is also an Edomite king associated with the city of Bozrah (Gen 36:33; see also 1 Chr 1:44). A third Jobab is mentioned in the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:9, 18).

Madon. The Hebrew *mādôn* may derive from the root *dyn,* "to plead a case" or "judgment," often appearing with the meaning "quarreling" (e.g., Prov. 18:19). Madon appears as a place-name only in Josh 11:1 and in the list of executed kings in Josh 12:19, "the king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one." In the MT, the city of Madon is distinct from the place of battle in Josh 11:5 and 7 at the "waters of Merom" (*mê mērôm*) and from a later reference in the list of executed kings in Josh 12:20, "Shimron-meron" (*šimrôn mĕr'ôn*). The LXXB writes *marron* rather than Madon in Josh 11:1, suggesting the Hebrew root *mwr,* meaning "lofty place." The LXX also writes *marrōn* for the location of the battle (Josh 11:5, 7) and the identity of the executed king in Josh 12:20 as "king, Symoon of *marrōn,*" thus unifying the distinct locations of "Madon" and the "waters of Merom" in the MT. The differences between the LXX and the MT may simply be the exchange of the Hebrew "r" and "d"; however, the process and direction of the change is debated. Na'aman notes that the change between the final "n" and "m" in the MT is not uncommon (1986: 121). Hess favors the LXX reading on the basis of historical geography: "Since Madon is otherwise unknown and Merom is known from a variety of sources, it is best to regard Madon in verse 1 as a reference to Merom" (1996a: 208). Noth too favors the LXX reading and identifies the site with Merum, a location in Upper Galilee, west-northwest of Safed in the area of the Hulah Valley (1971b: 67), while Boling and Wright look farther south for Madon near Qarn Hattin in central lower Galilee (1982: 305).

Shimron. The Hebrew *šimrôn* is likely an ancient city identified as Shim'on in the Egyptian Execration texts (E 55) and in the List of Thutmose III (no. 35). In the story of the northern conquest, the Greek consistently renders the MT *šimrôn,* "Shimron," as *sumoōn,* "Symoon." Noth argues that the LXX reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage, šim'ôn,* which he judged to be the more original textual tradition (1971b: 151). Three instances of Shimron appear in Joshua:

1. Shimron is one of the cities of the northern coalition against Joshua in Josh 11:1. The LXX translates as *sumoōn.* Fritz identifies the location of Shimron with contemporary Khirbet Simuniye, on the northern border of the plain of Jezreel (1994: 120).
2. The king of Shimron-meron is in the list of defeated monarchs in Josh 12:20. The LXX translates as *symoōn basilea marrōn,* "Symoon, king of Marron."
3. Shimron is one of the towns of Zebulun in Josh 19:15. The LXXB translates as *sumoōn,* and the LXXA as *semron.*

Achshaph. The Hebrew *'akšāp,* from the root *kšp,* means "enchanted place." The location is limited to the book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible, where it occurs three times (11:1; 12:20; 19:25) in the same context as Shimron. Achshaph is a city within the northern coalition of cities that fights against Joshua (11:1; 12:20) and a boundary city in the territory of Asher (19:25). It also appears outside of the Hebrew Bible in the Egyptian Execration texts (E 11) and the Amarna letters, where the ruler Endaruta writes Pharaoh about the problem of attacks upon the city (EA 223; see also EA 366, 367).

The location of the city is debated, but the strongest candidate is Tell Keisan, southeast of the coastal city of Acco in the plain of Acco. The LXX translates Josh 11:1 and 12:20 as *aziph* and Josh 19:25 as *keaph* (LXXB) and *achsaph* (LXXA).

11:2 *and to the kings who were from the north.* The MT *miṣṣĕpôn* is rendered in the LXX as *tous kata sidōna tēn megalēn,* "to great Sidon," designating the northern coastal city. The LXX reflects the MT of v. 8, *ʿad-ṣîdôn rabbâ,* "as far as great Sidon." See the "Notes" to Josh 11:8.

highland. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

Arabah. The Hebrew *ʿărābâ* designates a desert region, or more precisely the steppe, since the Arabah need not necessarily be sandy or waterless (*HALOT* 18215). D. Seely (1992) notes that the Arabah includes all or part of the great rift valley in Palestine, beginning north of the Sea of Chinneroth and moving south through the Jordan River Valley, the Dead Sea, and finally to the Gulf of Aqaba. The fourteen occurrences in the book of Joshua describe a number of different locations, including the Dead Sea, *yām hāʿărābâ,* (3:16; 12:3); the desert region around Jericho, *ʿarbôt yĕrîḥô* (4:13; 5:10); a city in Judah, *bêt hāʿărābâ,* "House of Arabah" (15:6, 61; 18:18?, 22); a general region east of the Jordan River (12:1; 13:32); and unspecified areas around Ai (8:14) and a larger region of the promised land (11:16; 12:1, 8). The LXX varies in translating the term into Greek, often rendering it as a proper noun, "the land of Arabah" (12:1), "Arabah" (12:3, 8), "Baithharaba" (15:6; 18:18, 22), "Tharabaam" (15:61), the "plain" (5:10), and even "the west" (11:16). The term is also avoided altogether (4:13; 8:14), or, as in the case of Josh 11:2, a distinct reading is provided: *eis ten raba apenanti kenerōth,* "to Raba opposite Keneroth," which likely refers to the Ammonite capital east of the Jordan (Soggin, 1972: 134; see also the LXX of Ezek 25:5).

Chinneroth. The Hebrew *kinărôt* has two meanings in the book of Joshua:

1. It can refer to the Sea of Chinneroth (*yām kinrôt,* 12:3; 13:27). The LXX translates as *chenereth.* The Sea of Chinneroth is also known as the Sea of Galilee, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Gennesareth.
2. Chinneroth also refers to a city in Naphtali (*kinnāret,* 19:35). The LXX translates as *kenereth* (LXXB) and *chenereth* (LXXA).

The reference in Josh 11:2 is ambiguous. The absence of "sea" points to the second meaning, while the emphasis on regional geography suggests the first. Boling and Wright (1982: 205) are probably correct in suggesting that the Sea of Chinneroth is the intended meaning, since the southern area of the sea is referred to as the Arabah in Josh 12:3.

lowland. The Hebrew *šĕpēlâ* is translated in the LXX as *pedion,* "plain," which can also be used to describe the Arabah (see above). For discussion of *šĕpēlâ,* see the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

Dor. The Hebrew *dôr/dōʾr* means "generation." The term is used to identify three distinct locations in the book of Joshua.

1. Dor is an ancient port town south of contemporary Haifa that existed already in the Middle Bronze Age. The city appears to have been overrun in the Early Iron Age (ca. 1100 BCE) by the Sea Peoples, not by Joshua and the Israelites. It was renamed Dora in the Greek and Roman periods. The city of Dor occurs two times in the

book of Joshua with distinct spellings. First, Josh 12:23 (Hebrew, *dôr*) distinguishes between the city and the region of Naphoth-dor in the phrase "the king of Dor in Naphoth-dor." Second, the city of Dor (Hebrew, *dō'r*) is mentioned as an unconquered town within the territory of Asher that is under the control of Manasseh (Josh 17:11; see also Judg 1:27, where the spelling is *dôr*). The LXX translates as *dōr.*

2. Naphoth-dor likely designates a larger region surrounding the coastal city of Dor. The region Naphoth-dor, meaning "yoke of Dor," occurs twice in the book of Joshua, as a western region (11:2) and distinguished from the city of Dor (12:23). The LXX translates as *napheddōr.* First Kings 4:11 also refers to the region, stating that Ben-adinadab, the son-in-law of Solomon, governed Haphoth-dor, as one of the twelve districts of Solomon's kingdom.
3. En-dor is a distinct city from coastal Dor or its surrounding region Naphoth-dor. En-dor is located inland from Dor, due east in the ancient Meggido plain, south of Mount Tabor. The Hebrew *'ên dō'r* means "spring of settlement." The site occurs once in the book of Joshua as a location in the territory of Issachar, which remains unconquered by the tribe of Manasseh (17:11). The location is absent in the LXX. En-dor appears in one other story in the Hebrew Bible, in the account of Saul consulting the medium (1 Sam 28:7; the LXX translates this location as *aendōr*).

11:3 The order of the indigenous nations and their geographical distributions in the promised land are different in the MT and the LXX.

MT People	*MT Location*	*LXX People*	*LXX Location*
Canaanites	East and west coasts	Canaanites	East coast
Amorites	Highland	Amorites	Coast
Hittites	Highland	Hivites	Highland
Perizzites	Highland	Jebusites	Highland
Jebusites	Highland	Perizzites	Highland
Hivites	Hermon	Hittites	Hermon

Canaanites. See the "Notes" to Josh 3:10.

Amorites. See the "Notes" to Josh 3:1.

Hittites. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

Perizzites . . . Jebusites. See the "Notes" to Josh 3:10.

Hivites. See the "Notes" to Josh 3:10. The MT Hivites becomes Hittites in the LXX. The MT locates the Hittites in the highland in Josh 11:3. Compare "the land of the Hittites" in the MT of Josh 1:4, which may correspond to the LXX of Josh 11:3 if the reference to Lebanon signifies a territory east of the Jordan River. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

Hermon. The Hebrew *ḥermôn* derives from the root *ḥrm,* which designates the ban, *ḥerem,* suggesting that the name of the mountain may mean "consecrated" or "sacred." The LXX translates as *aermōn.* Mount Hermon is located in the northern most area of the geographical descriptions of ancient Israel. It is part of a larger range of mountains that provide the water for the Jordan River. In the Hebrew Bible, Mount Hermon is most often associated with the conquered land east of the Jordan River, ruled by Og of Bashan. The mountain signifies the northernmost point of conquest, with the Wadi Arnon marking the southern boundary ("from Wadi Arnon to Mount Hermon," Deut

3:8–9; 4:48; Josh 12:1). Hermon occurs six times in Joshua (11:3, 17; 12:1, 5; 13:5, 11). In addition to its association with Og of Bashan (12:5), it is also where the Hivites live (11:3), is conquered by Joshua (11:17; 12:1), is an inheritance of Manasseh (13:11), and is not completely conquered (13:5).

Land of Mizpah. The Hebrew *mispâ* means "watchtower," from the root *sph,* "to look." The word signifies a wide range of locations in the Hebrew Bible, with two different spellings: Mizpah (*mispâ*) and Mizpeh (*mispeh*). The divergent spellings are carried through in the book of Joshua, where Mizpah occurs once as the "land of Mizpah" (11:3) and Mizpeh occurs four times, including the "Valley of Mizpeh" (11:8), Ramath-mizpeh (13:26), and Mizpeh (15:38; 18:26).

1. Land of Mizpah in Josh 11:3 is associated with Mount Hermon, suggesting a northern location on the eastern side of the Jordan River. It functions as the northern border to the promised land. The LXX translates as *eis gēn massēpha,* "in the land of Mizpah."
2. Valley of Mizpeh is the eastern border of the northern conquest of Joshua in Josh 11:8. Noth identifies the "Valley of Mizpeh" in Josh 11:8 with "the land of Mizpah" in Josh 11:3 (1971b: 68–69). H. N. Rösel agrees, noting that both sites are located near Mount Hermon, which is also the likely location of Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon in Josh 11:17, since it too is described as being situated "below Mount Hermon" (2011: 187). The LXX appears to separate the "land of Mizpah" from the "Valley of Mizpeh," translating as *eis gēn massēpha,* "the land of Massepha," to describe the MT "land of Mizpah" in Josh 11:3, and as *pediōn massōch,* "plain of Massoch," to describe the MT "Valley of Mizpeh" in Josh 11:8.
3. Ramath-mizpeh is a location on the east side of the Jordan River that is identified within the territory of Gad (Josh 13:26). The LXX translates as *massēpha.*
4. Mizpeh is a city in southern Judah near Lachish in Josh 15:38. The literary context suggests a location in the Shephelah region of Judah. The LXX translates as *maspha.*
5. Mizpeh is a city in Benjamin on the west side of the Jordan River, north of Jerusalem (Josh 18:26). The ancient site has been identified with contemporary Tell-en-Nisbeh. In the Hebrew Bible, this location is the setting for many stories of the judges (Judg 20:1–11), Samuel (1 Sam 7:5–12), Saul (1 Sam 10:17–24), Asa (2 Chr 16:6), and Gedaliah (2 Kgs 25:23–26; Jer 40–42). It is also a location to which the exiles return (Neh 3:7, 15, 19). The LXX translates the place-name in Josh 18:26 as *massēma* (LXXB) and *maspha* (LXXA).

There are two further references to Mizpeh and Mizpah outside of the book of Joshua: (1) Mizpeh is a town in Moab on the east side of the Jordan where David sent his parents (1 Sam 22:3); and (2) Mizpah is a location in Gilead on the east side of the Jordan that is the setting for the stories of Jacob and Laban (Gen 31:49) and of Jephthah and his daughter (Judg 10).

11:4 *They and all their camp.* The MT *maḥănêhem,* "their camp," is translated in the LXX as *hoi basileis auton,* "their kings" (Hebrew, *malkêhem*). The pronoun *hem* in the MT is a reference to the kings in v. 1, whereas the Greek *autoi* appears to be a reference to the list of nations in v. 3.

horse and chariot in very great number. The singular *wĕsûs wārekeb* is plural in the LXX, *hippoi kai harmata.*

11:5 *waters of Merom.* The Hebrew *mērôm* derives from the root *rwm,* meaning "lofty place." This is the only reference to this location in the Hebrew Bible. The LXX translates as *merrōn* (see "Notes" to Madon in 11:1). The location is uncertain. The strongest proposal is Tell el-Khureibeh (Aharoni, 1967: 226). H. N. Rösel cautions against a specific spring or town and favors instead a more general reference to "the waters up high" (2011: 185).

11:6 *I am causing all of them to be slain before Israel.* The divine prediction in the MT refers to the enemy as slain, *ḥălālîm.* The LXX lacks this image, using the phrase *tetropōmenous autous,* "having made them turn away."

11:7 *And Joshua and all the people of battle with him.* The LXX lacks the Hebrew *'immô,* "with him."

And they fell upon them. The LXX adds the geographical information, "They fell upon them in the hill country [*en tēi oreinēi*]." Soggin suggests that the LXX reflects a different *Vorlage* (1975).

11:8 *great Sidon.* The Hebrew *ṣîdôn* may derive from *ṣwd,* meaning "fishing town." The LXX translates as *sidōnos.* Sidon is a Phoenician port city that is located on the eastern Mediterranean coast, approximately twenty-five miles north of Tyre. Sidon and Tyre are closely associated in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Joel 4:4; Zech 9:2). The Phoenicians established a far-reaching maritime trade throughout the Mediterranean Sea from 1200 to 800 BCE, which, in addition to Sidon, also involved trade centers in Cyprus, Carthage in North Africa, Sicily, and even Tangier in Spain. The city of Sidon has a long history, perhaps going back as early as the fourth millennium. It functions in the Ugaritic Epic of Kirta (*KTU* 1.14.IV.35), which is dated to the mid-second millennium; it is also mentioned in the Amarna letters as a location visited by Thutmosis IV (EA 85.70); and it continues to play a prominent role in the Assyrian period, until its ruler is deposed by Sennacherib in 701 BCE (*ANET* 288). Cyrus captured Sidon in 539 BCE. Herodotus indicates that Sidon reemerges as an important naval city for the Persians in their war against the Greeks (*Hist.* 1.1).

The city of Sidon occurs twenty-two times in the Hebrew Bible, with reference to the Sidonians an additional sixteen times. Sidon is listed as the firstborn son of Canaan in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:15), where the city is also included within the land of Canaan (Gen 10:19). The city is idealized as a cultural resource for Solomon (1 Kgs 5:20; 11:1, 5, 33; 1 Chr 22:4) and is condemned by the prophets (Isa 23:2, 4, 12; Jer 25:22; 27:3; 47:4; Ezek 27:8; 28:21, 22). The relationship of Sidon to the idealized boundaries of the promised land is ambiguous. In some texts it functions as a border (Gen 49:13) or as part of the promised land (Josh 19:28), whereas in other texts it is clearly outside of the borders (Josh 13:4, 6; Judg 1:31). The description of Joshua pursuing the enemy to "great Sidon" in Josh 11:8 suggests that it functions as the northern border of the promised land for the author of Joshua, unless it is a designation for the area controlled by the city, in which case the translation would be "Greater Sidon" (van Bekkum, 2011: 103).

Misephoth-maim. The Hebrew *miśrĕpôt* means "burning," and *mym* means "water" (*mayim*) or "west" (*mayyim*). The location occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, both times in Joshua (11:8 and 13:6). The two occurrences associate the location within the area of Sidon. In Josh 11:8, it describes one of the three directions in which Joshua pursued the enemy: north toward Great Sidon, west toward Misephoth-maim, and east toward

the Valley of Mizpeh. Aharoni identifies Misephoth-maim with the Latini River (1967: 239), but H. N. Rösel prefers the region of Khirbet el-Mesherfeh, to account for the westward direction implied in the text (2011: 187). The LXX identifies the location in Josh 11:8 as *maserōn,* while translating Josh 13:6 as *maserephōthmaim.*

11:8 *Valley of Mizpeh*. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:3.

11:10 *with the sword.* The phrase is absent in the LXX.

in former times. The Hebrew *lēpānîm* is functioning temporally to indicate "former times" or "an earlier period" (*HALOT* 18885). The LXX translates as *to proteron,* "formerly." The reference to the past to describe Hazor indicates the point of view of the author of the MT and the translator of the LXX at a time when Hazor is no long a significant city.

11:11 *he burned in fire.* The LXX translates in the plural, *eneprēsan,* "they burned."

11:13 *all the cities that stood on their mound.* The Hebrew *tillām,* "their tell," is unclear. The Hebrew is often translated as "heap" or "mound," as in the description of Ai in Josh 8:28, "a mount of ruin forever." The image suggests raised cities on hills, of which Hazor is an example, but perhaps without stone walls. The LXX suggests fortified dirt walls rather than a mound or hill, using the verb *chōmatizō,* "to fortify with mounds" or "to embank with dykes" (LSJ 2014).

11:14 *And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the Israelites plundered for themselves.* The LXX translates in the singular, *kai panta ta skula autēs,* "and all its spoils," suggesting that the plunder was limited to Hazor. The LXX also lacks the reference to cattle.

11:15 *He did not deviate at all from all which Yahweh commanded Moses.* The MT emphasizes the past divine commands to Moses. The LXX focuses instead on the more immediate communication between Moses and Joshua: *ou parebē ouden apo pantōn hōn synetaxen auō Mōusēs,* "he did not transgress from all that Moyses commanded him."

11:16 *So Joshua took all that land: the highland.* In the MT, the reference to the "highland" is the first item in the list of areas conquered by Joshua. The LXX departs from the MT, combining the reference to the "highland" with the more general designation of the "land," *kai elaben iēsous pasan tēn gēn tēn oreinēn,* "and Iesous took all the mountain land." For discussion of "highland," see the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

Negeb. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

land of Goshen. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:41.

lowland. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

Arabah. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:2.

11:17 *Mount Halak.* The Hebrew *ḥālaq* means "smooth, insinuating." A. W. Schwarzenbach suggests that the meaning of Mount Halak is "Bleak Mountain" (1954: 8). The location occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible, both times in Joshua (11:17 and 12:7). The location marks the southernmost point of land in Joshua, situated between Kadesh-barnea and the southern tip of the Dead Sea on the west side of the sea. The LXX translates as *achel* in Josh 11:17 and *chelcha* in Josh 12:7.

Seir. The Hebrew *śēʿîr* means "hairy," and it signifies Edom. The use of this word for a region identifies all or part of the country of Edom, east of the Jordan River and south of the Dead Sea. It is also described as *har-śēʿîr,* "Mount Seir," possibly describing a mountain range. The region of Seir occurs in early poetry as the desert home of Yahweh (Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4). Some biblical traditions identify Seir as the land of the

Horites (Gen 14:6; 36:20; Deut 2:12), while most traditions identify it with Edom and the eponymous ancestor Esau (e.g., Gen 32:3; 33:14, 16; 36:8; Deut 2:4, 18, 22). The term "Seir" even replaces the word "Edom" in 2 Chr (20:10, 23; 25:11; but cf. 25:14). Seir occurs four times in the book of Joshua (11:17; 12:7; 15:10; 24:4). The location of Seir in Josh 11:17 and 12:7 is somewhat ambiguous because of its association with Mount Halak on the southwest side of the Dead Sea. The author of Joshua may be referring to the traditional location of Seir, indicating that Edom is eastern. But as H. N. Rösel notes, the Edomites did not restrict their operations to the east, so the geographical reference may extend westward (2011: 191). This is especially true in the postexilic period. The more western designation is also evident in Josh 15:10. Mount Seir in Josh 24:4 likely reflects the identification of Seir as an eastern location, "the hill country of Seir." The LXX writes *sēir* in Josh 11:17; 12:17; and 24:4; and *assaris* in Josh 15:10.

Baal-gad. The Hebrew *baʿal-gād* combines the name of the deity Baal, *baʿal,* and *gād,* "fortune." The location is limited to the book of Joshua, where it occurs three times (11:17; 12:7; 13:5). All three references locate the site in the north, in the area of Lebanon, within the vicinity of Mount Hermon. Joshua 11:17 and 12:7 indicate that Joshua successfully conquered the area, while Josh 13:5 states that the area was left unconquered. The LXX translates Baal-gad in Josh 11:17 and 12:7 as *baalgad.* The location is absent in the LXX of Josh 13:5 and is replaced with *galgal,* "Gilgal."

Valley of Lebanon. The Hebrew *biqʿat hallĕbānôn* is translated in the LXX as *ta pedia tou libanou,* "plains of Lebanon." The location occurs two times in the book of Joshua to describe the northern boundaries of the conquest (11:17; 12:7). The Valley of Lebanon is likely the same area as the contemporary Beqaa Valley in modern Lebanon. This valley is situated between the Lebanon mountain range to the west and the Anti-lebanon mountain range to the east. The Anti-lebanon mountain range, which includes Mount Hermon, forms roughly the boundary between contemporary Lebanon and Syria. The Beqaa Valley is approximately ten miles wide (east to west) and seventy-five miles long (north to south). It is a rich natural resource for agriculture, including grapes for wine.

11:19 *there was not a city that made peace with the Israelites except the Hittites, who dwelt in Gibeon.* The phrase about the Hittites is absent in the LXX, which states instead, *kai ouk ēn polis hēn ouk elaben israēl,* "and there was not a city that Israel did not take."

11:21 *Anakim.* The Hebrew *ʿănāqîm* means "long-necked people" or "the neck-chain people," from rings that they wore (Noth, 1971b: 92.). The LXX translates as *enakim.* The Anakim are a legendary and mythical race of giants associated with the promised land. They are introduced in the story of the spies in Num 13, where they are described as fearsome city-dwellers whose ancestor is Anak (v. 22). Three Anakim are named: Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai (v. 28). Numbers 13:33 traces their genealogy back to the Nephalim, "the fallen ones," who were the mutant offspring of the Sons of God and human women (Gen 6:1–4). Deuteronomy also reviews the genealogy of the Anakim (2:10–11), associating them with the Rephaim, another legendary race of giants that includes Og of Bashan (3:11, 13). In the book of Deuteronomy, the Anakim are identified as urban-dwellers, whose cities reach to heaven (1:28). Joshua 15:13–14 traces the ancestry of the Anakim to Arba, the founder of the city of Kiriath-arba, another name for Hebron. The Anakim are also associated with Hebron in the story of

the spies (Num 13) and in the account of Caleb (Josh 14:12, 15; 15:13, 14; Judg 1:20). Joshua 11:21–22 departs from this tradition, associating the Anakim with a variety of sites in the promised land and attributing their defeat to Joshua rather than to Caleb (see Josh 14:12, 15; 15:13, 14).

Anab. The Hebrew *ʿănāb* means "the place of the grape." The ancient site is associated with Khirbet ʿAnab, a location approximately thirteen miles south of Hebron. The place-name occurs two times in the Hebrew Bible, only in the book of Joshua, where it is the city of the Anakim (11:21) and a city in the highland of Judah (15:50). The LXX translates the city of the Anakim as *anabōth* and the city in Judah as *anon* (LXXB) and *anōb* (LXXA).

from all the highland of Israel. The geographical reference in the MT, *ûmikōl har yiśrāʾēl,* is rendered as an ethnic phrase in the LXX, *ek pantos genous Israēl,* "out of the entire race of Israel."

11:22 *No Anakim remained in the land of Israel.* The emphasis in the LXX of Josh 11:21 on the purging of the Israelite people, rather than simply of the land in the MT, may continue in this verse: *ou kateleiphthē tōn enakim apo tōn hyiōn Israēl,* "and none of the Enakim was left from/among the sons of Israel."

Gaza. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:41.

Gath. The Hebrew *gat* means "winepress." The word "Gath" is used to name a variety of cities in the book of Joshua:

1. Gath is a location in the Shephelah region on the edge of the territory of Judah. It is identified as one of the five cities of the Philistines in biblical tradition: Ashdod, Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, and Ekron. Historical geographers are uncertain of the exact location of the ancient city of Gath, although many favor Tell es-Safi, situated on the southern side of the Wadi Elah. The city is mentioned already in the Amarna letters (EA 290:9), indicating its development in the middle of the second millennium. The city of Gath plays a prominent role in the Hebrew Bible in the stories of Samuel (1 Sam 5:8; 6:17; 7:14) and especially David, who encounters the giant Goliath, one of the Anakim from Gath (1 Sam 17; see also 2 Sam 21), and who later serves King Achish of Gath (1 Sam 21, 27). The city of Gath occurs once in the book of Joshua, in Josh 11:22, as the residence of the remaining Anakim. The citizens of Gath, the Gittites (*haggittî*), are also mentioned in Josh 13:3 as representing unconquered people of Canaan. The LXX translates Josh 13:3 as *tōi geththaiōi,* "to the Geththite."
2. Gath-Hepher is a city within the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:13). The Hebrew *gittâ ḥēper* means "winepress at the water-hole." Outside of the book of Joshua, Gath-Hepher is the home of the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai (2 Kgs 14:25). The LXX translates Josh 19:13 as *gebere* (LXXB) and *geththa* (LXXA).
3. Gath-Rimmon is yet another city in the territory of Dan (Josh 19:45), which is also designated as a Levitical city (21:24–25; see also 1 Chr 6:54 [Eng. 6:69]). The Hebrew *gat-rimmôn* means "the winepress at the pomegranate tree." The LXX translates as *gathremmōn.* Gath-Rimmon may be the city of Gath, although firm identification is lacking. Historical geographers have identified the ancient city of Gath-Rimmon with Tell Abu Zeitun, a location on the outskirts of Tel Aviv, and Tell Jerishe, a location somewhat closer to the Mediterranean Sea.

Ashdod. The Hebrew *'ašdôd* may mean "outlet" or "slope." The LXX translates as *asedōth.* The ancient city was located due west of Jerusalem on the Mediterranean Sea along the main road connecting Egypt and Asia known as the "Way of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17) and as the "Way of the Sea" (Isa 8:33 [Eng. 9:1]). Historical geographers identify ancient Ashdod with Tel Ashdod, situated approximately four miles south of modern Ashdod. The archaeological study of the site indicates the construction of a fortified city in the mid-second millennium. In the Hebrew Bible, Ashdod is associated with the Philistine defeat of the Israelites and the capture of the ark (1 Sam 5–6). The city occurs infrequently in Prophetic literature (e.g., Jer 25:20; Zeph 2:4; Amos 1:8; 3:9; Zech 9:6). The people of Ashdod are opponents of Nehemiah's building of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 4:1), while the book of Nehemiah concludes by condemning Israelites who marry Ashdodites (13:23) and children who speak their language (13:24). Ashdod occurs four times in the book of Joshua: once as the residence of the Anakim (11:22), once as unconquered territory (13:3), and twice as territory of the tribe of Judah (15:46, 47).

Composition

Research on the composition of Josh 11 focuses on the historical background and literary unity of the chapter. Interpreters debate whether the war against Hazor is a separate source that reflects historical developments or a fictional account of war that may also have undergone stages of composition, and whether the same author composed Josh 10 and 11.

The relationship of the initial war against the northern coalition in Josh 11:1–9 and the more focused account of the destruction of Hazor and its king in Josh 11:10–15 is central in evaluating the composition of Josh 11. Wellhausen already questioned the unity of the two sections, although he did not provide a detailed literary analysis (1899: 129). Eissfeldt also separated the composition of Josh 11:1–9 and 10–15, while extending the study beyond Wellhausen to identify the J version (vv. 2, 5, 7*) and the E version (vv. 1, 3–4, 6, 7*, 8 [minus Misephoth-maim], 9) of the battle in Josh 11:1–9 (1922: 225–26). Steuernagel interpreted vv. 1–9 as part of the D^2 narrative and vv. 10–15 as an addition by a redactor (1923: 250–51). Noth too identified vv. 1–9 and 10–15 as separate compositions, noting that the phrase "at that time" in v. 10 shifts the focus from the previous battle at the "waters of Merom" to the fate of Hazor, indicating that vv. 10–15 is a later addition (1971b: 69). The reason, according to Noth, is that a later editor addressed the question of why the once significant city of Hazor no longer existed at the time of writing. The debate over composition continues into the later portions of the chapter. Interpreters separate Josh 11:16–20 and 21–23, attributing vv. 16–20 to an early collector (Noth, 1971b: 69), the D^2 source (Steuernagel, 1923: 251), or a Deuteronomistic redactor (Fritz, 1994: 124; Knauf, 2008: 117; H. N. Rösel, 12011: 189), while often assigning vv. 21–23 to an even later editor.

In the early to mid-twentieth century, archaeologists rejected the history of composition of Josh 11, especially the etiological interpretation of Josh 11:10–15 as a later addition to vv. 1–9. Emerging research on the destruction of Hazor appeared to support a more unified reading of Josh 11 as reflecting the historical events of a conquest.

Thus, Yadin interpreted the reference to Hazor in v. 10 as the "head of all those kingdoms" to refer to the historical status and the subsequent destruction of the city in the thirteenth century BCE (1975: 145). He concluded further that the historical account of Jabin, king of Hazor, in Josh 11 later influenced the narrative of Judg 4, where the same character reappears as the opponent of Deborah and Barak: "So YHWH sold [the Israelites] into the hand of King Jabin of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor" (1975: 255). Subsequent research has qualified the conclusion of Yadin, forcing a separation between the narrative of the conquest in Josh 11 and the historical emergence of Israel in the upper Galilean region. H. N. Rösel, building on the research of Finkelstein (1988), writes, "Modern archaeological research has shown that the Upper Galilee region was one of the last to be settled and dominated by the Israelites; this only happened in the period of the Kings" (2011: 181). On the basis of the archaeology, Na'aman writes that "the majority of the conquest stories in the Book of Joshua are devoid of historical reality" (1994: 249).

The recognition that Josh 11 is not historical once again introduced the problem of literary unity (Schoors, 1985: 77–80). J. M. Miller concluded from historical and archaeological analyses that Josh 11 is neither an historical account of conquest nor a unified narrative. In view of this, he returned to the conclusion of Noth that vv. 10–15 is a "secondary redactional expansion" unrelated to the story of the battle at the waters of Merom (1977b: 282). Schoors noted that the king of Hazor is killed twice in the present form of Josh 11, first in the initial account of war in vv. 6–9, when Israel slaughters the entire army of the coalition, and again in vv. 11–12, when Joshua destroys all life in Hazor (1985: 79). Fritz (1973) reevaluated the literary relationship between Josh 11 and Judg 4, stating that the composition of Josh 11 is not the source for Judg 4, thus reversing Yadin's evaluation. He agreed with Yadin that the references to Jabin in Judg 4 are not historical but are late editorial additions, which conflict with the poetic version of the war in Judg 5. He concluded, however, that the addition of Jabin to the war in Judg 4 (both in the frame, vv. 2, 23–24, and in the narrative body, vv. 2, 17) cannot derive from Josh 11:1–15, since Josh 11 states that Hazor is destroyed and its king is executed. As a result, either Josh 11:1–15 and Judg 4 share motifs from a similar tradition, or, more likely, Josh 11:1–15 is a reinterpretation of Judg 4 in the same way that war against Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem in Josh 10:1–3 reinterprets Judg 1. In both instances, some form of the book of Judges is a source for the author of Josh 10 and 11.

The composition of Josh 11 also requires comparison with Josh 10, since both texts share themes and a similar structure. Fritz stated that the war against the northern coalition in Josh 11:1–9 is composed to correspond to the war against the southern coalition in Josh 10:1–15, with only minor variations in motifs, such as the emphasis on horses and chariots in Josh 11 (1994: 119). Knauf extended the literary parallel to include the destruction of Hazor as well, resulting in a parallel between Josh 10:1–14 and 11:1–15, in which both texts narrate an "exemplary battle" (2008: 113). H. N. Rösel (2011: 163–64) identified further similarities in the summary portion of each narrative, with Josh 11:19–21 and 10:40–43 emphasizing the defeat of the whole land. Noth also identified a series of shared motifs between Josh 10 and 11, including the nations hearing (10:1; 11:1), the coalition camping together to war against Israel (10:5b; 11:5b), the divine encouragement to Joshua (10:8a; 11:6a), and the sudden attack against the enemy (10:9a; 11:7a) (1971b: 67). For Noth, the shared motifs point to the work of a

collector who is combining separate stories. Na'aman extended the parallels to include the similar themes of holy war and the total destruction of the enemy, as well as the shared literary design. He concluded, "One can hardly doubt that the two narratives were composed according to the same literary and theological pattern, apparently by the same author" (1994: 256–57).

The following parallels in structure reinforce Na'aman's conclusion that Josh 10 and 11 are written by the same author. The shared structure also provides a point of departure for interpreting the aim of the author in composing the southern and northern wars.

	Josh 10	*Josh 11*
Initial War	10:1–15. Southern coalition; Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem	11:1–9. Northern coalition; Jabin, king of Hazor
Exemplary Execution of King(s)	10:16–27. Five kings at the cave of Makkedah	11:10–15. King of Hazor and the burning of his city
General War	10:28–39. Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Horam of Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, Debir	11:16–22. Anakim and all the land, except Gibeon
Summary	10:40–43. Entire land	11:23. Whole land

The four-part structure of Josh 10 and 11 identifies the points of comparison that aid in evaluating the literary relationship between Josh 11:1–9 and 10–15. The initial war is limited to Josh 10:1–15 and 11:1–9. Thus, the slaughter of the king of Hazor in Josh 11:10–15 is not an extension of the war in Josh 11:1–9, as though it were a double account of the same event. Rather, it functions as an exemplary execution of the king of Hazor that parallels the hanging of the five southern kings at the cave of Makkedah in Josh 10:16–27. Both stories are intended to be antimonarchic. In Josh 10 and 11, the account of a more broad-based war (10:28–39 and 11:16–22) follows the execution of the kings, before each chapter ends with a summary statement about the extent of the wars (10:40–43 and 11:23).

The parallel scenes in Josh 10 and 11 are reinforced by a series of shared motifs in each section. The initial war includes (1) the naming of the leader of the coalition, (2) the motif of "hearing," (3) the identification of the enemy, (4) the divine encouragement to Joshua with the prediction of victory, (5) the sudden and unexpected attack, and (6) the pursuit of the enemy and their slaughter, which fulfills the divine prediction. The exemplary execution singles out the death of the enemy monarch or monarchs after Joshua "returns" from the initial war. The general war recounts the execution of the ban on the indigenous city-dwellers, with stereotyped language, including (1) the slaughter of the population with the sword, (2) the fact of divine aid, (3) the execution of the ban, and (4) the absence of survivors. The summary underscores the totality of the success of the war, as encompassing "all the land" and the "whole land." The literary unity of the two chapters is accentuated further with the motif of the Gibeonites, who are central at the outset of the southern war in Josh 10:1–15 and return at the conclusion of the northern campaign in Josh 11:19: "There was not a city that made peace with

the Israelites except the Hittites, who dwelt in Gibeon." The framing of the southern and northern wars with reference to the Gibeonites ties Josh 10 and 11 together with the story of the Gibeonites' masquerade in Josh 9, creating a larger narrative of war and extermination, as noted in the "Introduction."

The differences between the four scenes also assist in uncovering the author's point of view on the war against the indigenous kings and cities in the south (Josh 10) as compared with those in the north (Josh 11). The most striking contrast between Josh 10 and 11 is the fate of the king and the city that leads the coalition. In each case, the king is executed, but the fate of the city differs. The southern war includes the exemplary execution of the five kings of the coalition at Makkedah (10:16–27), which separates the kings from their cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. The following war in Josh 10:28–39 is directed toward the urban population of seven cities, yet none of the fortresses is destroyed with fire, while Jerusalem is not even attacked, despite the fact that its king, Adoni-zedek, led the coalition against Joshua. The author may provide negative commentary on the continued existence of cities in the south in Josh 10:20, where it is stated that the enemy escaped into the "fortified cities" against Joshua's command in v. 19: "Do not let them enter their city." The northern war, by contrast, singles out the leader of the coalition, the king of Hazor, for exemplary execution. His city is also destroyed with fire: "And Hazor he [Joshua] burned in fire" (11:11). The destruction of Hazor represents the ideal of the author of Joshua; it mirrors the fate of Jericho and Ai. Thus, the execution of the king of Hazor and the burning of the city are at the center of the narrative of war in Josh 10 and 11. The ideal of purging both kings and royal city-states from the promised land in Josh 10–11 is achieved only with Hazor: "But Israel did not burn all the cities that stood on their mound, except Hazor. Joshua burned it alone" (11:13).

The author of Josh 11 composes a stylized story of war in the north that lacks detail. Although the scope of the narrative is broad, including "many people like the sand that is on the seashore in number" (v. 4), the northern campaign lacks specificity, especially when compared with the southern campaign, where specific cities are listed in Josh 10. Knauf writes that the northern war is only meant to be exemplary (2008: 113). It focuses on Hazor; all other locations are merely vague references to a sweeping description of territory that lacks clear borders. The imprecise geography has prompted H. N. Rösel to identify the author as Judahite and thus unfamiliar with the northern territory (2011: 181–82). The possibility of a history of composition surrounding the geographical descriptions in Josh 11:2–3 and 16–17 could support his conclusion. But the vagueness of geographical detail may also be a literary strategy of an author who views the north as an undeveloped frontier as compared with Judah, whose boundaries and central cities are more clearly defined.

The contrast in geographical detail evident in the southern war of Josh 10 and the vague description of the northern campaign in Josh 11 reappears in the description of the tribal territories in Josh 15–17, where differences between the description of Judah's territory (Josh 15) and that of the northern tribes of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh (Josh 16–17) also suggest the point of view of a northern author. Joshua 15 provides an overabundance of geographical detail in order to clarify the boundaries of the tribe of Judah. Joshua 16–17, by contrast, blurs tribal boundaries. The introduction of the sons of Joseph as a frame to the section (16:1–4; 17:14–18) encourages a unified interpreta-

tion of the northern territory and people, rather than an emphasis on distinct tribes with separate land possession. The lack of detail in the description of the borders further aids in obscuring the geographical distinction between Joseph (16:1–4), Ephraim (16:5–9), and Manasseh (17:7–10). The territorial boundary of each tribe in the north is blurred even further by a description of cities in one tribal territory that belong to another tribe. Ephraim has cities in the territory of Manasseh (16:8; 17:8–10), while Manasseh has cities in the territory of Issachar and Asher (17:11). The resulting portrait is of one northern population living in an open-ended, porous territory that is not yet fully claimed, as compared with the tightly bounded region of Judah, where borders were carefully marked and closed off.

The message of the author of Joshua in the story of the northern war in Josh 11 and in the distribution of the northern territory in Josh 16–17 is that the northern tribes, to whom the author belongs, have yet to realize their future. The ideal vision of society in the north lacks kings and royal city-states; it is represented most clearly in the execution of the king of Hazor and destruction of his city with fire (11:10–15). But, as the author notes in Josh 11:13, many other cities were not burned down like Hazor. Joshua's speech to the northern tribes at the conclusion of the distribution of land repeats the themes of war and enemy chariots from Josh 10, while also giving voice to the author's ideal vision of life in the northern territory of the promised land: "And Joshua said to the sons of Joseph, to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, 'You are a great people, possessing great power. There will not be one lot for you, for the highland will be yours. Though it is forest, you will clear it. And its limit will be your possession, because you will dispossess the Canaanite, even though he possesses an iron chariot and is strong'" (17:17–18).

Comments

11:1–9. FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

The initial battle with the northern coalition may be divided into four scenes: (1) the identification of the enemy (vv. 1–5), (2) Yahweh's address to Joshua (v. 6), (3) the battle (vv. 7–8), and (4) the summary of success and the fulfillment of the divine command (v. 9).

The size of the enemy force in vv. 1–5 far exceeds that of the southern coalition from Josh 10. Two kings are named: the leader of the coalition, Jabin of Hazor, and Jobab of Madon. Two additional kings are identified with specific cities, Shimron and Achshaph; and a myriad of kings are listed by broad geographical location from the four corners of the northern region, which resists a clear location on a map. They emerge from the north, including the highland; from the south, including the Arabah below Chinneroth and the lowland; and from the west, including Naphoth-dor. The kings represent six of the indigenous nations: Canaanites (east and west); Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, and Jebusites (highland); and Hivites (below Hermon). The size of the army is beyond number, "like the sand that is on the seashore," and fully militarized with the latest technology, "horse and chariot in very great number."

The focus for the author is the military technology represented by the "horse and chariot." W. Brueggemann notes both the centrality of the motif and its function in establishing the themes of violence and conflict (2009). J. L. Wright states, "Chariots

represent prestige objects and powerful aspects of the monarch's self-image" (2008: 40). The horse and chariot represent the military power of kings already in the third millennium BCE, when the image of a horse pulling a chariot can be found in Sumerian iconography. The refinement of chariot warfare is well-established by the mid-second millennium, appearing in Hittite and Egyptian reliefs, and it continues to be an important mode of warfare for the Persians. In the Hebrew Bible, the horse and chariot represent the oppressive power of kings, especially associated with Egypt. In the story of the exodus, Pharaoh pursues the Israelites with "horse and chariot" (Exod 14:9, 23; 15:19). Israelite kings, too, flaunt their power with horse and chariot. Solomon is described as having fifty thousand horses for chariots, which he imports from Egypt (1 Kgs 4:26; 10:29). Absalom declares his kingship by riding in a "horse and chariot" (2 Sam 15:1). Ben-hadad, king of Aram, attacks Samaria with thirty-two kings, all equipped with "horses and chariots" (1 Kgs 20:1). The military might of horses is part of the cult in Jerusalem, where they are dedicated to the sun (2 Kgs 23:11).

The law of warfare in Deut 20 and the law of the king in Deut 17:14–20 provide background for interpreting the account of war against the northern coalition of kings in Josh 11. The central teaching on war in Deuteronomy is contained in Deut 20:1, when Moses tells the Israelites, "When you go out to war against your enemies, and see horses and chariots, an army larger than your own, you shall not be afraid of them, for Yahweh your God is with you." The role of Yahweh in war influences the authority of the king in Deut 17:14–20. It states that Israel may have a king (v. 15) but that the king may have only restricted military authority; "he must not acquire many horses for himself" (v. 16). The limitation, however, concedes that the king is allowed to maintain a military force.

The aim of the author of Josh 11 is to create a battle scene that brings to life the law of warfare in Deut 20. The teaching of Moses in Deut 20:1 is the point of departure for the fictional war against the northern coalition of kings with their horses and chariots and their military force that is beyond number. The destruction of the superior military force in Josh 11 illustrates the power of Yahweh described by Moses. Although the author of Joshua is dependent on the law of warfare in Deut 20, he departs from the qualified view of monarchy in Deut 17. This is most evident in the divine command to Joshua in Josh 11:6. It goes beyond the law of warfare and the law of the king in Deuteronomy. Joshua is instructed to kill all humans, to hamstring all horses, and to burn all chariots. The instruction leaves no room for a limited number of horses, as in the law of the king (Deut 17:14–20). All technological military force associated with kings must be eliminated by disabling the horse and by burning the chariot. The only other story in which chariot horses are hamstrung is the account of David's action against the northern king Hadadezer ben Rehob, from Zobah, a region in Syria (2 Sam 8:3–8). Unlike Joshua, this story follows the law of the king. David hamstrings all but one hundred of the chariot horses, leaving the king a limited force. But the more extreme antimonarchic ideology of the author of Joshua leaves no room for a qualified view of monarchy or a limited military force. The divine command to Joshua is unequivocal: All kings must die, and all military force associated with kings must be eliminated. Joshua's success is underscored at the conclusion of the battle in v. 9. He did what Yahweh commanded him; he hamstrung the horses and burned the chariots. The theme of

chariots returns in Josh 17:18, when Joshua predicts the eventual victory of the northern tribes over the "iron chariots" of the Canaanites.

The central battle against the northern coalition of kings is limited to Josh 11:7–8. The abbreviated story raises a host of literary questions, especially with regard to the plot and the geography of the story. It is unclear where Joshua and the Israelites are located in the story; in the MT version it is likely Gilgal, since the war against the southern coalition of kings ends in Josh 10:42 with the statement, "And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp at Gilgal." If the Israelites are in the camp at Gilgal, it is difficult to understand why the northern coalition gathered at the waters of Merom to attack Joshua, as the plot would require that they advance toward Gilgal. In addition, it is unclear how Joshua could possibly have undertaken a surprise attack in the north from such a distant location. H. N. Rösel asks, "How does an Israelite army camped in Gilgal 'suddenly' operate in Upper Galilee?" (2011: 181). The more important concern for the author appears to be the broad sweep of land northward toward "great Sidon" and eastward to the Valley of Mizpeh, which is where Joshua slaughters the army, hamstrings the horses, and burns the chariots.

11:10–15. EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KING

The story turns from the defeat of the northern coalition to the exemplary execution of the king of Hazor, which provides a parallel to the execution of the five southern kings in Josh 10:16–27. The episode is separated from the initial battle with the temporal phrase "and Joshua returned at that time [*bā'ēt hahî'*]." The scene has three parts: (1) the annihilation of Hazor (vv. 10–11), (2) the execution of the ban and the plunder of neighboring cities (vv. 12–14), and (3) the fulfillment of Mosaic law (v. 15). The war against the northern coalition in Josh 11:1–9 focuses on demilitarizing kings by hamstringing horses and burning chariots, while also describing their eventual slaughter. The exemplary execution in vv. 10–15 expands the imagery of slaughter in four ways that provide insight into the ideology of warfare, the view of the "other," and the authority of Mosaic law in the book of Joshua.

First, the slaughter of the enemy is intensified to include the execution of the ban on all people who live in Hazor (v. 11) and its surrounding cities (v. 12): "And all the cities of those kings and all their kings Joshua took and he slaughtered them by the edge of the sword, devoting them to destruction."

Second, the motif of fire as a force of destruction is extended from the military chariots in the previous war (vv. 6, 9) to the entire city: "And Hazor he [Joshua] burned in fire" (v. 11). The extermination of the population and the burning of the city eradicate from the promised land all signs of the royal fortress, which "was head of all those kingdoms" (v. 10), and its urban population. The author dwells on this topic in v. 13, noting that the ideal of eradication is achieved only with Hazor (H. N. Rösel, 2011: 188). Other city fortresses remain standing, even though they are empty of kings and people after Joshua and the Israelites destroyed "all the humans" (v. 14). The author also introduces the motif of war booty (*šālāl*) from the vacant cities (11:14). This motif brings the story back to Ai, where the Israelites also take booty (8:27) after purging the camp of Achan, who violated the prohibition against booty at Jericho (7:21), and his family.

Third, the execution of the ban fulfills Mosaic law: "And all the cities of those kings and all their kings Joshua took and he slaughtered them by the edge of the sword, devoting them to destruction as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded" (v. 12; cf. v. 15). The fulfillment of Mosaic commands is not a new theme to the book of Joshua. The author repeatedly refers to the past commandments of Moses, beginning with the opening commission of Joshua (1:7–8). The theme reappears in the crossing of the Jordan River (4:10, 12), the ritual at the altar on Gerizim (8:31, 33, 35), and now in the execution of the ban against the northern kings (11:12, 15). The reference to fulfilling the command of Moses in war likely refers to Deut 7:1–6 and 20:10–18, where the execution of the ban is a central theme. In Deut 7:1–6, Moses commands the Israelites to execute the ban on the indigenous nations, including the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut 7:1). The ban ensures that Israel does not make a covenant or intermarry with the indigenous nations (Deut 7:2–4). In Deut 20:10–18, Moses instructs the Israelites to execute the ban at times of war on those living within the borders of the promised land, including the same nations as in Deut 7:1, with the exception of the Girgashites. In this instance, Moses states that the ban will keep the nations from teaching the Israelites about their gods (Deut 20:17–19). The inner-biblical ties suggest that the author of Joshua shares the ideology of Deuteronomy regarding social segregation, endogamy, and religious exclusion, although the covenant with the Gibeonites departs from the teaching on the ban in Deuteronomy (for further discussion on the meaning of the ban in Joshua, see the "Introduction").

11:16–22. GENERAL WAR

The account of Joshua's broader war against the nations is in two parts, divided by the temporal phrase "at that time" (v. 21). The same phrase separates the exemplary execution of the king of Hazor (vv. 10–15) from the initial war against the northern coalition (vv. 1–9). The result is a two-phased war in vv. 16–22: first against the kings and cities in the north and the south (vv. 16–20), and then against the mythical Anakim (vv. 21–22).

The war in Josh 11:16–20 is surprising in scope. It begins in v. 16 by listing regional areas in the south, not the north, including the highland region of Judah, the Negeb, the ambiguous land of Goshen, and the Arabah in the Judean Valley area of the Dead Sea, before identifying two areas in the north, the highland and lowland, neither of which is very clear. The description of geography shifts in v. 17 from regions to borders. It begins in the south, with Mount Halak and Seir, and then moves northward to include Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon. The large scope of the conquered land raises the question of the function of the geographical description. The parallel structure between Josh 10 and 11 indicates that Josh 11:16–22 and Josh 10:28–39 are intended to describe the scope of the northern and southern conquests. But the territory in Josh 11:16–22 far exceeds that of Josh 11:1–15. In view of this, Noth interprets the broad summary of conquered land to provide a conclusion to the entire account of war in Josh 9–12, and he judges the summary to include Josh 11:16–12:24 (1971b: 69). Knauf modifies Noth's conclusion, arguing that Josh 11:16–23 is a second addition to the story of conquest in Josh 11:1–15, in which a later author (the D-Bearbeitung)

wishes to expand the geographical scope of the promised land (2008: 116–17). The same broadening of the promised land is evident in Josh 1:4.

Joshua 11:18–20 contains political and theological reflection on the wars of Joshua. Unlike Josh 10:28–39, where the southern wars took place in a short period of time, the northern wars are ongoing and continue for many days (v. 18). The author adds that every city opposed Joshua. No peace treaties were made, except with the Hittites in Gibeon (v. 19). Despite the opposition, all the cities were taken in battle (v. 19). The reason for the universal opposition is the divine influence on the enemy kings: Yahweh hardened their hearts. In the Hebrew Bible the phrase "to harden the heart" often signifies resistance in enemy kings to the demands of Yahweh. The motif is developed in detail in the story of the exodus, where Moses confronts Pharaoh in the cycle of plagues with the divine demand that the Israelites be freed from slave labor. The initial resistance of Pharaoh to the demand states that "his heart was hard" (the Qal form of *ḥāzaq,* "to be hard," Exod 7:13, 22; 8:15; 9:35). Thus, Pharaoh's initial resistance is the result of his own volition. But over time, Yahweh becomes the agent of Pharaoh's hardening. The text signals the shift in actors, when Yahweh rather than Pharaoh becomes the subject of the phrase: "Yahweh hardened his heart" (the Piel form of *ḥāzaq,* Exod 9:21; 10:20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17). Yahweh predicts the resistance of Pharaoh to Moses at the outset of the story of the exodus (Exod 4:21), which leads eventually to Pharaoh's destruction in the Red Sea.

The author of Joshua does not present a transformation in the enemy kings, as in the story of Pharaoh. Thus the story of war does not move from initial resistance in the kings to a point where Yahweh takes over their will. One reason for the change in plot and character development is that the Israelites are nonindigenous invaders in the book of Joshua, rather than slaves. Thus, there is no process of negotiation or confrontation in Joshua that might correspond to the plague cycle in Exodus. Instead, the author begins at the end of the process; Yahweh is the agent of the kings' resistance from the outset. The reason for the divine invasion of the enemy's will, according to the author, is to ensure their extermination through the ban, "so that he [Yahweh or Israel] might devote them to destruction, without mercy" (v. 20).

The violent ideology indicates that the author of the book of Joshua uses polarities to describe the wars against the indigenous nations. The kings do not constitute the "non-elect" in the book of Joshua; rather, they are the "anti-elect," to use a term of J. S. Kaminsky (2011: 18). The indigenous kings and their royal cities exist only to be exterminated though an act of Yahweh channeled through Joshua. Although the gods of the kings and their religious practices are never mentioned in Josh 1–12, the kings and their royal cities represent the antithesis of the author's religious worldview, in which the sacramental presence of Yahweh is embedded in the ark (Josh 3–8), worship takes place at an open-air altar of uncut stones (8:30–35), revelation is centered in the Torah of Moses (1:7–8) as opposed to the divine right of the king, and the people live in a camp at Gilgal, not in royal cities. The antimonarchic ideology of the author represents an extreme form of iconoclastic religion that leaves no room for compromise either with the political authority of kings or with their form of power embodied in royal city-states. Thus, the polarity between the ideal rural worldview of the author and the present royal society of kings is absolute in the book of Joshua, expressed most clearly in the ban on the indigenous nations.

In Josh 11:21–22, the extermination of the city-dwellers is extended from the war against the indigenous nations to the Anakim, a race of giants in the promised land (see the "Notes" on 11:21). The Anakim are associated with a range of mythical characters in the Hebrew Bible, including the Nephalim and Rephaim (see the "Comments" on Josh 12:4–5), as well as a host of other people. The table provides an overview of the loosely related characters.

Text	*Nephalim*	*Rephaim*	*Anakim*
Gen 6:4	Nephalim		
Gen 14		Rephaim: Zuzim, Emim, Hortes	
Gen 15		Land of the Rephaim	
Num 13	Nephalim (v. 33)		Anak (vv. 22, 28)
Deut 1:28			Spies saw the Anakim.
Deut 2:10–11		First generation see the Rephaim (Emim)	Anakim
Deut 2:20		Second generation in the land of the Rephaim (Zamzummim)	Anakim and Horites
Deut 3:11		Og of Bashan was one of the Rephaim.	
Deut 9:2			Preparation for conquest of the Anakim
Josh 11:21–22			Joshua kills the Anakim (some remain in Gaza, Gath, Ashdod).
Josh 12:4; 13:12		Moses kills Og of Bashan, last of the Rephaim.	
Josh 14:12, 15; 15:13–19; Judg 1:20			Caleb–Hebron–the Anakim and genealogy
Josh 15:8; 18:16; 2 Sam 5:8, 22; 23:13		Valley of Rephaim	
1 Chr 20:4–8		Heroic Rephaim stories	

The Anakim are an older and more legendary race of city-dwellers who represent an unreal and monstrous view of the "other" (R. L. Cohn, 1994). The origin of the Hebrew mythology of the Anakim is difficult to trace. Their two central characteristics are that they are giants and fearsome city-dwellers. Biblical writers create different genealogies for them: in Josh 15:13–14, the eponymous ancestor of the Anakim is Arba, the founder of Hebron; in Num 13:22, it is Anak, who gives birth to Ahiman, Sheshai,

and Talmai (v. 28) and whose own genealogy is traced back farther to the Nephalim, "the fallen ones"—the offspring of gods and humans (Gen 6:1–4). The ancestry of Anak recalls the Greek *anax,* an ancient title for "king." In Greek mythology, Anax is also a giant; he is the son of Uranus and Gaia and the father of Asterius, who is ten cubits tall (more than sixteen feet). Other interpreters associate the Anakim with the primeval wild man Enki, who provides the counterpart to Gilgamesh, the original king of the city of Ur. The rabbis also interpret them as a giant, Og, who sought to throw onto the Israelites a massive stone the size of a mountain in order to cover the entire Israelite camp. The Deity protects Israel by directing ants to bore a hole in the stone so that it falls down around Og's neck; then Moses, who is also ten cubits tall, takes an ax of ten cubits and kills him (b. Ber. 54B). According to the author of Joshua, however, the Anakim are not destroyed but are quarantined in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod.

11:23. SUMMARY

The story of war concludes with four motifs, which play a larger role in the book of Joshua: (1) the capture of the whole land, (2) the fulfillment of divine promises to Moses, (3) the preparation for inheritance, and (4) the rest from war. The opening statement that Joshua took the "whole land" as fulfillment of past divine promises to Moses brings to completion a theme that occurs throughout the first half of the book. The motif first appears in a speech of Joshua to the tribes east of the Jordan when he reminds them that their possession of land fulfills the divine promise given to Moses (1:13). The procession of the ark to Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 3–8) and the wars of Joshua (Josh 9–12) are meant to realize the same divine promise to Moses with regard to the land west of the Jordan River. The two spies predict the successful fulfillment of the promise to Joshua (2:24). The theophany of El, the living, as the ark crosses the Jordan River underscores that Yahweh is the "lord of all" the land (Josh 3:11, 13). The Gibeonites too foresee that Yahweh has given "all the land" to Israel (9:24), and this is confirmed in the southern (10:40) and northern (11:23) invasions of Joshua. With the fulfillment of the divine gift of the land, the theme of warfare recedes: "the land had rest from war." In place of war, the author introduces the theme of inheritance, first promised to Joshua in his commission (1:6). The theme of inheritance points ahead to the central theme in Josh 13–21.

Defeated Kings of Royal Cities (12:1–24)

Central Themes and Literary Structure

Joshua 12 concludes the account of the war in Josh 9–12. The aim of the chapter is to describe the extent of the Israelite invasion and to list the cities that are destroyed. Thus, Josh 12 is a textual map describing the scope of the land that is emptied of kings and indigenous life in preparation for its repopulation by the Israelite tribes in the second half of the book of Joshua. The chapter can be outlined in the following manner:

1. Territory and Kings East of the Jordan River Conquered by Moses (vv. 1–6)
2. Territory and Kings West of the Jordan River Conquered by Joshua (vv. 7–24)

Translation

12:1–6. TERRITORY AND KINGS EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER CONQUERED BY MOSES

12 [1]These are the kings of the land, whom the Israelites slaughtered, whose land they possessed across the Jordan toward the east, from the Wadi Arnon to Mount Hermon, and all the eastern Arabah.

[2]Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, ruled from Aroer, which was on the edge of the Wadi Arnon, the middle of the Wadi, and half of Gilead, as far as the Jabbok River, the border of the Ammonites, [3]the Arabah as far as the Sea of Chinneroth eastward, as far as the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea eastward, the way of Beth-jeshimoth, and from the south under the slopes of Pisgah.

[4]The border of Og, king of Bashan, from the remaining Rephaim, who dwelt in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, [5]who ruled over Mount Hermon, Salecah, and all Bashan to the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half of Gilead to the border of Sihon, king of Heshbon.

[6]Moses, the servant of Yahweh, and the Israelites slaughtered them. And Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave it as an inheritance to Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

12:7–24. TERRITORY AND KINGS WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER CONQUERED BY JOSHUA

12 [7]These are the kings of the land, whom Joshua and the Israelites slaughtered across the Jordan, west from Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon as far as Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir. And Joshua gave it to the tribes of Israel as a possession according to their divisions [8]in the highland, in the lowland, in the Arabah, in the slopes, in the wilderness, in the Negeb—the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites:

[9]the king of Jericho, one
the king of Ai, which is next to Bethel, one
[10]the king of Jerusalem, one
the king of Hebron, one
[11]the king of Jarmuth, one
the king of Lachish, one
[12]the king of Eglon, one
the king of Gezer, one
[13]the king of Debir, one
the king of Geder, one
[14]the king of Hormah, one
the king of Arad, one
[15]the king of Libnah, one
the king of Adullam, one
[16]the king of Makkedah, one
the king of Bethel, one
[17]the king of Tappuah, one
the king of Hepher, one
[18]the king of Aphek, one
the king of Lasharon, one
[19]the king of Madon, one
the king of Hazor, one
[20]the king of Shimron-meron, one
the king of Achshaph, one
[21]the king of Taanach, one
the king of Megiddo, one
[22]the king of Kedesh, one
the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one
[23]the king of Dor in Naphath-dor, one
the king of Goiim in Gilgal, one
[24]the king of Tirzah, one.
All the kings were thirty-one.

Notes

The MT and the LXX follow the same structure, outlining Moses' invasion of the land and his defeat of the kings east of the Jordan before listing the kings whom the Israelites kill west of the Jordan. The difference between the two versions consists primarily in the different representations of geography. In the first section of the chapter, the LXX interprets the directional "south" (*têmān*) in v. 3 as the location Teman, which is an area within Edom, is all of Edom, or perhaps is even an area in southern Arabia. The LXX also translates the Rephaim in v. 4 as "giants." In the second section of the chapter, a variety of differences exist between the two versions: (1) The LXX identifies all of the conquered kings as Amorites (v. 7), in contrast to the MT, which states simply that they are "the kings of the land"; (2) the LXX lists twenty-nine kings and the MT thirty-one; (3) the LXX lacks three cities in the MT list: Eglon (v. 12), Bethel (v. 16), and Madon (v. 19); (4) the LXX combines the "king of Aphek of Sharon" in v. 18 into a single reference, as compared with the MT identification of two kings, Aphek and Lasharon; (5) the LXX separates the kings of Shimron (spelled Symoon) and Marron in v. 20, as compared with the single reference in the MT, "the king of Shimron-meron"; (6) the order of the kings in vv. 21–22 is different in the MT (Taanach, Megiddo, Kedesh) and in the LXX Kadesh (spelled Kades), Taanach, Megiddo [spelled Magedon]; and (7) the MT locates the city of Goiim south by Gilgal in v. 23, as compared with the LXX, which places it farther north in Galilee. See "Appendix I" for the comparison of the MT and the LXX in translation.

12:1 *Wadi Arnon.* The Hebrew *naḥal* can be translated as "wadi" or "river." The Hebrew *'arnôn* is identified with the contemporary Wadi el-Mujib, which is a significant rift east of the Jordan River. The LXX translates as *pharaggos arnōn.*

The topography east of the Jordan River is organized by four wadi systems, which include from south to north the Wadi Zered, the Arnon, the Jabbok, and the Yarmuk. The wadis originate in the eastern plateau ("the eastern Arabah") and flow west. The more southern Wadi Zered and the Wadi Arnon flow into the Dead Sea. The more northern Wadi Jabbok and Wadi Yarmuk flow into the Jordan River. The Wadi Arnon originates near contemporary Al Karak and flows into the Dead Sea at its midpoint. The Wadi Arnon and the more southern Wadi Zered are vast canyons that span miles from edge to edge and function as natural boundaries. The Hebrew Bible identifies the Wadi Zered as the southern boundary of ancient Moab (Num 21:12; Deut 2:13, 14) and the Wadi Arnon as its northern border (Num 21:14). King Mesha of Moab boasts of building a road across the Arnon, a significant feat that was worthy of recording on the Mesha Inscription (line 26). The Wadi Arnon functions more prominently in the Hebrew Bible as the southern border of the Amorite king Sihon, whose defeat by Israel is recorded three times (Num 21:10–32; Deut 2:26–37; Judg 11:12–28) and is referred to repeatedly in Joshua (2:10; 9:9–10; 12:1–6; 13:8–13). The Wadi Arnon occurs four times in Joshua, always in reference to the defeat of Sihon (12:1, 2; 13:9, 16).

all the eastern Arabah. The LXX adds *tēn gēn,* "all *the land* of the eastern Araba."

Mount Hermon. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:3.

Arabah. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:2.

12:2 *Aroer.* The Hebrew *'ărô'ēr* means "juniper bushes." The LXX translates as *aroēr.* Aroer occurs four times in the book of Joshua (12:2; 13:9, 16, 25) as two distinct locations:

1. Aroer is most frequently a location in Moab near the Wadi Arnon. The ancient fortress of Aroer appears in the Mesha Inscription (line 26) and frequently in the stories of the wilderness journey through the west side of the Jordan (e.g., Num 32:34; Deut 2:36). The location of the ancient Moabite Aroer is contemporary 'Ara'ir. The city of Aroer on the Arnon is the intended reference in Josh 12:2 (see also 13:9, 16).
2. Aroer is a city in Gad east of Rabbah (modern Amman, Judg 11:33). Joshua 13:25 refers to this city as Aroer in Gad.
3. Aroer is a location in Judah southeast of Beersheba (1 Sam 30:28). This city does not occur in the book of Joshua.
4. Aroer may be a location in the region of Damascus in Isa 17:2. This location is absent from the book of Joshua.

edge of the Wadi Arnon. The LXX lacks the reference to the Arnon.

Gilead. The Hebrew *gil'ād* may mean "rough," perhaps describing the terrain of the land of Gilead. The Hebrew Bible provides a folk etymology for the naming of the region in Gen 31:47 from *gal'ēd,* meaning "witness." The fourteen references to Gilead in the book of Joshua refer both to a person (17:1, 3) and to a territory (12:2, 5; 13:11, 25, 31; 17:5, 6; 20:8; 22:9, 13, 15, 32). The LXX translates the person and the place as *galaad.*

The story of the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad in Josh 17:1–6 refers to the person Gilead in the following genealogy: (1) Manasseh, (2) Machir, (3) Gilead, (4) Hepher, (5) Zelophehad, and (6) the daughters of Zelophehad. The territory or land of Gilead always refers to a region east of the Jordan whose southern limit is the Wadi Arnon (Josh 12:2). The northern border is less clear, extending beyond the Jabbok River (12:2) north toward the region of the Jarmuk River. The book of Joshua uses the phrase "half of Gilead" to describe areas north (12:5; 13:31) and south (12:2) of the Jabbok River. The southern half of Gilead is associated with King Sihon, the Amorite (12:2–3; 13:9–11), and the Israelite tribe of Gad (13:24–28; see Deut 3:16, which includes Reuben and Gad in the territory of Gilead). The northern half is part of the kingdom of Og of Bashan (12:4–5; 13:12) and is associated with the tribe of Manasseh (13:29–31).

Jabbok River. The Hebrew *yabbōq* may mean "to bubble," from the root *nbq,* or "to split," from the root *bqq.* The LXX translates as *iabok.* The Jabbok River, the contemporary Wadi Zerqa, originates near Amman, biblical Rammath-Ammon, and flows into the Jordan River approximately twenty-three miles north of the Dead Sea. The Jabbok River occurs seven times in the Hebrew Bible. It is first mentioned as the location of Jacob's night wrestling with the river demon (Gen 32:23). The one occurrence of the Jabbok River in Joshua highlights its role as the border between the Amorite kingdom of Sihon and the Ammonites (12:2; see also Num 21:24; Deut 2:37; Judg 11:13, 22). Deuteronomy 3:16 states that the Jabbok River remained the boundary between the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the Ammonites.

Ammonites. The Hebrew *'ammôn* derives from *'am,* "people," with a diminutive ending. The LXX translates as *ammōn.* The Ammonite kingdom is located in the central area of the land east of the Jordan River. The Jabbok River is often described as the northern boundary of the land. Its remaining borders are less defined. The capital city, Rabbath-Ammon, shows continuous signs of occupation from the Early Bronze period. The Ammonites are mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian records of Tiglath-Pileser III

(*ANET* 282a), Sennacherib (*ANET* 287b), and Ashurbanipal (*ANET* 294a), and they are also part of the Beyond-the-River satrapy of the Persian Empire. The Hebrew Bible identifies the Ammonites as the offspring of an incestuous relationship between Lot and one of his daughters (Gen 13:36–38), indicating the general hostility between the nations, which is clearly reflected in the postexilic period in the conflict between Nehemiah and Tobiah, the Ammonite (Neh 2:8–10, 19). A central theme of the biblical literature is that the Ammonites are not part of the indigenous nations, and as a consequence the Israelites did not conquer them (Num 21:24–35; Deut 2:16–37; Judg 10–11). The Ammonites are mentioned three times in the book of Joshua (12:2; 13:10, 25). Joshua 12:2 and 13:10 state that the Jabbok River was the northern border of the Ammonite land and that it was distinct from the kingdom of Sihon the Amorite. Joshua 13:25 departs from the broader biblical tradition, however, by attributing half of the land of the Ammonites to the tribe of Gad.

12:3 *Beth-jeshimoth.* The Hebrew *bêt hayšimôt* means "desert place." The LXX translates as *asimōth.* Beth-jeshimoth occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible. It is identified as a Moabite town, which appears for the first time at the conclusion of the summary of the wilderness itinerary stops, in which the Israelites are described as traveling "from Beth-jeshimoth as far as Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab" (Num 33:49). Ezekiel's oracle against Moab associates Beth-jeshimoth with Kiraithiam and Baal-meon (Ezek 25:9). The location occurs twice in Joshua, perhaps as the border of Sihon's kingdom (12:3) and as a part of the territory of Reuben (13:30).

from the south. The Hebrew *têmān* can indicate the direction "south" (e.g., Isa 43:6) or the region of Edom, either as part or all of the land (e.g., Amos 1:12). The three occurrences of *têmān* in Joshua suggest the direction south (12:3; 13:4; 15:1). The LXX interprets Josh 12:3 and 13:4 as a location, *thaiman,* and Josh 15:1 as the direction south, *lips.*

the slopes of Pisgah. The "slopes of Pisgah" derive their name from Mount Pisgah, a peak in the Abarim mountain range in northwest Moab, identified with contemporary Jebel en-Nebu or Ras es-Siyagha in the area of Medeba. Mount Pisgah is mentioned four times in the context of the Israelite wilderness journey (Num 21:20; 23:14; Deut 3:27; 34:1), where it is also associated with Mount Nebo, the location of Moses' death and burial. The "slopes of Pisgah" in Joshua mark the border of Sihon's kingdom (12:3) and the territory of Reuben (13:20). The LXX translates as *phasga.*

12:4 *The border of Og.* The reference to "border," *gĕbûl,* in the MT does not fit the context in which the author is referring to conquered kings. The LXX lacks the word, beginning the new section with a reference to Og, *kai ōg,* "and Og," providing a parallel to v. 2, which also begins with the reference to Sihon, *sēōn.*

Rephaim. The Hebrew *rĕpā'îm,* from the root "to heal," is translated in the LXX as *gigantōn,* "giants" (see "Comments"). The Rephaim are first mentioned in the Hebrew Bible in Gen 14:5, where Chedorlaomer and his coalition are described as killing the Rephaim at Ashtaroth-karnaim. Deuteronomy 2:10–11 relates the Rephaim to the Anakim (see Josh 11:21), as well as other legendary people (the Emim and the Zamzummim). The Rephaim are even included as one of the indigenous nations in the extended list of Gen 15:20 (for an overview of the related terms, see the "Comments" to Josh 11:21–22). The Rephaim occur three times in the book of Joshua (12:4; 13:12; 17:15). Two times Og is identified as one of the remaining Rephaim (12:4; 13:12). In the one other occur-

rence, Josh 17:15, the Rephaim are identified as an indigenous nation along with the Perizzites, in accordance with the extended list of indigenous nations in Gen 15:20, where the two groups also appear together. This reference is absent in the LXX.

Ashtaroth. See the "Notes" to Josh 9:10.

Edrei. The Hebrew *'edre'î* occurs four times in the book of Joshua as two distinct cities (12:4; 13:21, 31; 19:37):

1. Edrei is a city on the east side of the Jordan River in Bashan (12:4; 13:21, 31). It is memorialized as the location where the Israelites defeated Og of Bashan (see also Num 21:33–35; Deut 3:10). Historical geographers identify this city with contemporary Der'a in modern Syria. The LXX identifies the Edrei east of the Jordan River as *edrain* (12:4; 13:21, 31).
2. Edrei is also a city west of the Jordan River in Naphtali (19:37). The Edrei west of the Jordan River is translated in the LXX as *edrai* (LXXA) and *assari* (LXXB).

12:5 *Mount Hermon.* See the "Notes" to Josh 11:3.

Salecah. The Hebrew *salkâ* is translated in the LXX as *selcha.* The city is identified with the territory of Og of Bashan in Josh 12:5 and 13:11. The reference in Josh 13:11 suggests that the author of Joshua intended for the city to function as a border, "all of Bashan as far as Salecah." The juxtaposition of Salecah and Mount Hermon indicates perhaps a southeastern border (see also Deut 3:10). Historical geographers suggest contemporary Salkhad as the location of the ancient site, although the identification remains tentative. Noth leaves the location unidentified (1971b: 71).

Bashan. See the "Notes" to Josh 9:10.

Geshurites. The Hebrew *haggĕšûrî* designates two different populations in the book of Joshua. First, the Geshurites are a small nation situated east of the Jordan River, bounded by Mount Hermon on the north, Gilead on the south, and Bashan on the east (12:5; 13:11, 13). This territory is described as a possession of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh in Josh 13:11. Joshua 13:13 states that the indigenous inhabitants were not driven out. This nation-state also appears in the stories of David, who marries the Gershurite Maacah (2 Sam 3:3), the mother of Absalom (2 Sam 13:37; 14:23). The LXX translates Josh 12:5 as *gesouri* and Josh 13:11, 13 as *gesiri.* Second, the Geshurites are also a southern people, who live on the west side of the Jordan River between the land of the Philistines and Egypt (Josh 13:2). The LXX translates Josh 13:2 as *gesiri.*

Maacathites. The Hebrew *hamma'ăkātî* may derive from the root *m'k,* meaning "to crush, confuse." As a proper noun, *ma'ăkâ* refers to both individual persons and a people. First, a variety of women are named Maacah, including the third wife of David, who was the daughter of the king of Geshur and the mother of Absalom (2 Sam 3:3); the daughter of Absalom, who became the wife of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 15:2); and the mother of King Asa (1 Kgs 15:10). Second, the Maacathites are a people who dwell south of Mount Hermon near the Geshurites. The book of Joshua refers to the Maacathites three times (12:5; 13:11, 13), always in conjunction with the Geshurites, as a people who were not fully exterminated from the promised land, which may indicate an inner-biblical relationship with the stories of David, Maacah, and Absalom. Yet unlike the Geshurites, who are associated with the southwestern side of the Jordan in Josh 13:5, the Maccathites are located only on the eastern side of the Jordan. The LXX translates as *machati.*

Gilead. See the "Notes" to Josh 12:2.

Sihon. See the "Notes" to Josh 2:10.

Heshbon. See the "Notes" to Josh 9:10.

12:6 *Moses, the servant of Yahweh.* The second reference to Moses as the servant of Yahweh is lacking in the LXX.

12:7 *These are the kings of the land.* The LXX reads *amorraiōn,* "Amorrites," in place of the Hebrew *ʾereṣ,* "land."

west from Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon as far as Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir. The MT of Josh 12:7 repeats in reverse order the conquest of the area east of the Jordan that was summarized in Josh 11:17: "from Mount Halak, which rises above Seir, to Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon." The purpose of the repetition is not immediately clear, especially the reference to the "west" (*yāmmâ*).

Baal-gad . . . Valley of Lebanon . . . Mount Halak. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:17.

12:8 *highland . . . lowland.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

Arabah. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:2.

slopes. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

wilderness. See the "Notes" to Josh 1:4.

Negeb. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:40.

the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. The syntax of the Hebrew is unclear. See the NRSV, which adds "*the land of* the Hittites."

12:9 *Jericho.* See the "Notes" to Josh 2:1.

one. The LXX omits the number "one" throughout the list.

Ai. See the "Notes" to Josh 7:2.

12:10 *Jerusalem.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:1.

Hebron. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:3.

12:11 *Jarmuth . . . Lachish.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:3.

12:12 *Eglon.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:3.

Gezer. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:33.

12:13 *Debir.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:38.

Geder. The Hebrew *gādar* means "to build up a wall"; the noun *geder* can mean "wall of stones" or "a walled place." The root *gdr* is tied to a variety of place-names in the book of Joshua:

1. Geder (MT, *geder;* LXX, *gader*) designates a Canaanite city that Joshua and the Israelites destroyed (12:13). The location is uncertain. Boling and Wright suggest that the vocalization is incorrect, having been influenced by the preceding reference to Gezer in v. 12 (1982: 326). The context of Debir in v. 13 may point to a location in the Judean lowlands, while the following sites of Arad and Hormah in v. 14 suggest instead a location in the Negeb.
2 Gedor (MT, *gĕdōr;* LXX, *geddōn*) is a city in Judah that historical geographers identify with Khirbet Jedur, between Bethlehem and Hebron (15:58).
3. Gederah (MT, *haggĕdērâ;* LXX, *gadēra*) and Gederothaim (MT, *gĕdērōtāyim;* absent in the LXX) are towns in the lowland region of Judah (15:36).
4. Gedderoth (MT, *gĕdērôt;* LXX, *geddōr*) is yet another city in the lowland region of Judah (15:41).

12:14 *Hormah.* The Hebrew *ḥŏrmâ* may derive from the root *ḥrm* I, meaning "destruction" or "sacred," but it more likely means "chasm," from the root *ḥrm* II. The LXX translates Josh 12:14 as *ermath,* "Hermath" (but all other instances in Joshua are translated as *erma,* "Erma"). A number of traditions are associated with Hormah. It is introduced in the wilderness journey as a desert location, where the Israelites were defeated in war after their fear of invading the promised land (Num 14:45). It is also associated with stories of David as a city to which he sends spoils of war (1 Sam 30:30). Hormah occurs three times in Joshua (12:14; 15:30; 19:4): (1) in the list of conquered kings, which lacks a clear geographical location (12:14); (2) as a city within the territory of Judah (15:30); and (3) as a territory in Simeon (19:4). The references suggest that the author intends a southern location for the site, which corresponds to the role of Hormah in the legends of the wilderness journey. Historical geographers propose a variety of contemporary locations for biblical Hormah, including Tell el-Milh, just south of Beersheba, and Tell esh-Sheri'ah, north of Beersheba.

Arad. The Hebrew *ʿărād* means "hard ground" (Noth, 1971b: 149). The LXX translates as *arath.* In the book of Joshua Arad is a town in the southern Negeb that is located in the territory of Judah. Historical geographers have identified the site with Tell 'Arad, a location approximately twenty miles south from Hebron. There are four references to Arad in the Hebrew Bible. Numbers 21:1–3 (33:40) is a legendary account of the defeat of the king of Arad during the Israelites' wilderness journey. In this story Arad is located in the Negeb and associated with Hormah. Judges 1:16 states that the Kenites, the offspring of Moses' father-in-law, Hobab, settled in the area of Arad. And Joshua 12:14 lists Arad as one of the Canaanite cities Joshua conquers.

12:15 *Libnah.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:29.

Adullam. The Hebrew *ʿădūllām* means "closed in space." The LXX translates as *odollam.* The site occurs two times in Joshua: in the list of the defeated kings in Josh 12:15, and as a city within the territory of Judah in Josh 15:35. Historical geographers identify Adullam with contemporary Tell esh Sheikh Madhkur, a location in the lowland region, ten miles southwest of Jerusalem and ten miles northwest of Hebron. Outside of the book of Joshua, the city is associated with stories of David (1 Sam 22; 1 Chr 11). It is mentioned in a city list in 2 Chr 11:7, where it is associated with fortresses of Rehoboam. Adullam is also one of the places to which the exiles returned (Neh 11:30).

12:16 *Makkedah.* See the "Notes" to Josh 10:10.

Bethel. This is absent in the LXX. See the "Notes" to Josh 7:2.

12:17 *Tappuah.* The Hebrew *tappûăḥ* means "apple" or "apple tree." Tappuah occurs four times in the book of Joshua as both a northern and a southern city:

1. Northern Tappuah appears three times in the book of Joshua (12:17; 16:8; 17:7–8). It occurs in the list of the defeated kings in Josh 12:17. The LXX translates as *taphoug.* Historical geographers remain uncertain of the identification of this site, although Sheikh Abu Zerad, a location approximately seven miles south of contemporary Nablus, is a possibility. Tappuah is part of the territory of Ephraim in Josh 16:8. The LXX translates as *taphou.* Tappuah appears as a city in Manasseh in Josh 17:7–8, where the author provides a detailed geographical description of the area surrounding the city, in which En-tappuah, or "the spring of Tappuah" (MT, *ʿên tappûăḥ;* LXX, *pegen thaphthōth*), and the land of Tappuah (MT, *ʾereṣ tappûăḥ;* LXX, *thapheth*)

are designated as belonging to Manasseh, while the city of Tappuah (MT, *tappûăḥ;* LXXA, *thaphthōth;* LXXB, *thapheth*) is a possession of Ephraim.
2. The southern Tappuah is a city in the territory of Judah mentioned in Josh 15:53. The LXX translates as *baithachou.*

Hepher. The Hebrew *ḥēper* means "water-hole" or "place of water." The LXX translates as *opher.* The term occurs two times in the book of Joshua: as a person (17:2) and as a place (12:17). The location Hepher is in the north, where it is assigned to the territory of Manasseh (12:17). The person Hepher is the son of Gilead and the father of Zelophehad (17:2).

12:18 *the king of Aphek . . . the king of Lasharon.* The MT *laššārôn* may designate a city, Lasharon, or it may be a prepositional phrase consisting of *lĕ,* "to," plus the placename Sharon. This appears to be the way in which the LXX read the syntax of the Hebrew, translating as *basilea aphek tēs sarōn,* "the king of Aphek of Saron." If the MT is correct, then Lasharon is either an unknown city, which occurs only in this text, or the northern region of Sharon (Boling and Wright, 1982: 328). If the LXX reading is followed, then the king of Aphek is associated with the larger region of Sharon.

Aphek. The Hebrew *'ăpēq* means "riverbed" or "stream issuing from a spring," or even "stronghold." Since the writing of Eusebius, interpreters have determined that Aphek in the Hebrew Bible refers to a number of different locations. Three or four different locations are evident in the book of Joshua:

1. Aphek in the Sharon (following the LXX of Josh 12:18) may indicate a city at the source of the Yarkon River associated with Tell of Ras el-'Ain, which would place the city in the south of the Sharon region.
2. Aphek is a city farther north in Asher (Josh 19:30), which historical geographers identify with Tel Kabri near contemporary Nahariya, a contemporary Israeli city just south of the Lebanese border. The LXX translates as *aphek.*
3. Aphek designates the border of the territory not conquered by the Israelites (Josh 13:4). Noth interpreted this Aphek as marking the southern boundary of unconquered land, thus identifying this city with the Aphek in Asher (1971b: 72, 75). Na'aman identifies this city with the northern border of unconquered land (see Num 34:7–9), thus designating a different city from the Aphek in Asher (1986: 39–73). The LXX translates as *aphek.*
4. Aphekah is a city in southern Judah in the area of Hebron (Josh 15:53). The LXX translates as *phakoua* (LXXB) and *aphaka* (LXXA).
5. Aphek in Aram does not occur in the book of Joshua. This city plays a role in the war between Ben-hadad of Damascus and Ahab (1 Kgs 20:26–30). The LXX translates as *aphek.*

Sharon. The Hebrew *šārôn* may mean "flat land" or perhaps "wet land." Noth states that the Hebrew *lašārôn,* where Sharon occurs with the preparation *lĕ,* "to," originally was meant to refer to Aphek but later came to designate the "king of Sharon" (1971b: 72). The region of Sharon designates a geographical area on the northern coastal plain that runs along the Mediterranean Sea. The region begins at the Yarkon River, due west of the northernmost point of the Dead Sea, and continues north for more than thirty miles to Mount Carmel. The Sharon region was important because of its agricultural resources and its strategic role in trade with the Way of the Sea running through it. Sha-

ron is mentioned infrequently in the Hebrew Bible (six times) in prophetic discourse (Isa 33:9; 35:2; 65:10) and love poetry ("the rose of Sharon," Song 2:1) and once when a person from Sharon is identified as being a herdsman (1 Chr 27:29). If the LXX reading, *basilea aphek tēs sarōn,* "king of Aphek of Saron," is followed, then the region occurs once in Josh 12:18 in association with the king of Aphek.

12:19 *Madon.* The location is absent in the LXX. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:1.

Hazor. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:1.

12:20 *Shimron-meron.* Shimron-meron may be the full name of Shimron (see the "Notes" to Josh 11:1; Boling and Wright, 1982: 328), even though the LXX reads two names, *symoōn* and *marrōn.* If the two sites are separated as distinct place-names, as in the LXX, this would be the only reference to Meron (*měr'ôn*) in the Hebrew Bible.

Achshaph. See the "Notes" to Josh 11:1.

12:21–22a *the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; the king of Kedesh, one.* The LXX changes the order to Kades, Taanach, and Megiddo (Magedon).

Taanach. The meaning of the Hebrew *ta'nak* is uncertain; it may mean "door" or perhaps "the closure of a door." Historical geographers identify the ancient site with Tell Ta'annek, a location on the southwestern edge of the plain of Jezreel, approximately five miles south and east of Megiddo. The city is mentioned seven times in the Hebrew Bible, including three times in the book of Joshua (Judg 1:27; 5:19; 1 Kgs 4:12; 1 Chr 7:29; Josh 12:21; 17:11; 21:25). The book of Judges accuses the tribe of Manasseh of not driving out the indigenous population from Taanach (Judg 1:27; see also Josh 17:11), while the site is also the location for war in the Song of Deborah: "the kings came, they fought; then fought the kings of Canaan, at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo; they got no spoils of silver" (Judg 5:19). Taanach is also associated with Megiddo in the Jezreel plain in 1 Kgs 4:12 and 1 Chr 7:29. The references to Taanach in the MT version of the book of Joshua provide the following portrait: It was conquered by Joshua (12:21), became part of the territory of Manasseh (17:11), and was allotted to the Kohathites as a Levitical city (21:25). In the LXX, *tanach,* "Taanach," is absent from Josh 17:11 but is present in Josh 12:21 and 21:25.

Megiddo. The ancient city has been identified with the contemporary Tell el-Mutesellim or Tell Megiddo located on the western part of the Jezreel Valley in the area of Mount Carmel. Megiddo was a significant ancient fortress because of its location at a strategic point on the main highway for trade from Egypt to Syria and Asia Minor, the Way of the Sea. The city was the location for a number of significant battles. Thutmose III (1478 BCE) describes a fierce battle against Canaanite city-states at Megiddo. The epic legend of Deborah recounts wars between the Canaanites and the Israelites at Megiddo (Judg 5:19). King Ahaziah dies at Megiddo after being shot by Jehu in Ibleam (2 Kgs 9:27). And King Josiah is killed at Megiddo by Neco in 609 BCE while trying to stop the northern advance of the Egyptian army (2 Kgs 23:29). The wars at Meggido may be mythologized in the New Testament (Rev 16:16) as taking place at Armageddon (Greek, *harmagedōn*). The city is mentioned twice in the book of Joshua: in the list of conquered cities (12:21) and as part of the territory of Issachar in the possession of Manasseh, which remained unconquered (17:11). The LXX translates as *mageddo.*

Kedesh. See the "Notes" to Josh 10:41.

12:22 *Jokneam.* The Hebrew *yŏqnŏ'ām* is confined to the book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible, where it is mentioned three times: (1) in the list of defeated kings (12:22),

(2) as part of the border of Zebulun (19:11), and (3) as a Levitical city (21:34). The ancient site has been identified with contemporary Tell Qeimun (Tell Yoqneam), northwest of Megiddo at a strategic location in the Jezreel Valley. The LXX translates Josh 12:22 as *iekonam* and Josh 19:11 as *iekman;* Josh 21:34 is absent in LXXB and translated as *eknam* in LXXA.

Carmel. The Hebrew *karmel* means "garden" or "vineyard." Carmel occurs three times in the book of Joshua, designating two distinct locations:

1. Carmel or Mount Carmel is a mountain range in the northern region of Canaan associated with the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:26). The mountain range runs along the coast beginning south of contemporary Haifa and continuing southward to a headland jutting out into the Mediterranean, described as Jebel Kurmul or Jebel Mar Elyas. This is the region of Carmel that is associated with Jokneam in Josh 12:22 and is the setting of the prophetic legend that recounts the conflict between Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18). The LXX translates as *karmēl.*
2. Carmel is a southern city in Judah, approximately seven miles south of Hebron in Josh 15:55. The LXX translates this city as *chermel.* Several biblical stories outside of the book of Joshua are associated with this site. Saul builds a monument at this city after defeating the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:12). This is also the home of Abigail, the wife of David who was married to Nabal (1 Sam 25, 27, 30). Historical geographers identify this ancient site with contemporary el-Kirmil.

12:23 *Dor . . . Naphath-dor.* See the "Notes" to Josh 11:2.

Goiim in Gilgal. The Hebrew *gōyim* means "nations." The LXX translates the Hebrew as *gōim,* "Goim." The reference to a specific people identified as the Goiim occurs only in Josh 12:23. However, there are also references to specific people and to a specific place in a limited number of other texts in the Hebrew Bible: (1) "King Tidal of the Goiim" is one of four eastern kings who wage war against five Canaanite kings in the story of Abraham's rescue of Lot (Gen 14:1, 9). This identification suggests perhaps the nation of Assyria as the Goiim. (2) Sisera, the commander of Jabin's army in the war against Deborah and Barak (Judg 4), is from *ḥărōšet haggôyim,* "Harosheth-ha-goiim" (vv. 2, 13, 16), which would suggest a city in the northern region of Galilee. (3) An eschatological saying in Isa 8:23 (Eng. 9:1) also refers to a specific area, *gĕlîl haggōyim,* "the Galilee of the nations," in the larger context of the northern tribal areas of Zebulun and Naphtali. The reference in the MT to "Goiim in Gilgal" as a more southern location does not conform to any of these other occurrences. It is probably for this reason that the LXX renders the Hebrew as *gōim tēs galilaias,* "Goim of Galilee," instead of the Hebrew *lĕgilgāl,* "Gilgal."

Tirzah. The Hebrew *tirṣâ* means "pleasure" or "beauty." The word designates both a person and a place in the book of Joshua. As a person, Tirzah is one of the daughters of Zelophehad in Josh 17:3 (see also Num 26:33; 27:1; 36:11). The LXX translates as *thersa.* As a place, Tirzah is one of the cities of the conquered kings; it appears only in Josh 12:24 in the book. The LXX translates as *tharsa.* The site is debated, but it is probably Tell Far'a, a location seven miles northeast of modern Nablus. The city returns in the stories of the northern kings Jeroboam (1 Kgs 15:21), Zimri (1 Kgs 16:15), and Omri (1 Kgs 16:23–24).

12:24 *All the kings were thirty-one.* The total number of conquered kings in the LXX is twenty-nine.

Composition

Interpreters debate whether the defeat of Sihon and Og in Josh 12:1–6 is a later addition to the summary of defeated kings in Josh 12:7–23. The general consensus is that Josh 12:1–6 represents the work of a later editor. Steuernagel argued that the concluding summary of war against the southern and northern kings in the D^2 source is contained in Josh 11:16–20 and that Josh 1:1–6 is a later Deuteronomistic addition (1923: 253). Noth followed the same line of interpretation, also attributing Josh 12:1–6 to the Deuteronomist (1971b: 71). Fritz (1994: 126) and H. N. Rösel (2011: 197–98) note further that the opening line in Josh 12:1a, "these are the kings of the land, whom the Israelites slaughtered, whose land they possessed," may have functioned as the introduction to some form of the list of kings west of the Jordan River in Josh 12:9–24, in which case the summary of the war against Sihon and Og, east of the Jordan in Josh 12:1b–6, is a later addition. Noth detected further redactional additions within Josh 12:1–6, particularly in the extended description of geography in Josh 12:2b–3 and 5. He concluded that the text originally included only the defeat of Sihon and Og but that a subsequent editor provides more geographical detail on the extent of Sihon's kingdom in Josh 12:2b–3 by incorporating texts from Deut 3:13b, 16, and of Og's kingdom in Josh 12:5 on the basis of Deut 3: 13 (1971b: 71). Fritz (1994: 129–32) refined the study of Noth, identifying three levels of composition in Josh 12:1–8, thus including the description of geography west of the Jordan in vv. 7–8: (1) the original introduction to the list of kings west of the Jordan River (v. 1a), (2) a description of the territory east and west of the Jordan (12:1*, 2, 4, 5, 7), and (3) a broader and more general geographical description of territory east and west of the Jordan, along with reference to the tradition of Moses in Num 21:21–35 (12:1b*b,* 3, 6, 8).

The identification of the author or authors of Josh 12:1–6 is difficult to evaluate. The episode may be a late addition to Josh 1–12 because of its focus on territory east of the Jordan River. H. N. Rösel notes that "the inclusion of the conquests in Transjordan oversteps the limits of the book of Joshua" (2011: 195). Yet the themes in Josh 12:1–6 are important throughout Josh 1–11. The tribal territory east of the Jordan is central already in the prologue to the book of Joshua, when Joshua specifically addresses the eastern tribes, Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (1:12–18). The defeat of Sihon and Og is a central theme in the speeches of Rahab (2:10) and the Gibeonites (9:10). The close relationship between the wars of Moses and Joshua, moreover, is already present in the commission of Joshua, when the Deity promises, "As I was with Moses, I will be with you" (1:5). The shared themes allow for the conclusion that the same author composed Josh 12:1–6 and the larger story of Josh 1–12. The date of composition in the postexilic period would account for the dependence of the author on the full range of literature on Sihon and Og in both Num 21 and Deut 1–3.

The author of Josh 12 may have used a source document, since the list in Josh 12:9–23 exceeds the number of kings and cities mentioned in Josh 1–11. The table lists the kings and cities destroyed in Josh 1–11 and in the MT version of the list of Josh 12:9–24.

Kings/Cities in Josh 1–11	*Kings/Cities in Josh 12:9–24*
Josh 6 (king and city destroyed)	[9]Jericho
Josh 8 (king and city destroyed)	Ai
Josh 10 (king executed)	[10]Jerusalem
Josh 10 (king and city destroyed)	Hebron
Josh 10 (king executed)	[11]Jarmuth
Josh 10 (king and city destroyed)	Lachish
Josh 10 (king and city destroyed)	[12]Eglon
Josh 10 (king executed)	Gezer
Josh 10 (king and city destroyed)	[13]Debir
	Geder
	[14]Hormah
	Arad
Josh 10 (king and city destroyed)	[15]Libnah
	Adullam
Josh 10 (king and city destroyed)	[16]Makkedah
Josh 7–8 (no destruction)	Bethel
	[17]Tappuah
	Hepher
	[18]Aphek
	Lasharon
Josh 11 (king and city destroyed)	[19]Madon
Josh 11 (king and city destroyed)	Hazor
Josh 11 (king of Shimron)	[20]Shimron-meron
Josh 11 (king of Achshaph)	Achshaph
	[21]Taanach
	Megiddo
	[22]Kedesh
	Jokneam
	[23]Dor
	Goiim
	[24]Tirzah

The correspondence between the defeated kings in Josh 1–11 and 12:9–24 is noteworthy. It includes Jericho and Ai in v. 9 from Josh 6–8. The list of southern kings in vv. 10–12a repeats the coalition from Josh 10:1–2: Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. Other cities from the southern campaign include Gezer (10:33), Debir (10:38–39), Libnah (10:29–30), and Makkedah (10:28–29) in a less formal order in vv. 12b–13a, 15a, 16a. The list of northern kings in vv. 19–20 repeats the coalition from Josh 11:1: Hazor, Madon, and Achshaph. All of the references, with the exception of Makkedah and Madon, are in the same order in which they appear in the narratives. This suggests a close literary relationship between Josh 1–11 and 12:9–24.

Many interpreters conclude that the literary parallels between Josh 1–11 and 12:9–24 are the result of the author of Joshua, who introduces the narrative material into the king list. The identity of the author, however, is debated. Noth, for example, identified the author as the Deuteronomist, noting the close ties between Josh 12:9–13a

and the narratives of conquest in Josh 6–11, along with shared motifs in Deut 2–3 (1971b: 71). Nelson is less sure, suggesting instead that the list may have provided the basis for the naming of the cities in the narrative, in which case the author of the list is unknown but precedes the Deuteronomist (1997a: 162). H. N. Rösel suggested that the king list in Josh 12:9–24 is a version of the stories of conquest in Josh 1–11 at a pre-Deuteronomistic stage of composition (2011: 195). Younger pushed the identity of the author even farther back in time, suggesting that the king list is a unified composition that reflects historical events of the conquest (1990: 230–32). Fritz moves in the other direction, identifying the entire list as a Deuteronomistic literary composition (1994: 137).

The debate over the identity of the author of Josh 12:9–24 is tied in part to the problem of whether the list of defeated kings contains an independent source document that has been reworked and incorporated into the book of Joshua. The content, form, and antiquity of the original list in Josh 12:9–24 are also debated. As stated above, Noth argued that Josh 12:9–24 contains a source document of unknown origin that the Deuteronomist reworked (1971b: 72–73). The content of the source likely excluded vv. 9–13a, according to Noth, since these cities appear in the narratives of Josh 1–11. If Josh 12:9–24 is the source for the narratives, as Nelson argued, the list would include most of the cities. The form of an original list is also unclear. Younger identified the list as a summary of military campaigns, as in Assyrian royal inscriptions (1990: 230), while Knauf detected parallels to tax records and spending accounts, which also include numbers and totals (2008: 121). A variety of dates for the list have also been proposed. Fritz originally sought to anchor the source in the time of Solomon by comparing the list of cities to the period of the settlement (1969); he qualified this position, however, stating that the cities in the list are difficult to place together in any one specific time period (1994: 136–37). In view of this, H. N. Rösel writes, "If these towns in fact never existed together in any one period, the conclusion must be that the list has no historical but only literary significance" (2011: 196). Yet he adds that whether or not one identifies an original list document, there is evidence of reinterpretation from a focus on cities to a summary of defeated kings (2011: 195–96). For example, the addition of the numeral "one" in the MT suggests that the list may have been refashioned to focus on a single king for each city, rather than the city itself. The process of reinterpretation would account for the confusion in the MT of v. 18, "the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one," where Lasharon does not appear to represent a city (see the "Notes"). Rösel concludes that the original identification of the city Aphek included its location in the region of Sharon, as is evident in the LXX, "the king of Aphek of Saron." The MT of v. 22, "the king of Jokneam in Carmel," provides support for this interpretation.

The problems of interpretation do not allow for the identification of an independent list of kings and cities in Josh 12:9–24. The literary relationship between Josh 1–11 and 12:9–24 suggests, instead, that the author of the narrative accounts of war also composed the king list. The removal of the cities in the narratives from the king list would result in a truncated document, with four cities in southern Judah (Geder, Hormah, Arad, and Adullam) and twelve additional sites concentrated in the northern tribal region of western Manasseh (Tappuah [?], Tirzah, Taanach [?], Megiddo, Dor, Jokneam, Hepher, and the region of Sharon). The function of such a list is difficult to discern, but this conclusion raises a new problem of interpretation concerning the

purpose of the extra cities in the list. H. N. Rösel suggests that the author of Josh 12:9–24 may be attempting to fill in the geographical gap that is left by the southern (Josh 10) and northern (Josh 11) wars (2011: 196). When read from this perspective, the additional sites in Josh 12:9–24 may provide some insight into the perspective of the author. The inclusion of Hormah and Arad (v. 14), for instance, would indicate that the author is filling in the tradition of the southern conquest on the basis of the book of Numbers, where both Hormah (Num 14:45) and Arad (Num 21:1–3; 33:40) appear together as locations of important wars. The incorporation of Hormah and Arad from the book of Numbers cautions against the identification of the author of Joshua as the Deuteronomist, since Hormah occurs only alone in Deuteronomy (1:44). It suggests instead that the author is postpentateuchal and thus dependent on the full range of the accounts of the wilderness journey in the Pentateuch. In addition, the concentration of the additional cities in the region of western Manasseh may also be noteworthy (vv. 17–18, 21–24), indicating the northern point of view of the author, who envisions the defeat of kings and the destruction of city-states in this region to be the goal of the narrative.

Comments

12:1–6. TERRITORY AND KINGS EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER CONQUERED BY MOSES

The section may be divided into four parts: (1) the introduction of the theme of land possession east of the Jordan River (v. 1), (2) the defeat of Sihon and the extent of his kingdom (vv. 2–3), the defeat of Og and the extent of his kingdom (vv. 4–5), and (4) the summary conclusion concerning the land possession of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

The introduction in v. 1 describes the whole territory east of the Jordan River from the south to the north as including "the Wadi Arnon to Mount Hermon." This territory is "all the eastern Arabah," a phrase that is limited in the Hebrew Bible to Josh 12:1. The Arabah more often describes the region of Moab (e.g., Num 22:1; 26:3; 31:12), which is not intended in Josh 12:1, since the Arnon signifies the northern border of Moab, while the text describes the Arnon as the southernmost boundary of the designated territory. The general description of the Transjordan as extending from the Arnon to Hermon appears in Deut 3:8 and again in Deut 4:48, where Hermon is called "Sirion," indicating a literary relationship between Joshua and Deuteronomy.

The focus on geography introduces the theme of land possession with the verb *yāraš:* "These are the kings of the land, whom the Israelites slaughtered, whose land they possessed across the Jordan" (v. 1a). The verb *yāraš* in the Qal means "to possess," but in the Hiphil it means "to drive out" or "to dispossess." Each form of the verb occurs a limited number of times in Josh 1–12: the Hiphil in Josh 3:10; 8:7, and the Qal in Josh 1:11, 15; 12:1. The Hiphil describes the driving out of the indigenous nations by God (3:10) and by Joshua (8:7). The Qal frames the story of conquest in Joshua 1–12, appearing first in Joshua's address to the western (1:11) and eastern (1:15) tribes and again at the conclusion of the conquest in Josh 12:1. The framing of the motif indicates a progression in Josh 1–12 from the promise of land possession (1:11, 15) to its fulfill-

ment (12:1). The Hiphil form of the verb indicates that the means for achieving the goal is the taking of the land from the indigenous nations by God (3:10) and by Joshua (8:7). The motif of land possession (the Qal form of *yāraš,* 13:1; 18:3; 19:47; 21:43; 23:5; 24:4) and the theme of dispossessing the indigenous nations (the Hiphil form of *yāraš,* 13:6, 13; 14:12; 15:14, 63; 17:12, 13 [twice]; 23:5, 9, 13; 24:8) take a more prominent role in the second half of the book of Joshua, indicating that the motif in Josh 12:1 has a transitional function in the book.

The borders of the kingdom of Sihon are the central theme in Josh 12:2–3, rather than the war against him. The defeat of Sihon appears at different points in the book of Joshua (2:10; 9:10), but the war itself is not recounted. The war is an important feature in the tradition of the conquest, however, which is indicated by its appearance three times in a range of literature: (1) in the story of the wilderness journey in Num 21:21–35, (2) in the speech of Moses to the second generation in Deut 2:26–3:7, and (3) in the speech of Jephthah to the Ammonites in Judg 11:12–28. The defeat of Sihon (and Og) in the historiographic Pss 135 and 136 further underscores the importance of the story in the tradition of the conquest. In fact, the defeat of Sihon and Og constitutes the entire conquest tradition in Pss 135 and 136; there is no mention of any further invasion into the land west of the Jordan River.

The author of Joshua uses the full range of traditional material from Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Judges to describe the kingdom of Sihon in Josh 12:1–3. The dependence of the author on Deuteronomy is evident from the repetition of Deut 3:8 in Josh 12:1, where the entire region east of the Jordan is described as extending from the Arnon to Hermon. But the more focused description of Sihon's kingdom in Josh 12:2, as extending from the Arnon to the Jabbok River, is not in Deuteronomy, which describes the borders of Sihon's kingdom as extending from the Arnon to Gilead (Deut 2:36; 3:16). Instead, the phrase "from the Arnon to the Jabbok River" appears in Num 21:24 and Judg 11:13, 22, suggesting that the author of Joshua is using this material in addition to Deuteronomy. The repeated references to Sihon and Og by Rahab (Josh 2:10), by the Gibeonites (9:10), and finally in the summary of the conquest (12:2–6) link the traditional view of the conquest on the eastern side of the Jordan under Moses to Joshua's invasion of the western side of the Jordan.

Og is described in Josh 12:4–5. The previous references to him in Joshua identify him as an Amorite, along with Sihon (2:10; 9:10). In Josh 12:1–6, however, his identity is separated from Sihon. Sihon is an Amorite, his capital city is Heshbon, and the borders of his kingdom stretch from the Arnon northward to the Jabbok River (12:2–3). The primary identification of Og is that he belongs to the Rephaim. The Rephaim are dead kings who dwell in the underworld (e.g., Ps 88:10; Prov 2:18) and also appear as giants (LXX Josh 12:4; MT Deut 3:11). The identification of the Rephaim as the royal dead is explained in Isa 14:9, where they are described as past "leaders of the earth" who were "kings of nations" but have now descended into Sheol. By identifying Og as the last of the Rephaim, the author of Joshua may also be identifying him with the dead kings of Sheol, who are the royal dead.

The mythology of the Rephaim as the royal dead is evident at Ugarit. M. J. Suriano (2010: 151–53) notes that the Rephaim play an active role in contemporary political and religious royal life at Ugarit (*KTU* 1.161). They ride chariots, they gather at feasts (*KTU* 1.20/22), and they participate in collective assembly (*KTU* 1.15 iii: 3–4 and 14–15). As

the royal dead, the Rephaim are also associated with the "gods." Thus they play a role beyond the political realm and also participate in the divine order of life (*KTU* 1.6 VI: 45–47). The result is that they function to legitimate a new king by affirming the organic relationship between the ruling king and the royal ancestors, who sustain the cosmic order that undergirds monarchic rule (*KTU* 1.108).

The association of Og with the Rephaim in Josh 12:4–5 may also be interpreted within the tradition of the royal dead, who secure the continuing rule of kings by linking the political state with cosmic forces and thus reinforce the divine right of the king. The royal and cosmological power represented by Og is evident in his size, which, according to Deut 3:11, requires a thirteen-foot bed. Suriano writes, "Great physical stature is often a royal attribute, and the point was not to depict [the Rephaim] as giants but rather to present them in kingly terms (cf. 1 Sam 9:2)" (2010: 158). The iconography of Pharaoh as a giant in war among the smaller Egyptian soldiers provides visual representation of the same ideology. The author of Joshua does not explore the size of Og but emphasizes instead that he is the last of the Rephaim. His death ends the mythical institution of the royal ancestors, who provide cosmological support for political kingship.

References to the name Og and his capital cities Ashtaroth and Edrei in ancient Near Eastern texts outside of the Hebrew Bible reinforce Og's mythological role in Josh 12:4–5, in which he represents the extinction of the Rephaim and the cult of the royal dead. K. Spronk notes a Phoenician inscription from Byblos that refers to Og as a spirit of the dead or perhaps a deity of the underworld with the power to avenge the dead if someone opens the sarcophagus and disturbs the bones: "the Og [*h'g*] will search for me, the mighty, and in all generations" (1986: 210–11). The definite article used with the word "Og" raises a question about the exact meaning of the inscription—whether Og is a personal name or the description of a more general spirit of the dead. Spronk suggests the title of a god rather than a famous ancestor (1986: 211). M. Pope points out that Og's capital cities in Josh 12:4, Ashtaroth and Edrei, are associated with the Rephaim in *KTU* 1.108.3, further reinforcing a mythological interpretation of Og in the book of Joshua (1981: 171–73; cf. P. Bordreuil, 1990: 13–14). The geography of Og's kingdom raises still further questions about Og's mythological role. Knauf, for example, notes that Mount Hermon is not the property of human kings in most ancient Near Eastern literature but is the residence of gods (2008: 122). S. B. Noegel also questions whether Mount Hermon in Josh 12:4–5 may not be functioning symbolically as a sacred mountain, perhaps associated with cursing, as is evident in two Aramaic incantation bowls (1998: 418). H. N. Rösel concludes that "the ancient extra-biblical mythic tradition undoubtedly underlies the biblical tradition of the king Og" (2011: 200; see also Noort, 1987).

The deaths of Sihon and Og are attributed in Josh 12:6 to Moses, the servant of Yahweh. The linking of legend and myth in the story of Sihon and Og is important to the author of Joshua, as are their deaths at the hands of Moses. The defeat of Sihon and Og represents both political and cosmological battles against kings and royal cities. The war against Sihon represents the elimination of kings and city-states, while the execution of Og recounts Moses' further victory over the mythic royal ancestors, who provide divine authority to the institution of kingship. In this way, the war of Moses in the Transjordan provides the paradigm for Joshua. The victory of Moses over Sihon and

Og eliminates the political and mythological institution of kingship and city-states in the Transjordan. It is left for Joshua and the second generation of Israelites to complete the task on the western side of the Jordan River.

12:7–24. TERRITORY AND KINGS WEST OF THE JORDAN RIVER CONQUERED BY JOSHUA

The summary conclusion to the conquest west of the Jordan River may be divided into two parts: the geographical description of the land (vv. 7–8), and the list of defeated kings (vv. 9–24).

The broad description of the conquered land west of the Jordan in Josh 12:7–8 includes its borders (v. 7) and its regions (v. 8). Joshua 12:7–8 repeats Josh 11:16–17 in reverse order; Josh 11:16–17 describes first the regions of the land (v. 16) and then its borders (v. 17). The borders of the land in Josh 12:7 move from the north to the south: "Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon as far as Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir." Mount Halak identifies the southernmost point of land in Joshua, which is situated between Kadesh-barnea and the southern tip of the Dead Sea on the west side of the sea; while Baal-gad is the northernmost site in the area of Lebanon, within the vicinity of Mount Hermon. The description of the regions in Josh 12:8 includes six areas—highland, lowland, Arabah, slopes, wilderness, and the Negeb—and the six indigenous nations that populate the areas—Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites. The emphasis of the writer is on the totality of the geographical territory as a "possession" (12:7). The additional statement that the possession of the land is for tribal allotment or distribution, *maḥălōqet,* provides a transition to the second half of the book of Joshua, where the division of the land is the central theme.

The list of conquered kings in Josh 12:9–24 loosely follows the order of the narrative of the conquest in Josh 1–11. The summary may be divided into three geographical sections: (1) It begins in the middle portion of the land, which constitutes Benjamin and Ephraim (v. 9); (2) the second section includes the southern region, which makes up Judah (vv. 10–16a); and (3) the list concludes in the north, focusing mainly on the tribal region of Manasseh (vv. 16b–24). The conquest of Jericho and Ai in v. 9 summarizes the entry of the ark into the land in Josh 2–8, which recounts the procession to Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem. The remainder of the list summarizes the execution of the southern and northern kings. The list of southern kings in vv. 10–16a includes the coalition that fought against Joshua in chapter 9, including the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, Eglon, Gezer, Debir, Libnah, and Makkedah. The author adds four additional kings from Geder, Hormah, Arad, and Adullam, perhaps to include stories of the conquest from the wilderness tradition in Num 20–21 and Deut 1–4. The focus of the author is on the northern conquest in Josh 12:16b–24. The narrative of the northern conquest includes very little geographical information. Three cities from the narrative in Josh 11 appear in the list: Hazor, Shimron-meron (?), and Achshaph (vv. 19b–20). Most of the cities, therefore, are additions to the narrative that are concentrated in the area of the Jezreel Valley (Taanach, Megiddo, and Jokneam) or in the larger coastal region (Aphek and Dor). The function of the expanded list of cities is difficult to evaluate, but the concentration of twelve additional cities in the list of northern kings and cities, as compared with four in the southern list, suggests

that the northern region is the focus of author. The procession of the ark to Shechem indicates Yahweh's claim on the middle portion of the land, Ephraim and Benjamin. The conquest of the south is described in detail in Josh 10. The borders of the conquest are clearly defined. The area farther north, however, is more open-ended. Joshua 11 recounts the destruction of Hazor, but the geography of the war is vague.

Appendix I
Translation of the MT and the LXX

Josh 1. Commission of Joshua

1:1–9. DIVINE COMMISSION

MT

1 [1]After the death of Moses, the servant of Yahweh, Yahweh said to Joshua son of Nun, the assistant of Moses, stating, [2]"Moses my servant is dead. And now arise and cross this Jordan, you and all this people, to the land which I am giving to them, to the Israelites. [3]Every place, upon which the sole of your foot will tread, I will give it to you, as I spoke to Moses:

[4]from the wilderness and this Lebanon
to the great river, the River Euphrates;
all the land of the Hittites
to the Great Sea, the place where the sun goes down;
will be your border.

[5]"No one will be able to stand before you all the days of your life. As I was with Moses, I will be with you. I will not fail you and I will not leave you. [6]Be courageous and strong, for you will cause

LXX

1 [1]And it happened after the death of Moyses, the Lord said to Iesous son of Naue, the helper of Moyses, saying, [2]"Moyses my servant has died. Now therefore arise and cross the Iordan, you and all this people, into the land that I am giving to them. [3]Every place, upon which you tread with the sole of your feet, I will give to you as I have said to Moyses:

[4]The wilderness and the Anti-lebanon
as far as the great river, the River Euphrates;
and as far as the Sea at the End, where the sun sets;
will be your borders.

[5]"No human will resist you all the days of your life. And just as I was with Moyses, so I will also be with you and I will not desert you nor disregard you. [6]Be strong and manly, for you will divide for

this people to possess the land, which I swore to their fathers to give to them.

7"Only be courageous and very strong by observing and doing all the Torah, which Moses, my servant, commanded you. Do not turn from it right or left, so that you will have insight wherever you go. 8The book of this Torah shall not depart from your mouth and you shall meditate on it day and night so that you observe to do all that is written in it. For then you will make your way prosperous and then you will be prudent.

9"Have I not commanded you to be courageous and strong. Do not be terrified or dismayed for Yahweh your God is with you wherever you go."

this people the land that I swore to their fathers to give them.

7"Be strong, therefore, and manly to observe and to do as Moyses, my servant, commanded you. And do not turn aside from them to the right or to the left, so that you may have understanding in all that you do. 8And the book of this law shall not leave from your mouth and you shall meditate on it day and night so that you may have understanding to do all that is written. Then you will be prosperous and your way will flourish.

9"Indeed, I have commanded you, 'Be strong and manly; do not be cowardly or afraid, because the Lord your God is with you in all places you may go.'"

1:10–18. ADDRESS OF JOSHUA TO THE ISRAELITES

MT

10Joshua commanded the scribes of the people saying, 11"Cross through the camp and command the people saying, 'Prepare your provisions, because in three days you are crossing this Jordan to enter to possess the land which Yahweh your God is giving to you to possess it.'"

12But to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh Joshua said, saying, 13"Remember the word that Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded you saying, 'Yahweh your God is giving you rest and he will give you this land.' 14Your wives, your children, and your cattle will dwell in the land, which Moses gave to you beyond the Jordan. But you shall cross as a fifth column before your brothers, all the warriors, and you will assist them 15until Yahweh gives your brothers rest like you. And they too will inherit the land which Yahweh your God is giving to them.

LXX

10And Iesous commanded the scribes of the people, saying, 11"Go into the midst of the camp of the people and command the people, saying, 'Prepare provisions, for in three days you are crossing this Iordan, entering to possess the land which the Lord, the God of your fathers, gives you.'"

12And to Rouben and to Gad and to the half tribe of Manasse, Iesous said, 13"Remember the word of the Lord that Moyses, the servant of the Lord, commanded you, saying, 'The Lord your God has given you rest and has given you this land.' 14Let your wives and your children and your livestock settle in the land that he gave you. But you cross over well-equipped before your brothers, all who are strong, and you will be their ally 15until the Lord your God gives rest to your brothers as to you, and they will inherit this land, which the Lord your God is giving them. And each of you will

Then you will return to the land of your possession and you will possess it as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave to you beyond the Jordan toward the sun."

[16]And they answered Joshua saying, "All that you commanded us, we will do, and wherever you send us, we will go. [17]Just as we obeyed Moses in all things, thus we will obey you. Yahweh your God, however, must be with you as he was with Moses. [18]Whoever rebels against your utterance and does not obey your words, whatever you command him, shall be put to death. Just be courageous and strong."

depart to his inheritance, which Moyses has given you across the Iordan, from the rising of the sun."

[16]And in replying to Iesous, they said, "All that you commanded us, we will do, and to every place that you send us, we will go. [17]Just as we obeyed Moyses in all things, so we will obey you. Only let the Lord your God be with you as he was with Moyses. [18]But the person who rebels against you and whoever disobeys your words that you command him, let him die. But be strong and manly."

Josh 2. Rahab, the Trickster

2:1. IDENTIFICATION OF RAHAB

MT

2 [1]And Joshua son of Nun secretly sent from Shittim two men to spy saying, "Go and see the land and Jericho." And they went and they entered a house of a woman prostitute, whose name was Rahab. And they lay down there.

LXX

2 [1]And Iesous son of Naue send two young men to spy saying, "Go up and see the land and Iericho." And traveling, the two young men entered Iericho, and they entered the house of a prostitute woman, whose name was Raab. And they lodged there.

2:2–6. DECEPTION OF THE KING OF JERICHO

MT

[2]And it was told to the king of Jericho saying, "Look, men have entered here tonight from the Israelites to search out the land." [3]And the king of Jericho sent to Rahab, saying, "Bring out the men who came in to you, who entered your house, for they came to spy out all the land."

[4]And the woman took the two men and she hid him. And she said, "Yes, the two men came in to me, but I do not know from where they came. [5]And when the gate closed at dark, the men went out. I do not know where the men went. Pursue quickly after them, for you will overtake them."

LXX

[2]And it was reported to the king of Iericho saying, "Men of the sons of Israel have entered here to spy out the land." [3]And the king of Iericho sent and said to Raab saying, "Bring out the men who entered your house by night, for they have come to spy out the land."

[4]And the woman took the men and hid them. And she said to them saying, "The men came in to me.

[5]"But when the gate was closed at dark, the men went out. I do not know where they went. Pursue after them, if you can overtake them."

[6]But she brought them up to the roof and she hid them among the stalks of flax, which were arranged by her on the roof.

[6]But she brought them up to the roof and hid them in the flax-straw that was heaped up on her roof.

2:7–11. CONFESSION ABOUT YAHWEH

MT

[7]Meanwhile the men pursued after them on the Jordan road down to the ford; but the gate they closed behind as the pursuers went out after them.

[8]Even before they lay down to sleep, she went up to them on the roof. [9]And she said to the men, "I know that Yahweh has given you the land and that your dread has fallen on us and that all the inhabitants of the land pale in despair before you. [10]For we heard how Yahweh dried up the water of the Red Sea before you when you went out from Egypt and what you did to the two kings of the Amorites, who were across the Jordan, to Sihon and to Og, how you put them under the ban. [11]We heard and our heart melted and the spirit in each person could not rise up any longer before you, because Yahweh your God, he is God in heaven above and on the earth below.

LXX

[7]And the men pursued after them on the road toward the Iordan to the crossing. And the gate was closed. And it happened when those pursuing after them went out, [8]but before they were to sleep, she went up to the roof to them, [9]and said to them, "I know that the Lord has given you the land, for the fear of you has fallen on us.

[10]"For we heard that the Lord, the God, dried up the Red Sea from before you, when you came out from the land of Egypt and what he did to the two kings of the Amorrites, who were across the Iordan, to Seon and Og, whom you utterly destroyed. [11]And when we heard it, we were astonished in our hearts and there was no longer any spirit in any of us, because the Lord, your God is the God in heaven above and on earth below.

2:12–21. VOW TO RESCUE AND ITS CONDITIONS

MT

[12]"Now, swear to me by Yahweh, since I performed kindness to you, [13]that you also perform kindness to the house of my father and you give me a sign of trust that you will let live my father, my mother, my brothers, my sister, and all who belong to them and that you will deliver our lives from death."

[14]The men said to her, "Our life instead of yours to die, if you do not tell this matter of ours. And when Yahweh gives us the land, we will perform kindness and faithfulness with you."

[15]Then she lowered them with a rope through the window, because her

LXX

[12]"And now swear to me by the Lord, the God, because I am showing mercy to you, you also show mercy to the house of my father, [13]and you spare the house of my father, my mother, my brothers, all my house, and everything that is theirs. And you deliver my life from death."

[14]And the men said to her, "Our life for yours to death."

And she said, "When the Lord gives over the city to you, show me mercy and truth."

[15]And she let them down through the window.

house was in a room of the wall, for she lived in the wall. [16]And she said to them, "Toward the mountain you must go, lest those pursuing fall upon you. Hide yourselves there for three days until the pursuers return. Afterward you can go on your way."

[17]The men said to her, "We are blameless from this oath of yours, which you have made us swear. [18]When we enter the land, you must tie this red thread in the window through which you let us down; and your father, your mother, your brother, and all who belong to the house of your father you must gather to yourself in the house. [19]Any one who goes outside from the doors of your house outside, his blood is on his head and we are blameless. But anyone who will be with you in the house, his blood is on our head, if a hand is on him. [20]If you tell this matter of ours, we will be blameless from your oath which you have made us swear."

[21]And she said, "According to your words, thus it is." And she sent them away. And they went. And she tied the red thread in the window.

[16]And she said to them, "Depart toward the hills, so that those pursuing do not come upon you. You will be hidden there for three days, until those pursuing after you return, and afterwards you will depart on your way."

[17]And the men said to her, "We are innocent in this oath of yours.

[18]"Look, we are entering into a part of the city and you will place the sign. You will fasten this scarlet cord in the window through which you let us down; and your father, your mother, your brothers, and all the house of your father you will gather to yourself in your house. [19]And it will be that if anyone goes outside of the door of your house outside, he will be liable for himself. But we will be innocent of this oath of yours. And whoever is with you in your house, we will be liable. [20]If anyone does us wrong or reveals these words of ours, we will be innocent of this oath of yours."

[21]And she said to them, "According to your word, let it be." And she sent them away.

2:22–24. REPORT OF THE SPIES

MT

[22]And they went and they came to the mountain and they dwelt there three days until the pursuers returned. The pursuers searched the entire road, but found nothing. [23]The two men returned and descended from the mountain. They crossed and came to Joshua son of Nun and told him everything that happened to them. [24]They said to Joshua, "Yahweh has given the entire land into our hand. All the inhabitants of the land even pale in despair before us."

LXX

[22]And they departed and went to the hill country and remained there three days. And those pursuing searched all the roads and did not find them. [23]And the two young men returned and came down from the mountain. And they crossed over to Iesous son of Naue and told him all that had happened to them. [24]And they said to Iesous, "The Lord has given over all the land into your hand, and all the inhabitants of the land tremble from us."

Josh 3:1–5:12. Crossing the Jordan

3:1–6. PREPARATION AT SHITTIM

MT

3 [1]And Joshua rose early in the morning. They set out from Shittim and they entered as far as the Jordan, he and all the Israelites. And they spent the night there before they would cross.

[2]At the end of three days, the scribes crossed through the midst of the camp [3]and they commanded the people saying, "When you see the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, your God, and the Levitical priests carrying it, you will set out from your place and walk after it. [4]But let there be a distance between you and it, about two thousand cubits in measure—do not approach it—so that you may know the way in which you must go for you have not crossed this way before."

[5]And Joshua said to the people, "Consecrate yourselves for tomorrow Yahweh will do wonders in your midst."

[6]And Joshua spoke to the priests saying, "Lift the ark of the covenant and cross before the people." And they lifted the ark of the covenant and they went before the people.

LXX

3 [1]And Iesous rose early in the morning and departed out of Sattin, and they journeyed as far as the Iordan and halted there before the crossing.

[2]And it happened that after three days the scribes went through the camp [3]and commanded the people saying, "When you see the ark of the covenant of the Lord, our God, and our priests, and our Leuites carrying it, you will depart from your place and journey after it. [4]But let there be a distance between you and it of two thousand cubits. You shall stand, but you shall not approach it, so that you may know the way in which you are journeying. For you have not journeyed the way yesterday or the third day."

[5]And Iesous said to the people, "Purify yourselves for tomorrow, because tomorrow the Lord will do wonders among you."

[6]And Iesous said to the priests, "Raise up the ark of the covenant of the Lord and go before the people." And the priests raised the ark of the covenant of the Lord and went before the people.

3:7–17. ENTRY OF THE ARK INTO THE JORDAN AND THE STOPPING OF THE WATER

MT

[7]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "This day I will begin to make you great in the eyes of all the Israelites so that they will know that as I was with Moses, I am with you. [8]Now you will command the priests lifting the ark of the covenant saying, 'When you enter the edge of the water of the Jordan, in the Jordan you will stand.'"

LXX

[7]And the Lord said to Iesous, "On this day I am beginning to exalt you before all the sons of Israel so that they might know that as I was with Moyses, thus I will be with you. [8]And now command the priests who raise the ark of the covenant saying, 'When you enter into part of the water of the Iordan, you will stand in the Iordan.'"

[9]Joshua said to the Israelites, "Step forward here and listen to the words of Yahweh, your God." [10]And Joshua said, "By this you will know that El, the living, is in your midst. And he is dispossessing before you the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites. [11]Indeed, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth is crossing before you into the Jordan. [12]Now, take for yourselves twelve men from the tribes of Israel, one man for each tribe. [13]When the soles of the feet of the priests carrying the ark of Yahweh, the Lord of all the earth, rest in the water of the Jordan, the water of the Jordon will be cut off, the waters flowing down from above, they will stand in one heap."

[14]When the people set out from their tents to cross the Jordan, and the priests were carrying the ark of the covenant before the people, [15]and when those carrying the ark entered the Jordan, and the feet of the priests carrying the ark dipped into the edge of the water—the Jordan bursting all of its banks throughout the days of harvest—[16]then the waters of the Jordan flowing from above stood still. They arose in one heap a very great distance in Adam, the city, which is by Zarethan, while that flowing down to the Sea of Arabah, the Salt Sea, ceased and were cut off. Then the people crossed over opposite Jericho.

[17]The priests carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh stood on dry ground firmly in the midst of the Jordan. And all the Israelites were crossing on dry ground, until the entire nation completed the crossing of the Jordan.

[9]And Iesous said to the sons of Israel, "Draw near and hear the word of the Lord, your God. [10]By this you will know that God is living among you and by destroying, he will utterly destroy from before you the Chananite, the Chettite and the Pherezite, the Euaion, the Amorrite, the Gergeshite, and the Iebousite. [11]Look, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth crosses the Iordan. [12]Choose for yourselves twelve men from the sons of Israel, one from each tribe.

[13]And it will be when the feet of the priests raising the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth rest in the water of the Iordan, the water of the Iordan will stop, and the waters that come down will stand still."

[14]And when the people departed from their habitations to cross the Iordan, the priests raised the ark of the covenant of the Lord before the people. [15]As the priests, who raised the ark of the covenant, entered into the Iordan and the feet of the priests, who raised the ark of the covenant of the Lord, were dipped into part of the water of the Iordan—now the Iordan fills all its banks as if it were the days of wheat harvest—[16]the waters following from above stood still. A solid mass stood still a very great distance off, as far as a part of Kariathiarim, while that which came down descended to the sea of Araba, the Salt Sea, until it ceased completely. And the people stood opposite Iericho.

[17]And the priests who raised the ark of the covenant of the Lord stood on dry ground in the middle of the Iordan. And all the sons of Israel were crossing on dry ground, until all the people finished the crossing of the Iordan.

4:1–14. HALTING OF THE ARK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE JORDAN AND THE TWELVE STONES

MT

4 [1]And when the entire nation had completed the crossing of the Jordan, Yahweh spoke to Joshua saying, [2]"'Take for yourselves from the people twelve men, one from each tribe, [3]and command them saying, 'Take for yourselves from here, from the middle of the Jordan, from where the feet of the priests stood firmly, twelve stones and bring them across with you, and rest them in the place in which you lodge tonight.'"

[4]And Joshua called to the twelve men, whom he had appointed from the Israelites, one man from each tribe. [5]And Joshua said to them, "Cross before the ark of Yahweh, your God, to the middle of the Jordan and raise up for yourselves, each man one stone on his shoulder, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, [6]so that this may be a sign in your midst, when your children ask tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones to you?' [7]And you will say to them, 'The waters of the Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh. When it crossed through the Jordan, the waters of the Jordan were cut off.' And these stones will be a memorial to the Israelites forever."

[8]And the Israelites did as Joshua commanded. They took up twelve stones from the middle of the Jordan as Yahweh spoke to Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. And they carried them over with them to the campsite and laid them down there. [9]But twelve stones Joshua set up in the middle of the Jordan underneath the feet of the priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant. And they are there yet to this day.

[10]But the priests carrying the ark were standing in the middle of the Jor-

LXX

4 [1]And when all the people completed the crossing of the Iordan, the Lord spoke to Iesous saying, [2]"'Taking men from the people, one from each tribe, [3]instruct them saying, 'Remove from the middle of the Iordan twelve readied stones, and when you have carried these with you, place them in your military camp, there where you make camp for the night.'"

[4]And when Iesous called twelve esteemed men from the sons of Israel, one from each tribe, [5]he said to them, "Come forward before me, before the Lord, into the middle of the Iordan, and, taking from there each a stone, let him raise it on his shoulders, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel, [6]so that they may exist as a sign for you in place for all time, so that when your son asks you tomorrow, saying, 'What are these stones to you?' [7]then you will clarify to your son, saying, 'Because the Iordan River ceased before the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth as it crossed it.' And these stones will be to you a memorial, to the sons of Israel forever."

[8]And the sons of Israel did so as the Lord commanded Iesous. And taking twelve stones from the middle of the Iordan, as the Lord directed Iesous at the completion of the crossing of the sons of Israel, and they brought them over with them to the camp and they laid them down there. [9]But Iesous placed twelve other stones in the Iordan itself, in the place that was under the feet of the priests, who raised the ark of the covenant of the Lord. And they are there until today.

[10]But the priests who raised the ark of the covenant in the Iordan

dan until everything was completed that Yahweh commanded Joshua to say to the people, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua. And the people moved in haste and they crossed. [11]And when all the people had finished crossing, the ark of Yahweh and the priests crossed before the people.

[12]And the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh crossed as a fifth column before the Israelites as Moses told them. [13]About forty thousand equipped for military service crossed before Yahweh for battle on the plains of Jericho.

[14]On that day Yahweh made Joshua great in the eyes of all the Israelites. And they saw him as they saw Moses all the days of his life.

stood in the Iordan until Iesous finished everything that the Lord commanded to announce to the people.

And the people hurried and crossed. [11]And it happened that when all the people finished crossing, the ark of the covenant of the Lord crossed and the stones before them.

[12]The sons of Rouben and the sons of Gad and the half-tribe of Manasse crossed before the sons of Israel, equipped for war, as Moyses had commanded them. [13]Forty thousand for battle crossed before the Lord for conflict against the city of Iericho.

[14]On that day the Lord exalted Iesous before the entire nation of Israel and they feared him as Moyses for as long as he lived.

4:15–5:1. EXIT OF THE ARK FROM THE JORDAN AND THE RETURN OF THE WATER

MT

[15]And Yahweh said to Joshua saying, [16]"Command the priests carrying the ark of the testimony that they should come up from the Jordan."

[17]And Joshua commanded the priests saying, "Come up from the Jordan." [18]And when the priests carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh came up from the middle of the Jordan—the soles of the feet of the priests were drawn to the dry land—then the waters of the Jordan returned to their place and they went as yesterday and the day before on all its banks.

[19]The people came up from the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month and they camped at Gilgal on the eastern edge of Jericho. [20]And these twelve stones, which they took from the Jordan, Joshua raised up at Gilgal. [21]And he spoke to the Israelites saying, "When your children ask their fathers tomorrow saying, 'What are these stones?' [22]you will make known to your children

LXX

[15]And the Lord said to Iesous, saying, [16]"Command the priests who raise the ark of the covenant of the testimony of the Lord to come out of the Iordan."

[17]And Iesous commanded the priests saying, "Come out of the Iordan." [18]And it happened as the priests, who were raising the ark of the covenant of the Lord, came out of the Iordan and placed the feet on the land, the water of the Iordan rushed into place and proceeded as yesterday and the third day through all its banks.

[19]And the people went up out of the Iordan on the tenth of the first month. And the sons of Israel encamped in Galgala in the section that is toward sunrise from Iericho. [20]And those twelve stones, which he took out of the Iordan, Iesous placed in Galgala, [21]saying, "When your sons ask you, saying, 'What are these stones?' [22]you will proclaim to your sons, 'Israel crossed the Iordan on dry

saying, 'On dry ground Israel crossed this Jordan.' [23]For Yahweh your God dried up the water of the Jordan from before you until you crossed, as Yahweh your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us until we crossed, [24]so that all the people of the land may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong and that you may fear Yahweh your God all the days."

5 [1]And when all the kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan toward the west and all the kings of the Canaanites who were by the sea heard that Yahweh dried up the water of the Jordan before the Israelites until they crossed over, their hearts melted and the spirit in them could not rise up any longer before the Israelites.

ground, [23]when the Lord our God dried up the water of the Iordan before them until they crossed as the Lord our God did to the Red Sea, which the Lord our God dried up before us until we passed by, [24]so that all the nations of the earth may know that the power of the Lord is strong and that you may worship the Lord your God for all time.'"

5 [1]And it happened when the kings of the Amorrites, who were across the Iordan, and the kings of Phoenicia by the sea, heard that the Lord, God, had dried up the Iordan River from before the sons of Israel, when they crossed, their minds melted and they were amazed. And there was no longer any understanding in them from before the sons of Israel.

5:2–12. RITUALS AT GILGAL

MT

5 [2]At that time Yahweh said to Joshua, "Make for yourself swords of stone and again circumcise the Israelites a second time."

[3]And Joshua made for himself swords of stone and he circumcised the Israelites at the Hill of the Foreskins.

[4]This is the reason why Joshua circumcised: All the people going out of Egypt, the males, all the men of battle died in the wilderness on the way, in their going out of Egypt. [5]For all the people who went out were circumcised. But all the people who were born in the wilderness on the way in their going out from Egypt were not circumcised. [6]For forty years the Israelites went in the wilderness until all the nation perished, the men of war, who went out of Egypt, those who did not listen to the voice of Yahweh and to whom Yahweh swore that they would not see the land, which Yahweh had sworn to their fathers

LXX

5 [2]At this time the Lord said to Iesous, "Make yourself swords of stone out of the sharp rock and sitting down, circumcise the sons of Israel."

[3]And Iesous made sharp swords of rock and circumcised the sons of Israel at the place called Hill of the Foreskins, [4]which is how Iesous purified the sons of Israel, who were born on the way and who were not circumcised of those coming out of Egypt.

[5]All of these Iesous circumcised.

[6]For forty-two years Israel had lived in the wilderness of Madbaritis. Therefore the majority of the warriors coming out of the land of Egypt were uncircumcised—those who disobeyed the commands of God, whom he determined would not see the land that the Lord swore

to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey. [7]But their children he raised up in their place. Joshua circumcised them, because they were uncircumcised, since they did not circumcise them on the way.

[8]And when all the nation had been circumcised, they dwelt in their places in the camp until their recovery.

[9]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Today I have rolled away the reproach of Egypt from upon you." And he called the name of that place Gilgal, until this day.

[10]And the Israelites camped at Gilgal and they kept the Passover in the fourteenth day of the month at evening in the plain of Jericho.

[11]And they ate from the produce of the land on the day after Passover, unleavened bread and roasted grain, on this very day.

[12]And the manna ceased on the next day when they ate the produce of the land. And there was no longer manna for the Israelites. And they ate from the produce of the land of Canaan in that year.

to their forefathers to give us, a land flowing with milk and honey. [7]Instead of them, he raised their sons, whom Iesous circumcised because they remained uncircumcised on the way.

[8]When they were circumcised, they were quiet there, sitting in the camp until they were healed.

[9]And the Lord said to Iesous son of Naue, "On this day I have removed the disgrace of Egypt from you." And he called the name of that place Galgala.

[10]And the sons of Israel made the Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month from evening at sunset at Iericho across the Iordan in the plain.

[11]And they ate from the grain of the land, unleavened and fresh.

On this day [12]the manna departed after they ate from the grain of the earth. And the sons of Israel no longer had manna and they enjoyed the fruit of the land of the Phoenicians in that year.

Josh 5:13–6:27. Destruction of Jericho

5:13–6:5. THEOPHANY AND INSTRUCTION ON HOLY WAR

MT

[13]And when Joshua was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes and he saw. And right before him a man was standing and his sword was drawn in his hand. And Joshua approached him and said to him, "Are you for us or for our adversaries?"

[14]And he said, "No, for I am the prince of the army of Yahweh, I have now come."

And Joshua fell on his face toward the earth and he worshiped him.

LXX

[13]And it happened when Iesous was in Iericho, lifting up his eyes he saw a man standing before him and the sword was drawn in his hand. And approaching, Iesous said to him, "Are you with us or the opponent?"

[14]But he said to him, "I am the commander of the power of the Lord. Now I have come."

And Iesous fell face down onto the ground and said to him, "Slave

And he said to him, "What does my lord say to his servant?"

15Then the prince of the army of Yahweh said to Joshua, "Remove your sandal from your foot, because the place upon which you are standing, it is holy."

And Joshua did so.

6 1But Jericho was closed up tight before the Israelites. No one was going out or entering.

2And Yahweh said to Joshua, "See, I have given Jericho and its king, the mighty warriors, into your hand. 3And you will go around the city, all the men of war circling the city one time. Thus you will do six days. 4And seven priests will lift up seven rams' horns before the ark. And on the seventh day you will go around the city seven times and the priests will blow the horns. 5And when there is a blast of the ram's horn, when you hear the sound of the horn, all the people will shout a great shout, and the wall of the city beneath it will fall. Then the people will go up each straight ahead."

master, what do you command your domestic slave?"

15And the commander of the Lord says to Iesous, "Loosen the sandal from your feet for the place on which you have been standing is holy."

6 1And Iericho was enclosed and fortified and no one was going out of it or entering in.

2And the Lord said to Iesous, "Look, I am giving over Iericho into your control and its king in it, powerful ones in strength. 3But you place the warriors around it in a circle.

5And it will be when you sound the trumpet, let all the people shout at the same time. And when they shout, the walls of the city will fall automatically. And all the people will enter, rushing each straight ahead into the city."

6:6–10. JOSHUA INSTRUCTS THE PRIESTS AND THE PEOPLE

MT

6And Joshua son of Nun called to the priests saying to them, "Lift up the ark of the covenant and seven priests shall lift up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh."

7And they said to the people, "Cross over and surround the city. But those ready for fighting will cross over before the ark of Yahweh."

8And as Joshua commanded the people, seven priests lifting up seven rams' horns before Yahweh crossed over and they blew the horns, while the ark of the covenant of Yahweh was going behind them. 9And those ready for fighting were going before the priests, who

LXX

6And Iesous the son of Naue went to the priests.

7And he said to them saying, "Command the people to go around and encircle the city. And let the warriors pass by armed before the Lord, 8and seven priests holding seven holy trumpets pass by in the same manner before the Lord, signaling vigorously. And let the ark of the covenant of the Lord follow.

9"But let the warriors pass by in front and the priests at the rear behind

blew the horns, and the rearguard was going after the ark. There was marching and the blowing of horns.

10But Joshua commanded the people saying, "Do not shout! Do not let your voice be heard! Let not a word go forth from your mouth until the day I say to you, 'Shout!' Then you must shout."

the ark of the covenant of the Lord walking and blowing a trumpet."

10To the people Iesous commanded, saying "Do not shout and do not let anyone hear your voice until the day that he himself announces to shout, and then you will shout."

6:11–26. PROCESSION OF THE ARK AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF JERICHO

MT

11And the ark of Yahweh went around the city in a circle one time. And they entered the camp and they spent the night in the camp.

12And Joshua rose early in the morning and the priests lifted up the ark of Yahweh. 13But seven priests were lifting up seven rams' horns before the ark of Yahweh. And they were going, marching and blowing the horns. And those ready for fighting were going before them. And the rearguard was going after the ark of Yahweh, going and blowing the horns. 14And they went around the city on the second day one time. And they returned to the camp. Thus they did six days. 15And on the seventh day, they rose early to go up at dawn and they went around the city as was their custom seven times. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times. 16And on the seventh time the priests blew the horns.

And Joshua said to the people, "Shout, for Yahweh has given you the city. 17The city is devoted to destruction to Yahweh, it and all that is in it. Only Rahab the prostitute shall live, she and all who are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers whom we sent. 18You, however, must keep away from the things devoted to destruction, lest you become devoted to destruction and you take from the devoted thing,

LXX

11And when the ark of the covenant of God went around the city, immediately it went back to the camp and spent the night there.

12And on the second day Iesous rose early in the morning and the priests lifted the ark of the covenant of the Lord. 13And the seven priests carrying the seven trumpets passed by before the Lord. And after this the warriors entered and the rest of the crowd behind the ark of the covenant of the Lord. And the priests sounded the trumpets. And all the rest of the crowd encircled the city close by 14and went back again to the camp. Thus he did for six days.

15And on the seventh day, they rose at dawn and went around the city six times.

16And on the seventh circuit the priests blew the trumpets.

And Iesous said to the sons of Israel, "Shout for the Lord has given you the city. 17And the city will be anathema, it and all that is in it to the Lord Sabaoth. Raab the prostitute, however, you must save, she and whatever is in her house.

18But you, guard yourselves carefully from the things that are anathema, so that you yourselves do not covet and take from the things that are anathema

and you designate the Israelite camp to be devoted to destruction, and you make it taboo. [19]But all silver and gold and vessels of bronze and silver are holy to Yahweh. It goes into the treasury of Yahweh."

[20]So the people shouted and they sounded the trumpets. And when the people heard the sound of the horn, the people raised a great cry. And the wall collapsed. Then the people went up toward the city, each straight ahead. And they took the city.

[21]And they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all that was in the city, man and woman, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkey.

[22]But to the two men who spied out the city, Joshua said, "Enter the house of the woman prostitute and bring out from there the woman and all who are with her as you swore to her."

[23]The young men, who were spies, entered and brought out Rahab, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all who were with her. All her family they brought out and gave them rest outside of the camp of Israel. [24]But the city they burned in fire and all that was in it. Only the silver, the gold, and the vessels of bronze and iron they gave to the treasury of the house of Yahweh. [25]But Rahab the prostitute, the house of her father, and all who belonged to her Joshua let live in the midst of Israel until this day, for she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

[26]Joshua swore at that time saying,

"Cursed is the man before
Yahweh who raises up and
builds this city, Jericho.
At the cost of his firstborn he
will lay its foundation.
At the cost of his youngest he
will set its gates."

and make the camp of the sons of Israel anathema and you destroy us. [19]And all the silver or gold or bronze or iron will be holy to the Lord. It will be carried into the treasury of the Lord."

[20]And the priests sounded the trumpets. As soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpets, all the people cried out loudly at the same time in a great and strong cry. And the entire wall fell all around. And all the people went up into the city.

[21]And Iesous devoted to destruction with a broad sword all that was in the city, from man to woman, from young to old, and from calf to beast of burden.

[22]And Iesous said to the two young men who spied, "Go into the house of the woman and bring her out from there and whatever is with her."

[23]And the two young men who spied out the city went into the house of the woman and brought out Raab the prostitute and her father, her mother, her brothers, and all that belongs to her and her clan. And they set her outside of the camp. [24]But the city was burnt in fire with all that was in it. Only silver, gold, bronze, and iron they gave to be brought into the treasury of the Lord. [25]And Raab the prostitute and the entire house of her father Iesous let live and she settled in Israel until this very day, because she hid the spies whom Iesous sent to spy out Iericho.

[26]And Iesous swore on that day before the Lord saying,

"Cursed is the man who will
build that city.

At the cost of his firstborn he
will lay its foundation.
At the cost of his youngest he
will set its gates."

And thus Ozan did, who was from Baithel.

At the cost of Abiron, the first-born, he laid its foundation.

And at the cost of the youngest; although being saved, he set its gates.

6:27. IDEALIZATION OF JOSHUA

MT

[27]And Yahweh was with Joshua. And his fame was in all the land.

LXX

[27]And the Lord was with Iesous and his name was in all the land.

Josh 7. Sacrilege of Achan

7:1–5. SACRILEGE OF ACHAN AND THE ISRAELITE DEFEAT AT AI

MT

7 [1]And the Israelites committed sacrilege with regard to the ban. And Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah took from the devoted objects. And the anger of Yahweh ignited against the Israelites.

[2]And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai near Beth-aven, east of Bethel. And he said to them saying, "Go up and spy out the land."

And the men went up and they spied out Ai. [3]And they returned to Joshua and they said to him, "All the people should not go up. About two or three thousand men should go up and strike Ai. You should not wear down all the people there, because they are few."

[4]And they went up there from the people about three thousand men. And they fled before the men of Ai. [5]And the men of Ai killed from among them thirty-six men. And they pursued them before the gate until Sebarim. And they killed them in the descent. And the heart of the people melted and became like water.

LXX

7 [1]And the sons of Israel committed a great offense and kept back the things that are anathema. And Achar son of Charmi son of Zambri son of Zara from the tribe of Ioudas took from what was anathema, and the Lord was furiously angry with the sons of Israel.

[2]And Iesous sent men to Gai, which is near Baithel, saying,

"Spy out Gai."

And the men went up and spied out Gai. [3]And they returned to Iesous and said to him, "All the people need not go up, but two or three thousand should go up and take the city by siege. Do not lead up there all the people, for they are few."

[4]And about three thousand men went up and they fled from before the men of Gai. [5]And the men of Gai killed from among them thirty-six men. And they hunted them from the gate and they crushed them on the slope. And the heart of the people was terrified and became like water.

7:6–9. INTERCESSION OF JOSHUA BEFORE THE ARK

MT

6And Joshua tore his garment and he fell on his face toward the land before the ark of Yahweh until evening, he and the elders of Israel. And they brought up dust on their head. 7And Joshua said, "Ah, my Lord, Yahweh, why have you caused this people to cross over the Jordan to give us into the hand of the Amorite to destroy us? If only we were willing to dwell across the Jordan. 8Please, O Lord, what can I say after the Israelites have turned their back before their enemy. 9The Canaanites and all those dwelling in the land will hear and they will surround us and they will cut off our name from the land. Then what will you do for your great name?"

LXX

6And Iesous tore his cloths and Iesous fell on the ground before the Lord until evening, he and the elders of Israel. And they threw dust on their heads.

7And Iesous said, "I petition, Lord, why has your servant brought this people across the Iordan to hand them over to the Amorrite to destroy us?

"If only we remained and settled across the Iordan. 8And what shall I say, since Israel has turned its neck before its enemy. 9When the Chananites and all the inhabitants of the land hear, they will surround us and drive us from the land.

"And what will you make of your great name?"

7:10–21. DIVINE REVELATION AND RITUAL UNCOVERING OF SACRILEGE

MT

10And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Get yourself up! What is this that you are falling on your face? 11Israel has sinned; they have violated my covenant, which I commanded them; they have taken from the devoted objects; they have stolen; they have acted deceitfully; and they have placed them in their vessels. 12The Israelites will not be able to rise up against their enemies. Turning their back they will fall before their enemies, because they have become devoted to destruction. I will not continue to be with you, unless you exterminate the banned object from your midst. 13Arise, sanctify the people and say to them, 'Sanctify yourselves for tomorrow, for thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel, "A thing devoted to destruction is in your midst, O Israel, you will not be able to rise up before your enemies until you remove the thing devoted to destruction

LXX

10And the Lord said to Iesous, "Stand up! Why is this that you have fallen on your face? 11The people have sinned and they have broken the covenant issued with them. Stealing from the things that are anathema, they have placed them in their vessels.

12The sons of Israel will not be able to stand before their enemies. The will turn the neck before their enemies, because they have become anathema. I will no longer be with you, unless you remove the anathema from among you. 13Stand up, sanctify the people and declare to them to be sanctified for tomorrow. This is what the Lord God of Israel says, 'The things that are anathema are among you. You will not be able to stand against your enemies, until you remove that anathema from among you.'

from your midst." [14]You will draw near in the morning according to your tribes. And it will be the tribe, which Yahweh takes shall draw near by clans. And the clan, which Yahweh takes shall draw near by household. And the household, which Yahweh takes will draw near by warrior.

[15]'And the one who is taken in the thing devoted to destruction will be burned in fire, he and all which is to him, because he violated the covenant of Yahweh and because he committed sacrilege in Israel.'"

[16]And Joshua arose early in the morning. And he brought near Israel according to its tribes and the tribe of Judah was taken. [17]And he brought near the clans of Judah and he took the clan of Zerah. And he brought near the clan of Zerah according to the warriors, and Zabdi was taken. [18]And he brought near his household, according to the warriors, and Achan son of Carmi son of Zabdi son of Zerah of the tribe of Judah was taken.

[19]And Joshua said to Achan, "My son, give glory to Yahweh the God of Israel and give him praise and tell me what you did. So do not hide from me."

[20]And Achan answered Joshua. And he said, "In truth I have sinned against Yahweh the God of Israel. This is what I did. [21]I saw in the spoil one beautiful mantel of Shinar and two hundred shekels of silver, one bar of gold, whose weight was fifty shekels. I desired them and I took them.

"They are hidden in the ground within my tent and the silver is beneath it."

[14]"All of you will be gathered together in the morning according to tribes. And it will be that the tribe, which the Lord points out, you will bring by assembly. And the assembly that the Lord points out, you will bring by household. And the household that the Lord points out, you will bring by man.

[15]"And the one who is made known will be burned in fire and all that belongs to him, because he broke the covenant of the Lord and committed a lawless act in Israel."

[16]And Iesous rose early in the morning and brought the people near by tribe. And the tribe of Judah was shown.

[17]And it was brought near according to assembly. And the assembly of Zarai was shown.

And it was brought near by man. [18]And Achar son of Zambri son of Zara was shown.

[19]And Iesous said to Achar, "Give glory today to the Lord God of Israel and give praise and report to me what you did. Do not hide from me."

[20]And Achar answered Iesous and said, "In truth I sinned before the Lord God of Israel. Thus and thus I have done.

[21]"I saw in the plunder a many-colored and beautiful carpet and two hundred double drachmas of sliver, one bar of gold of fifty double drachmas. And reflecting upon them, I took them. And look, they have been concealed in the ground in my tent. And the silver is hidden beneath them."

7:22–26. PUNISHMENT FOR SACRILEGE AND THE PURGING OF THE CAMP

MT

[22]And Joshua sent messengers. And they ran to the tent. And it was there hidden in his tent and the silver was beneath it. [23]And they took them from the tent and they brought them to Joshua and to all the Israelites. And they poured them out before Yahweh. [24]And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah, the silver, the mantel, the tongue of gold, his sons, his daughters, his oxen, his donkey, his sheep, his tent, and all which was his, and all the Israelites with him, and they brought them up to the Valley of Achor.

[25]And Joshua said, "Why did you make us taboo? Yahweh will make you taboo on this very day."

And all the Israelites stoned him. And they burnt them with fire, and they stoned them with stones. [26]And they raised on him a great heap of stones, which remain until this day. And Yahweh turned from his anger. Therefore he called the name of that place Valley of Achor until this day.

LXX

[22]And Iesous sent messengers. And they ran to the tent in the camp. And these were hidden in the tent and the silver was underneath them. [23]And they brought them out of the tent and they brought them to Iesous and the elders of Israel. And they set them before the Lord. [24]And Iesous took Achar son of Zara and brought him to the ravine of Achar, and his sons and his daughters and his bulls and his donkeys and all his sheep and his tent and all his possessions and all the people with him. And he brought them to Emekachor.

[25]And Iesous said to Achar, "Why have you ruined us? May the Lord utterly destroy you as also today."

And all Israel stoned him with stones.

[26]And they set over him a great heap of stones.

And the Lord stopped the passionate anger. Therefore he named it Emekachor until this day.

Josh 8. Ambush of Ai and Ritual at Ebal and Gerizim

8:1–2. DIVINE COMMAND TO AMBUSH AI

MT

8 [1]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Take with you all the people of war. Arise, go up to Ai. See, I have given into your hand the king of Ai, his people, his city, and his land. [2]You must do to Ai and to its king as you did to Jericho and its king. Only its spoil and its cattle you may plunder for yourselves. Set an ambush against the city from behind it."

LXX

8 [1]And the Lord said to Iesous, "Do not fear, do not lack courage. Take with you the men, all the warriors, and go up to Gai. See, I have given into your hands the king of Gai and his land. [2]And you will do to Gai as you did to Iericho and its king. And the booty of cattle you will plunder for yourself. Now set for yourself an ambush against the city from the rear."

8:3–8. JOSHUA'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT THE AMBUSH

MT

[3]And Joshua and all the people of war arose to go up to Ai. And Joshua chose thirty thousand men, mighty warriors. [4]And he commanded them saying, "See, you are ambushing the city from behind the city. Do not go very far from the city. And all of you be ready. [5]And I, and all the people with me, we will draw near to the city. And it will be that they will come out to meet us as before and we will flee before them. [6]And they will go out after us until we have lured them from the city, for they will say, 'They are fleeing before us as before.' [7]But you will rise up from the ambush and you will dispossess the city. And Yahweh your God will give it into your hand. [8]And when you seize the city, you will burn the city in fire, according to the word of Yahweh you will act. See, I command you."

LXX

[3]And Iesous and all the military people arose to go up to Gai. And Iesous chose thirty thousand men mighty in strength and sent them by night. [4]And he commanded them saying, "You lie in wait behind the city; do not be far from the city; and all of you be ready. [5]And I, and all who are with me, will approach the city. And it will be when all of those who dwell in Gai come out to meet us as before, then we will flee from before them. [6]And when they come out after us, we will draw them from the city. And they will say, 'They are fleeing from before us as before.' [7]But you will rise up out of the ambush and go into the city.

[8]And you will act according to this word. See, I have commanded you."

8:9–29. EXECUTION OF THE AMBUSH

MT

[9]And Joshua sent them and they went to the ambush. And they settled between Bethel and Ai from the west of Ai. And Joshua spent that night with the people.

[10]And Joshua arose early in the morning. He inspected the people, and he went up to Ai, with the elders of Israel before the people. [11]All the people of war, who were with him, went up. And they drew near and they entered before Ai. And they camped north of Ai. But the valley was between him and Ai. [12]And he took five thousand men and placed them in ambush between Bethel and Ai to the west of the city. [13]And they placed the people, the entire camp north of the city and its rearguard west of the city. And Joshua spent that night in the valley.

LXX

[9]And Iesous sent them off and they traveled to the ambush, and they lay in wait between Baithel and Gai, from the sea of Gai.

[10]And Iesous arose early in the morning and he inspected the people. And they went up, he and the elders, before the people to Gai. [11]And all the military people went up with him. And traveling, they went opposite the city east.

[12]And the ambush of the city was from the west.

[14]And when the king of Ai saw, the men of the city hurried, arose early, and went out to meet Israel for war, both he and all his people at the appointed time before the Arabah. But he did not know that there was an ambush against him from behind the city.

[15]And Joshua and all the Israelites pretended to be beaten before them and they fled on the wilderness road. [16]And all the people, who were in the city of Ai, shouted to pursue after them. And they chased Joshua. And they were lured from the city. [17]And not a man was left in Ai or Bethel, who did not go out after the Israelites. They left the city open and they pursued after the Israelites.

[18]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Stretch out toward Ai the sword that is in your hand, for into your hand I will give it."

And Joshua stretched out the sword toward Ai, which was in his hand. [19]And the ambush arose quickly from its place and they rushed when he stretched his hand. And they entered the city; they took it. They hurried and they burned the city in fire.

[20]And the men of Ai turned around and they saw. The smoke of the city rose toward heaven. There was in them no strength to flee here or there. But the people, who fled toward the wilderness, turned against the pursuers. [21]Then Joshua and all the Israelites saw that the ambush had taken the city for the smoke of the city rose up; then they turned and killed the men of Ai.

[22]And the others came out from the city to meet them. And they were in the midst of the Israelites, one group on one side and the other group on the other. And they slaughtered them until there was not any survivor or fugitive.

[14]And it happened when the king of Gai saw, he hurried and went out to meet them immediately for battle, he and all the people with him.

And he did not know that there was an ambush against him behind the city.

[15]And Iesous and Israel saw and retreated from before them.

[16]And they pursued behind the sons of Israel, and they went away from the city.

[17]No one was left behind in Gai, who did not pursue behind Israel. And they left the city open and they pursued after Israel.

[18]And the Lord said to Iesous, "Stretch out your hand with the javelin that is in your hand toward the city, for I have given it into your hand. And the ambush party will rise up quickly from their place."

And Iesous stretched out his hand, the javelin, toward the city. [19]And the ambush party rose up quickly from their place and they went out, when he stretched out the hand. And they entered the city and they seized it. Hurrying, they set the city on fire.

[20]And the inhabitants of Gai looked around behind them and they saw smoke going up from the city to heaven. And they did not have anywhere to flee, this way or that.

[21]And Iesous and all Israel saw that the ambush party had taken the city and that the smoke of the city went up to heaven; then changing course they struck down the men of Gai. [22]And these came out of the city to meet them. And they were in the midst of the camp, some on this side and some on that side. And they struck them down until none of them were left behind either surviving or escaping.

[23]But the king of Ai was captured alive. And they brought him near to Joshua.

[24]And when the Israelites had finished killing all the inhabitants of Ai in the field within the wilderness in which they pursued them, and when all of them had fallen by the edge of the sword until their completion, then all the Israelites returned to Ai and slaughtered it by the edge of the sword. [25]All those who fell that day from the men and women were twelve thousand, all the men of Ai. [26]And Joshua did not hold back his hand, with which he stretched out the sword, until he devoted all the inhabitants of Ai to destruction. [27]Only the cattle and the spoil of that city the Israelites took as booty for themselves according to the word of Yahweh, which he had commanded Joshua.

[28]And Joshua burned Ai, and he set it up as a mount of ruin forever until this day.

[29]But the king of Ai he hung on the tree until evening.

And at sunset Joshua gave the command; and they took down his corpse from the tree and they threw it at the entrance of the gate of the city. And they raised on it a heap of great stones until this very day.

[23]And the king of Gai they took alive and brought him to Iesous.

[24]And the sons of Israel finished killing all who were in Gai, in the plains, and on the mountain, at the descent where they searched for them to the end.

And Iesous turned back to Ai and struck it with the edge of the sword.

[25]And those who fell in that day from man and woman were twelve thousand, all the inhabitants of Gai.

[27]Except the domestic animals and the booty in the city, all of which the sons of Israel captured according to the commandment of the Lord as the Lord had instructed Iesous.

[28]And Iesous burned the city. He made it an uninhabited mound forever until this day.

[29]And he hanged the king of Gai on a forked tree. And he was on the tree until evening. When the sun was setting, Iesous gave orders and they took down his body from the tree and they threw it into a hole. And set over him a heap of stones until this day.

8:30–35. CEREMONY AT EBAL AND GERIZIM

MT

[30]Then Joshua built an altar to Yahweh the God of Israel on Mount Ebal, [31]as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, had commanded the Israelites, as it is written in the book of the Torah of Moses: "An altar of whole stones upon which iron has not struck."

And they offered upon it burnt offerings to Yahweh and they sacrificed well-being offerings

[32]And he wrote there on the stones a copy of the Torah of Moses, which he wrote before the Israelites.

LXX

9 [1–2]Coalition of Canaanite Kings

9 [2a–f]Ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim

[33]All the Israelites, their elders, scribes, their judges were standing on either side of the ark, before the Levitical priests who were carrying the ark of the covenant of Yahweh—both resident alien and citizen alike with half in front of Mount Gerizim and half in front of Mount Ebal, as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded to bless the people of Israel the first time.

[34]Afterward he read all the words of the Torah, the blessing and the curse, according to all that was written in the book of the Torah. [35]There was not a word from which Moses had commanded that Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, including the women, the children, and the resident alien who walked in their midst.

Josh 9. Gibeonite Deception

9:1–5. MASQUERADE OF THE GIBEONITES

MT

9 [1]And when the kings, who were across the Jordan in the highland and in the lowland, all along the coast of the Great Sea toward Lebanon, heard—the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites—[2]they gathered at the same time to fight Joshua and Israel as one.

8 [30–35]Ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim

LXX

9 [1]As the kings of the Amorites, those on the other side of the Iordan, in the mount, in the plain, on all the coast of the Great Sea, and by the Anti-lebanon, heard—the Chettites, the Chananites, the Pherezites, the Heuites, the Amorrites, the Gergeshites, and the Iebousites—[2]they gathered together in one place to war against Iesous and Israel all at the same time.

[2a]Then Iesous built an altar to the Lord, the God of Israel, on Mount Gaibal, [2b]as Moyses the servant of the Lord command the sons of Israel, as it is written in the law of Moyses: "An altar of whole stones on which iron has not been placed." And he raised up there whole burnt offerings to the Lord and an offering of salvation.

[2c]And Iesous wrote on the stones the second law of Moyses, which he wrote in the presence of the sons of Israel.

[2d]And all Israel and their elders and their judges and their scribes were passing by on one side and the other of the ark, opposite. And the priests and the Levites raised up the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and the proselytes and the native-born, half were near Mount Garizim and half were near Mount Gaibal, as Moyses, the servant of the Lord, commanded to bless the people the first time.

[2e]And after these things Iesous read all the words of this law, the blessings and the curses according to everything written in the law of Moyses. [2f]There was not a word from all that Moyses commanded to Iesous, which Iesous did not read in the ears of all the assembly of the sons of Israel, to the men and the women and the children and the proselytes who approached Israel.

[3]But the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua did to Jericho and to Ai. [4]And they, for their part, acted in cunning. They went, they disguised themselves as diplomats, they took worn-out sacks for their donkeys, worn-out, torn, and mended leather bottles of wine, [5]worn-out sandals patched on their feet, and worn-out cloths on themselves, and all the bread of their provisions was dry and crumbling.

[3]And the inhabitants of Gabaon heard all that the Lord had done to Ierichо and Gai. [4]And they, on their own, acted with cunning. In coming, they made provisions and prepared themselves by putting old sackcloth on their donkeys, old wineskins, torn and patched, [5]and the cavity of their soles and their old sandals were pressed on their feet, and their cloths were old on them, and the bread of their provision was dry, moldy, and eaten.

9:6–15. COVENANT AND OATH

MT

[6]And they went to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal. And they said to him and to the men of Israel, "From a faraway land we have come. Now make a covenant with us."

[7]And the men of Israel said to the Hivites, "Perhaps in our midst you are dwelling, then how can I make a covenant with you?"

LXX

[6]And they came to Iesous into the camp of Israel in Galgala. And they said to Iesous and Israel, "We have come from a far region and now you must make a covenant with us."

[7]And the sons of Israel said to the Chorites, "See lest you live with me, then how can I make a covenant with you?"

[8]And they said to Joshua, "We are your servants."

And Joshua said to them, "Who are you and from where do you come?"

[9]And they said to him, "From a land very far away your servants have come for the name of Yahweh your God, because we heard his reputation and all that he did in Egypt, [10]and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites who were across the Jordan, to Sihon, the king of Heshbon, and to Og, the king of Bashan who was in Ashteroth. [11]Our elders and all the inhabitants of our land said to us saying, 'Take in your hand provisions for the trip and go to meet them, and say to them, "We are your servants. Now make a covenant with us."' [12]This is our bread. It was warm when we made provision with it from our houses on the day we set out to go to you. And now indeed it is dry and crumbling. [13]And these wineskins, which we filled, were new and indeed they are torn. And these clothes of ours and our sandals are worn-out from the very long journey."

[14]And the men partook from their provisions. But they did not consult Yahweh. [15]And Joshua made peace with them. And he made a covenant with them to let them live. And the leaders of the congregation swore an oath with them.

[8]And they said to Iesous, "We are your domestic slaves."

And Iesous said to them, "From where are you and from where have you come?"

[9]And they said, "Your servants have come from a land very far away in the name of the Lord your God. For we heard his name and what he did in Egypt, [10]and what he did to the kings of the Amorrites, who were across the Iordan, to Se, king of Hesebon, and to Og, king of Basan, who lived in Astaroth and in Edrain. [11]And when they heard, our elders and all the inhabitants of your land said to us saying, 'Take for yourselves provisions for the road and travel to their meeting place and say to them, "We are your domestic slaves and now make a covenant with us."' [12]These are the loaves of bread. Warm were we supplied with them on the day in which we set out to come to you. But now they are dry and eaten. [13]And these are the wineskins, which we filled new and they are torn. And our clothing and our sandals are worn out from the very long journey."

[14]And the leaders took their provisions and did not ask the Lord. [15]And Iesous made peace with them and he made a covenant with them to rescue them. And the leaders of the synagogue swore an oath.

9:16–27. TEMPLE SERVICE AS A CURSE

MT

[16]And at the end of three days after they had made a covenant with them, they heard that they were nearby to them and that they were dwelling in the midst of them. [17]And the Israelites journeyed and they came to their city on the third day. Their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. [18]The Israelites did not slaughter them because the

LXX

[16]It is happened after three days after making a covenant with them, they heard that they are near them and that they dwell among them.

[17]And the sons of Israel went out and came to their cities. Their cities were Gabaon, Kephira, Beroth, and the city Iarin. [18]And the sons of Israel did not fight against them, because all the leaders

leaders of the congregation had sworn an oath to them by Yahweh the God of Israel. And the entire congregation complained against the leaders. [19]And all the leaders said to the entire congregation, "We have sworn to them by Yahweh, the God of Israel. So now we are not able to strike them. [20]This is what we will do to them: Let them live, so that wrath will not be on us on account of the oath which we swore to them."

[21]And the leaders said to them, "Let them live."

And they were woodcutters and drawers of water for the entire congregation, as the leaders stated to them.

[22]And Joshua called to them and he spoke to them saying, "Why did you deceive us saying, 'We are very far away from you,' but you were dwelling in our midst? [23]Now you are cursed. Slavery will not be cut away from you. You will be woodcutters and drawers of water for the house of my God."

[24]And they answered Joshua and they said, "Because it was clearly reported to your servants that Yahweh your God commanded Moses his servant to give you all the land and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, we feared greatly for our lives from before you and we did this thing. [25]And now here we are in your hand. Whatever is good and right in your eyes to do to us, do."

[26]And he did to them accordingly. And he delivered them from the hand of the Israelites and he did not kill them. [27]And Joshua gave them on that day as woodcutters and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh until this day to the place which he would choose.

had sworn to them by the Lord, the God of Israel.

And all the synagogue complained against the leaders. [19]And the leaders said to the entire synagogue, "We swore an oath to them by the Lord, the God of Israel and now we are not able to touch them."

[20]"This we will do: Having left them alive, we will take possession of them. And there will not be wrath against us on account of the oath, which we swore to them. [21]They will live and be woodcutters and water carriers for the entire synagogue," as the leaders said to them.

[22]And Iesous called them together and said to them, "Why did you deceive me, saying, 'We are very far from you.' But you are local dwellers among us?

[23]"Now you are cursed. There will never be lacking from you a slave or woodcutter for me and my God."

[24]And they answered Iesous saying, "It was reported to us that the Lord your God ordered Moyses his servant to give you this land and to destroy us and all the inhabitants in it from before you.

And we feared greatly for our lives before you and we did this deed. [25]And now, see, we are in your authority, as it is pleasing to you and as it seems right to you, do to us."

[26]And they did thus to them. And Iesous rescued them on that day from the hand of the sons of Israel. And they did not kill them. [27]And Iesous appointed them on that day woodcutters and water carriers for all the synagogue and for the altar of God. Therefore the inhabitants of Gabaon became woodcutters and water carriers of the altar of God until this very day, and in the place that the Lord should choose.

Josh 10. War Against the Southern Kings

10:1–15. Formation of a Coalition and Initial War

MT

10 [1]And when Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem, heard that Joshua had taken Ai and that he had devoted it to destruction, doing to Ai and its king as he had done to Jericho, and that the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel and were in their midst, [2]they became very afraid, for Gibeon was a great city, like one of the royal cities, and it was greater than Ai and all of its men were warriors. [3]Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, sent to Hoham, king of Hebron, Piram, king of Jarmuth, Japhia, king of Lachish, and Debir, king of Eglon saying, [4]"Come up to me and help me, so that we can strike Gibeon, because it made peace with Joshua and the Israelites."

[5]And the five kings of the Amorites—the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon—gathered together and went up, they and all of their armies, and they camped against Gibeon and they waged war against it. [6]And the men of Gibeon sent to Joshua in the camp of Gilgal saying, "Do not slacken your hand from your servants. Come up to us quickly, save us and help us, for all the kings of the Amorites who dwell in the mountain, are gathered against us."

[7]And Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty warriors. [8]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Do not fear them for into your hand I have given them. Not a man of them will stand before you."

[9]And Joshua came upon them suddenly, going up all night from Gilgal. [10]Then Yahweh confused them before the Israelites. And he slaughtered them in a great massacre at Gibeon. And he pursued them on the road that

LXX

10 [1]When Adoni-bezek, king of Ierousalem, heard that Iesous had taken Gai and utterly destroyed it—as they did to Iericho and its king so they did to Gai and its king—and that the inhabitants of Gabaon had deserted to Iesous and Israel,

[2]then they were extremely afraid on account of them, for he knew that Gabaon was a great city, like one of the capital cities and all of its men were strong. [3]And Adoni-bezek, king of Ierousalem, sent to Ailam, king of Chebron, and to Phidon, king of Ierimouth, and to Iephtha, king of Lachis, and to Dabir, king of Odollam, saying, [4]"Come up here to me and assist me and let us war against Gabaon, for they deserted to Iesous and to the sons of Israel."

[5]And the five kings of the Iebousites—the king of Ierousalem, the king of Chebron, the king of Ierimouth, the king of Lachis, and the king of Odollam—went up, they and all their people. And they surrounded Gabaon and besieged it.

[6]And the inhabitants of Gabaon sent to Iesous in the camp of Galgala saying, "Do not exhaust your hand from your servants. Come up to us quickly and deliver us and provide aid, for all the kings of the Amorraites, who dwell in the hills, are gathered against us."

[7]And Iesous went up from Galgala, he and all the military people with him, each powerful in strength. [8]And the Lord said to Iesous, "Do not be afraid of them, for I have given them into your hand. Not one of them will be left before you."

[9]And Iesous came upon them all of the sudden; he entered all night out of Galgala. [10]And the Lord confused them before the sons of Israel, and the Lord crushed them with great ruin in Gabaon. And they pursued them

ascends to Beth-horon. And he slaughtered them to Azekah and Makkedah. [11]And as they fled from before Israel descending from Beth-horon, Yahweh threw great stones from heaven on them as far as Azekah. And more died from the great stones than the Israelites killed with the sword.

[12]Then Joshua spoke to Yahweh on the day when Yahweh gave over the Amorites before the Israelites. And he said before the eyes of Israel,

"Sun at Gibeon stand still;
moon at the Valley of Aijalon."
[13]The sun stood still and moon stood
until he took vengeance on the nation of his enemy.

Is it not written in the Book of Jashar? And the sun stood in the middle of the heavens and it did not hasten to set for a whole day. [14]There has not been a day like that before or after, when Yahweh obeyed the voice of a human, for Yahweh fought for Israel.

[15]And Joshua and all the Israelites with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

on the road ascending to Horonin and they cut them down as far as Azeka and Makeda. [11]But, as they fled from before the sons of Israel on the descent of Horonin, the Lord threw down stones on them—hailstones from heaven—until Azeka. And there were more dead from the hailstones than those whom the sons of Israel killed with the sword in the battle.

[12]Then Iesous spoke to the Lord on the day when God delivered the Amorraites into the hands of Israel, when he shattered them at Gabeon, and they were shattered before the sons of Israel.

And Iesous said,

"Sun stand at Gabeon;
and moon at the ravine of Ailon."
[13]And the sun stood and the moon in position,
until God defended against their enemy.

And the sun stood in the middle of heaven; it did not go forward to set until the end of one day. [14]And there was not such a day either before or after, so that a god paid attention to a human, because the Lord fought for Israel.

10:16–27. EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KINGS

MT

[16]These five kings fled and they hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. [17]And it was reported to Joshua, saying, "The five kings have been found hiding in the cave at Makkedah."

[18]And Joshua said, "Roll great stones before the mouth of the cave and set men by it to guard them. [19]But you should not stand. Rather pursue after your enemies and attack their rear. Do not let them enter their city, for Yahweh, your God, has given them into your hand."

LXX

[16]And these five kings fled and hid in the cave that was in Makeda. [17]And it was told to Iesous, saying, "The five kings have been found in the cave that is in Makeda."

[18]And Iesous said, "Roll stones against the mouth of the cave and appoint men to guard them. [19]But you, do not stand still. Pursuing after your enemies, overtake their rearguard and do not allow them to enter into their cities. For the Lord, your God, has given them over into your hands."

[20]And when Joshua and the Israelites had completed slaughtering a very great slaughter until they wiped them out, the survivors escaped from them and they entered the fortified cities. [21]Then all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace. No one threatened the Israelites.

[22]And Joshua said, "Open the mouth of the cave and bring out to me these five kings from the cave."

[23]And they did so. And they brought out to him these five kings from the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon. [24]And when they brought out these five kings to Joshua, Joshua called to each man of Israel and he said to the chiefs of the men of war, who went with him, "Come near and place your feet on the necks of these kings."

They came near and they placed their feet on their necks.

[25]And Joshua said to them, "Fear not! Be not dismayed! Be courageous and strong because thus Yahweh will do to all of your enemies against whom you fight."

[26]And Joshua slaughtered them after this. He put them to death and he hung them on five trees. And they hung on the trees until evening. [27]And at sunset Joshua commanded and they took them down from the trees and they threw them in the cave, in which they were hidden. And they placed great stones at the mouth of the cave until this very day.

[20]And it happened when Iesous and all the sons of Israel ceased cutting them off with a very great slaughter until the end, the survivors were seeking rescue in the strong cities. [21]And all the people returned to Iesous to Makeda healthy and none of the sons of Israel complained with his tongue.

[22]And Iesous said, "Open the cave and bring out these five kings from the cave."

[23]And they brought out the five kings from the cave—the king of Ierousalem, the king of Chebron, the king of Ierimouth, the king of Lachis, and the king of Odollam.

[24]And when they brought them out to Iesous, Iesous summoned all Israel and the chiefs of the war who went with him, saying to them, "Come forward and place your feet on their necks."

And they came forward and they placed their feet on their necks.

[25]And Iesous said to them, "Do not fear them, nor be cowardly. Be manly and strong, because this is what the Lord will do to all your enemies against whom you fight."

[26]And Iesous killed them and he hanged them on five crosses. And they were hanging on the crosses until evening.

[27]And it happened toward sunset, Iesous commanded and they took them from the crosses and threw them in the cave, there where they had fled, and they rolled stones against the cave until this very day.

10:28–39. GENERAL WAR

MT

[28]And Joshua captured Makkedah on that day. He smote it with the edge of the sword and its king. He devoted them to destruction, every life that was in it.

LXX

[28]And Makeda they took on that day and they killed it with the mouth of the sword. And they utterly destroyed everything breathing in it, nothing survived.

He did not allow a survivor to remain. And he did to the king of Makkedah as he did to the king of Jericho.

29And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Makkedah to Libnah and he fought against Libnah. 30And Yahweh gave even it into the hand of Israel and its king. And he smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it. He did not allow a survivor to remain. And he did to its king as he did to the king of Jericho.

31And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Libnah to Lachish. And he camped against it and he fought against it. 32And Yahweh gave Lachish into the hand of the Israelites. And he took it on the second day. And he smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it, according to all that he did to Libnah.

33Then King Horam of Gezer went up to help Lachish. And Joshua slaughtered him and his people until no survivor remained to him.

34And Joshua and all Israel with him crossed over from Lachish to Eglon. And they camped against it and they fought against it. 35And they took it on that day. And they smote it with the edge of the sword, every life that was in it on that day, he devoted to destruction according to all that he did to Lachish.

36And Joshua and all Israel with him went up from Eglon to Hebron and they fought against it. 37And they took it and slaughtered it with the edge of the sword and its king, and all of its cities, and all life in it. He did not leave a survivor according to all which he did to Eglon. He devoted it to destruction.

38And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to Debir and he fought against it. 39And he took it, its king, and

And they did to the king of Makeda as they did to the king of Iericho.

29And Iesous departed, and all Israel with him, from Makeda to Lebna, and he besieged Lebna. 30And the Lord gave it over into the hand of Israel. And they took it and its king, and they killed it with the mouth of the sword and everything breathing in it. And there was not left in it either anyone saved or having escaped. And they did to its king as they did to the king of Iericho.

31And Iesous departed, and all Israel with him, from Lebna to Lachis, and he surrounded it and besieged it.

32And the Lord gave over Lachis into the hand of Israel and he took it on the second day. And they killed it with the mouth of the sword and they utterly destroyed it as they did to Lebna.

33Then Ailam, king of Gazer, went up to help Lachis. And Iesous struck him with the mouth of the sword and his people until there was not any of them left who survived or escaped.

34And Iesous departed, and all Israel with him, from Lachis to Odollam. And he surrounded it and besieged it.

35And the Lord gave it over into the hand of Israel. And he took it on that third day and he killed it with the mouth of the sword. And they killed everything in it as they did to Lachis.

36And Iesous departed, and all Israel with him, to Chebron. And he surrounded it. 37And he struck it with the mouth of the sword. And everything breathing that was in it did not survive. As they did to Odollam, they utterly destroyed it and as many as were in it.

38And Iesous turned to Dabir, and all Israel with him, and they surrounded it. 39And they took it and its king and

all its cities. And they slaughtered them with the edge of the sword. And they devoted all life that was in it to destruction. And he did not leave a survivor. As he did to Hebron, thus he did to Debir and to its king and as he did to Libnah and to its king.

its villages. And they struck it with the mouth of the sword and they utterly destroyed it and all life that was in it. And they did not leave in it any survivors. As they did to Chebron and its king, thus they did to Dabir and its king.

10:40–43. SUMMARY

MT

40And Joshua smote the entire land, the highland, the Negeb, the lowland, and the slope, and all their kings. He did not leave a survivor, but he devoted to destruction all breath, as Yahweh the God of Israel commanded. 41Joshua slaughtered them from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, and all the land of Goshen until Gibeon. 42And all these kings and their land Joshua took at one time, because Yahweh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel. 43And Joshua and all Israel with him returned to the camp at Gilgal.

LXX

40And Iesous struck all the land of the hill country, the Nageb, the plain and Asedoth and its kings. They did not leave any of them as survivors. And they utterly destroyed all that breaths with life as the Lord, God, command Israel 41from Kades Barne to Gaza, all Gosom to Gabaon.

42And Iesous struck all their kings and their land once for all, because the Lord, the God of Israel, fought on the side of Israel.

Josh 11. War Against the Northern Kings

11:1–9. FORMATION OF A COALITION AND INITIAL WAR

MT

11 1And when Jabin, the king of Hazor, heard, he sent to Jobab, the king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, 2and to the kings who were from the north, in the highland and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, in the lowland, and in Naphoth-dor from the west, 3the Canaanites from the east and from the west, the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites in the highland, and the Hivites below Hermon in the land of Mizpah.

4They and all their camp with them went out, many people like the sand that is on the seashore in number, horse and chariot in very great number. 5All these kings were joined together, and they went, and they camped as one by the waters of Merom to fight with Israel.

LXX

11 1Now when Iabin, king of Hazor, heard, he sent to Jobab, king of Marron, and to the king of Symoon and the king of Aziph, 2and to the kings who were by the great Sidon to the hill country and to the Raba, opposite Keneroth, and to the plain, and to Napheddor, 3and to the coast-dwelling Chananites on the east and to the coast-dwelling Amorrite and the Heuites and the Iebousites and the Pherezites in the mountain and the Chettites, who were under Haermon in the land of Massepha. 4And they went up, they and their kings with them, like the sand of the sea in number and horses and very many chariots. 5And all these kings gathered and they came to one place and camped by the water of Marron to fight Israel.

[6]And Yahweh said to Joshua, "Fear not before them! For tomorrow at this time I am causing all of them to be slain before Israel. Their horses you will hamstring and their chariots you will burn in fire."

[7]And Joshua and all the people of battle with him came on them suddenly by the waters of Merom. And they fell upon them. [8]And Yahweh gave them into the hand of Israel. And they slaughtered them and they pursued them until great Sidon and Misephoth-maim and eastward to the Valley of Mizpeh. And they slaughtered them until there was not a survivor remaining to them. [9]And Joshua did to them as Yahweh said to him. Their horses he hamstrung and their chariots he burned in fire.

[6]And the Lord said to Iesous, "Do not fear from before them, because tomorrow at this time I will give them over, having made them turn away before Israel. Their horses you must hamstring and their chariots you will burn in fire."

[7]And Iesous and all the people of war came upon them suddenly at the water of Marron and they fell upon them in the hill country. [8]And the Lord give them over into the hand of Israel. Cutting them down, they pursued them until the great Sidon and to Maseron and to the plains of Massoch to the east. And they cut them down until there were not any of them left safe having escape.

[9]And Iesous did to them as the Lord commanded him. Their horses he hamstrung and their chariots he burned in fire.

11:10–15. EXEMPLARY EXECUTION OF THE KING

MT

[10]And Joshua returned at that time and he captured Hazor, and he slaughtered its king with the sword, because Hazor in former times was head of all those kingdoms. [11]And they slaughtered every life that was in it by the edge of the sword, devoting it to destruction. There was not any breath remaining. And Hazor he burned in fire. [12]And all the cities of those kings and all their kings Joshua took and he slaughtered them by the edge of the sword, devoting them to destruction as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, commanded. [13]But Israel did not burn all the cities that stood on their mound, except Hazor. Joshua burned it alone. [14]And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the Israelites plundered for themselves. All the humans, however, they slaughtered by the edge of the sword until they had destroyed them and no breath remained.

LXX

[10]And Iesous turned away at that time and he seized Hasor and its king. Now Hasor was formerly the ruler of all those kingdoms. [11]And they killed everything breathing in it with the sword and they completely destroyed them. And nothing breathing remained in it and they burned Hasor with fire. [12]And all the cities of the kings and their kings Iesous took and killed them with the edge of the sword and he completely destroyed them, as Moyses, the servant of the Lord, commanded. [13]But Israel did not burn all the cities fortified with earthen mounds. Iesous burned only Hasor. [14]And all its spoils the sons of Israel plundered for themselves.

But all people they completely destroyed with the edge of the sword until he ruined them. They did not leave anything breathing.

[15]As Yahweh commanded Moses, his servant, thus Moses commanded Joshua. And thus Joshua did. He did not deviate at all from all which Yahweh commanded Moses.

[15]As the Lord commanded Moyses, his servant, Moyses in like manner commanded Iesous. And thus Iesous did. He did not transgress from all that Moyses commanded him.

11:16–22. GENERAL WAR

MT

[16]So Joshua took all that land: the highland, all the Negeb, all the land of Goshen, the lowland, the Arabah, the highland of Israel and its lowland, [17]from Mount Halak, which rises above Seir, to Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon. And all its kings he took and he slaughtered them and he killed them. [18]Many days Joshua made war with all of these kings. [19]There was not a city that made peace with the Israelites except the Hittites, who dwelt in Gibeon.

They took them all in battle. [20]For it was Yahweh's doing to harden their heart to encounter Israel in battle so that he might devote them to destruction, without mercy, in order to destroy them as Yahweh commanded Moses.

[21]And at that time Joshua entered and he exterminated the Anakim from the highland, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, from all the highland of Judah, and from all the highland of Israel. Joshua devoted them to destruction with their cities. [22]No Anakim remained in the land of Israel. They remained only in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod.

LXX

[16]And Iesous took all the mountain land: the hill country, and all the Nageb, and all the land of Gosom, and all the plain, and that to the west and the mountain of Israel and the lowland, [17]by the mountain from Mount Hachel, and that which rises toward Seir, until Baalgad and the plains of Lebanon under Mount Haermon. And all their kings he took, destroyed, and executed them. [18]Many days Iesous made war against these kings. [19]And there was not a city that Israel did not take.

They took everything in war. [20]For it was by means of the Lord to strengthen their heart to meet for war against Israel, so that they would be utterly destroyed in order that mercy would not be given to them, but that they would be utterly destroyed, as the Lord said to Moyses.

[21]And at that time Iesous went and utterly destroyed the Enakim out of the hill country, out of Chebron, out of Dabir, out of Anaboth, out of the entire race of Israel, and out of the entire mountain of Ioudas with all their cities. And Iesous utterly destroyed them. [22]And none of the Enakim was left out of the sons of Israel, except in Gaza, in Geth, and in Asedoth was any left.

11:23. SUMMARY

MT

[23]So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Yahweh spoke to Moses. And Joshua gave it as an inher-

LXX

[23]And Iesous took the entire land, as the Lord commanded Moyses. And Iesous gave them as an inheritance

itance to Israel according to their tribal divisions. And the land had rest from war.

of Israel in apportionment according to their tribes. And the land ceased warring.

Josh 12. Defeated Kings of Royal Cities

12:1–6. Territory and kings east of the Jordan River conquered by Moses

MT

12 [1]These are the kings of the land, whom the Israelites slaughtered, whose land they dispossessed across the Jordan toward the east, from the Wadi Arnon to Mount Hermon, and all the eastern Arabah.

[2]Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, ruled from Aroer, which was on the edge of the Wadi Arnon, the middle of the Wadi, and half of Gilead, as far as the Jabbok River, the border of the Ammonites, [3]the Arabah as far as the Sea of Chinneroth eastward, as far as the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea eastward, the way of Beth-jeshimoth, and from the south under the slopes of Pisgah.

[4]The border of Og, king of Bashan, from the remaining of the Rephaim who dwelt in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, [5]who ruled over Mount Hermon, Salecah, and all Bashan to the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half of Gilead to the border of Sihon, king of Heshbon.

[6]Moses, the servant of Yahweh, and the Israelites slaughtered them. And Moses, the servant of Yahweh, gave it as an inheritance to Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

LXX

12 [1]And these are the kings of the land, whom the sons of Israel destroyed, and they laid claim to their land across the Iordan from the rising of the sun, from the ravine of Arnon to Mount Haermon and all the land of the Araba from the east.

[2]Seon, the king of the Amorrites, who lived in Hesebon, ruling from Aroer, which is in the ravine, along part of the ravine, and half of Galaad as far as Iabok, the boundaries of the sons of Ammon;

[3]and the Araba as far as the sea of Chenereth along the east, as far as the sea of Araba, the Sea of Salt, on the east, along the road of Hasimoth, from Thaiman, which is under Asedoth Phasga.

[4]And Og, king of Basan, remaining from the giants, who lived in Astaroth and in Edrain, [5]ruling from Mount Hearmon and from Selcha and all the land of Basan until the boundaries of Gesouri and Machati and half of Galaad, to the boundary of Seon, king of Hesebon.

[6]Moyses, the servant of the Lord, and the sons of Israel struck them. And Moyses gave it as an inheritance to Rouben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasse.

12:7–24. Territory and kings west of the Jordan River conquered by Joshua

MT

[7]These are the kings of the land whom Joshua and the Israelites slaughtered across the Jordan, west from Baal-gad in

LXX

[7]And these are the kings of the Amorrites whom Iesous and the sons of Israel destroyed across the Iordan by the sea of

the Valley of Lebanon as far as Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir. And Joshua gave it to the tribes of Israel as a possession according to their divisions [8]in the highland, in the lowland, in the Arabah, in the slopes, in the wilderness, in the Negeb—the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites:

[9]the king of Jericho, one
the king of Ai, which is next to Bethel, one
[10]the king of Jerusalem, one
the king of Hebron, one
[11]the king of Jarmuth, one
the king of Lachish, one
[12]the king of Eglon, one
the king of Gezer, one
[13]the king of Debir, one
the king of Geder, one
[14]the king of Hormah, one
the king of Arad, one
[15]the king of Libnah, one
the king of Adullam, one
[16]the king of Makkedah, one
the king of Bethel, one
[17]the king of Tappuah, one
the king of Hepher, one
[18]the king of Aphek, one
the king of Lasharon, one
[19]the king of Madon, one
the king of Hazor, one
[20]the king of Shimron-meron, one
the king of Achshaph, one

[21]the king of Taanach, one
the king of Megiddo, one
[22]the king of Kedesh, one
the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one
[23]the king of Dor in Naphath-dor, one
the king of Goiim in Gilgal, one
[24]the king of Tirzah, one.
All the kings were thirty-one.

Baalgad in the plain of Libanon and as far as Mount Chelcha, which rises up to Seir. And Iesous gave it to the tribes of Israel to inherit according to their lot [8]in the mountain and in the plain and in the Araba and in the Asedoth and in the desert and in the Nageb—the Chettite, the Amorrite, the Chananite, the Pherezite, the Heuite, and the Iebousite:

[9]the king of Iericho
the king of Gai, which is next to Baithel
[10]the king of Ierousalem
the king of Chebron
[11]the king of Ierimouth
the king of Lachish
[12]the king of Ailam
the king of Gazer
[13]the king of Dabir
the king of Gader
[14]the king of Hermath
the king of Arath
[15]the king of Lebna
the king of Odollam
[16]the king of Makeda

[17]the king of Taphoug
the king of Hopher
[18]the king of Aphek of Saron

[19]the king of Hasor

[20]the king of Symoon
the king of Marron
the king of Aziph
[21]the king of Kades
the king of Tanach
[22]the king of Magedon
the king of Iekonam of Chermel
[23]the king of Dor of Napheddor

the king of Goim of Galilee
[24]the king of Tharsa.
All these kings were twenty-nine.

Appendix II
Geographical Terms in the MT and the LXX

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
א			
אבין	Ebez	19:20	Ρεβες (B) Αεμε (A)
אבן בהן בן ראובן	Stone of Bohan, Reuben's son	15:6	λίθον Βαιων υἱοῦ Ρουβην λίθον Βαιων υἱοων
		18:17	Ρουβην
אדום	Edom	15:1	Ιδουμαία
		15:21	Εδωμ
אדם	Adam	3:16	Instead of Adam, Καριαθιαριμ
אדמה	Adamah	19:36	Αρμαιθ (B) Αδαμι (A)
אדמי הנקב	Adami-nekeb	19:33	Αρμε και Ναβωκ (B) Αρμαι και Νακεβ (A)
אדמים	Adummim	15:7	Αδδαμιν
		18:17	Αιθαμιν
אדר	Addar	15:3	Αδδαρα
אדרעי	Edrei	12:4; 13:12, 31	Εδραϊν
		19:37	Εδραι (A) Ασσαρι (B)
אזנות תבור	Aznoth-tabor	19:34	Εναθ Θαβωρ (B) Αζανωθ Θαβωρ (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
אילון	Aijalon	10:12	Φαραγγα Αιλων
		19:42	Αμμων
		19:43; 21:24	Αιλων
אכזיב	Achzib	15:44	Ακιεζι (B)
			Αχζιβ (A)
		19:29	Εχοζοβ (B)
			Αχζιβ (A)
אכשׁף	Achshaph	11:1; 12:20	Αζιφ
		19:25	Κεαφ (B)
			Αχσαφ (A)
אלמלך	Allammelech	19:26	Ελιμελεκ (B)
			Absent (A)
אלתולד	Eltolad	15:30	Ελβωυδαδ (B)
			Ελθωδαδ (A)
		19:3	Ελθουλαδ (A)
			Ελθουλα (B)
אלתקא	Elteke	21:23 (see 15:59)	Ελκωθαιμ
אלתקה	Eltekeh	19:44 (see 15:59)	Αλκαθα (B)
			Ελθεκω (A)
אלתקן	Eltekon	15:59	Θεκουμ (B)
			Ελθεκεν (A)
אמם	Amam	15:26	Σην (B)
			Αμαμ (A)
אנחרת	Anaharath	19:19	Αναχερεθ (B)
			Αναρεθ (A)
אפק	Aphek	12:18; 13:4; 19:30	Αφε
אפקה	Aphekah	15:53	Φακουα
ארב	Arab	15:52	Αιρεμ (B)
			Ερεβ (A)
ארנון	Arnon	12:1, 2 (not in LXX); 13:9, 16	Αρνων
ארץ החתים	Land of the Hittites	1:4	Absent
ארץ המצפה	Land of Mizpah	11:3	γῆν Μασσηφα
ארץ תפוח	Land of Tappuah	17:7	Absent
אשׁדוד	Ashdod	11:22	Ασεδωθ
		15:46	Ασηδωθ
		15:47	Ασιεδωθ
אשׁדות	Slopes	10:40; 12:8	Ασηδωθ
אשׁדות הפסגה	Slopes of Pisgah	12:3; 13:20	Ασηδωθ Φασγα
אשׁנה	Ashnah	15:33	Ασσα (B)
			Ασνα (A)
		15:43	Ιανα (B)
			Ασεννα (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
אשׁען	Eshan	15:52	Σομα (B) Εσαν (A)
אשׁקלון	Ashkelon	13:3	Ασκαλων
אשׁתאול	Eshtaol	15:33	Ασταωλ (B) Εσθαολ (A)
		19:41	Ασα (B) Εσθαολ (A)
אשׁתמה	Eshtemoh	15:50	Εσκαιμαν (B)
אשׁתמע	Eshtemoa	21:14	Εσθεμω (A)
ב			
בארות	Beeroth	9:17 18:25	Βηρωθ Βεηρωθα
באר שׁבע	Beer-sheba	15:28; 19:2	Βηρσαβεε
בזיותיה	Biziothiah	15:28	Absent
בטן	Beten	19:25	Βαιθοκ (B) Βατνε (A)
בטנים	Betonim	13:26	Βοτανιν
בית און	Beth-aven	7:2; 18:12	Absent, replaced with Βαιθηλ
בית אל	Beth-el	7:2; 8:9, 12, 17; 12:9, 16; 16:2; 18:13, 22	Βαιθηλ
בית בעל מעון	Beth-baal-meon	13:17	οἴκου Βεελμων
בית דגון	Beth-dagon	15:41	Βαγαδιηλ (B) Βηθδαγων (A)
בית הישׁמות	Beth-jeshimoth	12:3 13:30	Ασιμωθ Βαιθασιμωθ
בית המרכבות	Beth-marcaboth	19:5	Βαιθμαχερεβ (B) Βαιθαμμαρχαβωθ (A)
בית העמק	Beth-emek	19:27	Σαφθαιβαιθμε (B) Σαφθαβηθαεμεκ (A)
בית הערבה	Beth-arabah	15:6; 18:18, 22 15:61	Βαιθαραβα Βαιθαραβα (A) Θαραβααμ (B)
בית הרם	Beth-haram	13:27	Βαιθαραμ
בית חורן	Beth-horon	10:10, 11 16:3, 5; 18:13, 14; 21:22	Ωρωνιν Βαιθωρων
בית חגלה	Beth-hoglah	15:6; 18:19 18:21	Βαιθαγλα Βαιθεγλιω (B) Βηθαγλα (A)
בית לבאות	Beth-lebaoth	19:6	Βαθαρωθ (A) Βαιθλαβαθ (B)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
בית לחם	Beth-lehem	19:15	Βαθιθμαν (B) Βαιθλεεμ (A)
בית נמרה	Beth Nimrah	13:27	Βαιθαναβρα
בית ענות	Beth-anoth	15:59	Βαιθαναμ (B) Βαιθανωθ (A)
בית ענת	Beth-anath	19:38	Βαιθθαμε (B) Βαιθαναθ (A)
בית פעור	Beth-peor	13:20 22:17 פְּעוֹר אֶת־עָוֹן	Βαιθφογωρ τὸ ἁμάρτημα Φογωρ
בית פלט	Beth-pelet	15:27	Βαιφαλαδ (A) Βαιθφαλεθ (B)
בית פצץ	Beth-pazzez	19:21	Βηρσαφης (B) Βαιθφασης (A)
בית צור	Beth-zur	15:58	Βαιθσουρ
בית שׁאן	Beth-shean	17:11	Βαιθσαν
בית שׁמשׁ	Beth-shemesh	15:10 19:22; 21:16 19:38	Πόλιν ἡλίου Βαιθσαμυς Θεσσαμυς (B) Θασμους (A)
בית תפוח	Beth-tappuah	15:53	Βαιθαχου (B) Βαιθθαπφουε (A)
בלה	Bala	19:3	Βωλα
במות בעל	Bamot Baal	13:17	Βαμωθβααλ
בני ברק	Bene-berak	19:45	Βαναιβακατ (B) Βανη-βαρακ (A)
בעבר הירדן	Across/beyond the Jordan	בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן 1:14, 15; 2:10; 5:1; 12:1, 7; 13:8; 22:4, 7; 24:8 מֵעֵבֶר לְיַרְדֵּן 13:32; 14:3; 17:5; 18:7; 20:8	πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου
בעל גד	Baal-gad	11:17; 12:7 13:5	Βααλγαδ Γαλγαλ
בעלה	Baalah (northern Judah)	15:9	Βααλ
בעלה	Baalah (southern Judah)	15:29 (see 15:9)	Βαλα
בעלות	Bealoth	15:24 (see 15:9)	Βαλμαιναν (B) Βαλωθ (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
בעלת	Baalath	19:44 (see 15:9)	Βααλων (A) Absent or Γεβεελαν (B)
בעלת באר	Baalath-beer	19:8 (see 15:9)	Βααλεθ-βηρραμωθ(A) Absent or Βαρεκ (B)
בעשתרה	Beeshterah	21:27	Βοσοραν
בצקת	Bozkath	15:39	Βασηδωθ (B) Βαζκαθ (A)
בצר	Bezer	20:8; 21:36	Βοσορ
בקעת הלבון	Valley of Lebanon	11:17; 12:7	τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ Λιβάνου
בקעת מצפה	Valley of Mizpeh	11:8	πεδίων Μασσωχ
בשׁן	Bashan	9:10; 12:4, 5; 13:11, 12, 30, 31; 17:1, 5; 20:8; 21:6, 27; 22:9	Βασαν
בתול	Bethul	19:4	Βουλα (B) Absent in A
ג			
גבלי	Gebal	13:5	Γαβλι
גבע	Geba	18:24; 21:17 (see 15:57)	Γαβαα
גבעה	Gibeah	15:57	Γαβαα
		18:28	Γαβαωθιαριμ (B) Γαβααθ (A)
גבעון	Gibeon	9:3, 7; 10:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12; 11:19; 18:25; 21:17	Γαβαων
גבעת הערלות	Gibeath-haaraloth "Hill of Foreskins"	5:3	Βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν
גבעת פינחס	Gibeath-Phinehas "Hill of Phinehas"	24:33 (see 15:57)	Γαβααθ Φινεες
גבתון	Gibbethon	19:44	Γεβεελαν (B) Γαβαθων (A)
		21:23	Γεθεδαν
גדור	Gedor	15:58	Γεδδων
גדר	Geder	12:5	Γαδερ
גדרה	Gederah	15:36 (see 12:13)	Γαδηρα
גדרות	Gederoth	15:41 (see 12:13)	Γεδδωρ
גדרתים	Gederothaim	15:36 (see 12:13)	Absent
גוים	Goiim	12:23	Γωιμ

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
גולן	Golan	20:8	Γαυλων
גזר	Gezer	10:33; 12:12; 16:3 (not in LXX), 10 21:21	Γαζερ (16:5, not in MT) Γαζαρα
גי (בן) הנם	Valley of (the son of) Hinnom	15:8 18:16	φάραγγος Ονομ νάπης Ονναμ
גלגל	Gilgal	4:19, 20; 5:9, 10; 9:6; 10:6, 7, 9, 15, 43; 12:23; 14:6; 15:7	Γαλγαλ/γαλγαλα (5:10; 10:15, 43 not in LXX)
גלה	Giloh	15:51	Χαννα (B) Χηλων (A)
גלילי	Galilee	20:7; 21:32	Γαλιλαια
גלילות	Geliloth	18:17	Γαλιλωθ
גלעד	Gilead	12:2, 5; 13:11, 25, 31; 17:5, 6; 20:8; 22:9, 13, 15, 32	Γαλααδ
גרזים (הר)	Gerizim (Mount)	8:33	Γαριζιν
גשן	Goshen	10:41 הַגֹּשֶׁן כָּל־אֶרֶץ 11:16 הַגֹּשֶׁן כָּל־אֶרֶץ 15:51 גֹּשֶׁן	Γοσομ τὴν γῆν Γοσομ Γοσομ
גשורי	Gersherite	12:5 13:2, 11, 13	Γεσουρι Γεσιρι
גת	Gath	11:22	Γεθ
גתה חפר	Gath-hepher	19:13	Γεβερε (B) Γεθθα (A)
גת רמון	Gath-rimmon	19:45; 21:24 21:25	Γεθρεμμων Ιεβαθα
ד			
דביר (דבר)	Debir	10:38, 39; 11:21; 12:13; 15:7, 15, 49; 21:15	Δαβιρ
דבֶּרֶ	Dabberath	19:12 21:38	Δαβιρωθ (B) Δαββαθ (A) Δεββα
דבשת	Dabbesheth	19:11	Δαβασθαι (A) (B) Absent, replaced with Βαιθαραβα

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
דור	Dor	12:23 (see 11:2)	Δωρ
דאר		17:11	
דיבון	Dibon	13:9, 17	Δαιβαν
דימונה	Dimonah	15:22	Absent, replaced with Ρεγμα
דלען	Dilan	15:38	Δαλαλ (B) Δαλααν (A)
דמנה	Dimnah	21:35	Δεμνα
דנה	Dannah	15:49	Ρεννα
ה			
הנהר הגדול	The Great River	1:4	τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου
הר	Hill country/ highland	10:41 (40+ occurrences)	ορεινος
הר הבעלה	Mount Baalah	15:11 (see 15:9)	ὄρος τῆς Βαλα
הר־געש	Mount Gaash	24:30	του ορουσ Γααϲ
הר יערים	Mount Jearim	15:10	ὄρος Ασσαρες
הר עפרון	Mount Ephron	15:9	τὸ ὄρος Εφρων
ז			
זיף	Ziph	15:24	Absent
		15:55	Οζιβ (B) Ζιφ (A)
זנוח	Zanaoh	15:34	Γανω (B) Ζανω (A)
		15:56	Ζακαναιμ (B) Ζανωακιμ (A)
ח			
חבל	Hebel	19:29	Λεβ (B) Absent (A)
חברון	Hebron	10:3, 5, 23, 36, 39; 11:21; 12:10; 14:13, 14, 15; 15:13, 54; 20:7; 21:11, 13	Χεβρων
חדשה	Hadashah	15:37	Αδασαν (B) Αδασα (A)
חוקק	Hukkok	19:34	Ιακανα (B) Ικωκ (A)
חות יאיר	Havvoth-jair	13:30	τὰς κώμας Ιαΐρ
חלחול	Halhul	15:58	Αλουα (B) Αλουλ (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
חלי	Hali	19:25	Αλεφ (B) Οολι (A)
חלן	Holon	15:51	Χαλου (B) Χιλλουων (A)
		21:15	Γελλα
חלף	Heleph	19:33	Μοολαμ (B) Μεελεφ (A)
חלק (הר)	Halak (Mount)	11:17	ὄρους Αχελ
		13:7	ὄρους Χελχα
חלקת	Helkath	19:25	Ελεκεθ (B) Χελκαθ (A)
		21:31	Χελκατ
חמון	Hammon	19:28	Εμεμαων (B) Αμων (A)
חמטה	Humtah	15:54	Ευμα (B) Χαμματα (A)
חמת	Hammath	19:35	Ωμαθα (B) Αμαθ (A)
חמת דאר	Hammoth-dor	21:32	Εμμαθ
חנתן	Hannathon	19:14	Αμωθ (B) Ενναθωθ (A)
חסה	Hosah	19:29	Ιασιφ (B) Ωσα (A)
חפר	Hepher	12:17	Οφερ
חפרים	Hapharaim	19:19	Αγιν (B) Αφεραιμ (A)
חצור	Hazor	11:1, 10, 11; 19:36	Ασωρ
		15:23	Ασοριωναιν
חצור חדתה	Hazor-hadattah	15:25	Absent
חצר גדה	Hazar-gaddah	15:27	Ασαρσουλα (A) Σερι (B)
חצרון	Hezron	15:3	Ασωρων
חצר סוסה	Hazar-susah	19:5	Σαρσουσιν (B) Ασερσουσιμ (A)
חצר שׁועל	Hazar-shual	15:28	Χολασεωλα (B) Ασαρσουλα (A)
		19:3	Αρσωλα (B) Ασερσουαλ (A)
חרם	Horem	19:38	Αριμ (B) Ωραμ (A)
חרמה	Hormah	12:14	Ερμαθ
		15:30; 19:4	Ερμα

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
חרמון (הר)	Hermon (Mount)	11:3, 17; 12:1, 5; 13:5, 13	Αερμων
חשׁבון	Heshbon	9:10; 12:2, 5; 13:10, 17, 21, 26, 27; 21:39	Εσεβων
חשׁמון	Heshmon	15:27	Absent
ט			
טלם	Telem	15:24	Τελεμ (A) Μαιναμ (B)
י			
יבלעם	Ibleam	17:11	Absent
יבנאל	Jabneel	15:11	Ιαβνηλ
		19:33	Ιεφθαμαι (B) Ιαβνηλ (A)
יבוס	Jebus	15:8; 18:28	Ιεβους
יבק	Jabbok	12:2	Ιαβοκ
יגור	Jagur	15:21	Ασωρ
ידאלה	Idalah	19:15	Ιαδηλα (A) Absent in (B), replaced with Ιεριχω
יהד	Yehud	19:45	Αζωρ (B) Ιουθ (A)
יהצה	Jahaz	13:18	Ιασσα
יהין	Jahzah	21:36	Ιαζηρ
יהודה הירדן	Judah of the Jordan	19:34	Ο Ιορδανης
יזרעאל	Jezre-el	15:56	Ιαρικαμ (B)
		19:18	Ιεζραελ (A) Ιαζηλ (B) Ιεζραελ (A)
יוטה	Juttah	15:55	Ιταν (B)
ישה			Ιεττα (A)
		21:16	Γανυ
ים	Sea	5:1; 15:4, 5, 11; 16:6, 8; 17:9, 10	Θαλασσα
(ה)ים הגדול	The Great Sea	1:4	τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἐσχάτης
		9:1; 15:47; 23:4	τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης
ים המלח	Salt Sea	3:16; 12:3; 15:2, 5; 18:19	θάλασσαν Αλός

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
ים הערבה	Sea of the Arabah	3:16; 12:3	θάλασσαν Αραβα
ים כנרות	Sea of Chinneroth	12:3 כִּנְרוֹת	θαλάσσης Χενερεθ
		13:27 כִּנֶּרֶת	θαλάσσης Χενερεθ
ים סוף	Red Sea	2:10; 4:23; 24:6	τήν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν (24:6 twice)
ינוחה	Janoah	16:6	Ιανωκα
		16:7	Absent
ינים	Janim	15:53	Ιεμαιν (B) Ιανουμ (A)
יעזר	Jazer	13:5; 21:39	Ιαζηρ
יפו	Joppa	19:46	Ιοππης
יפיע	Japhia	19:12	Φαγγαι (B) Ιαφαγαι (A)
יפתח	Iphtah	15:43	Ανωχ (B) Ιεφθα (A)
יפתח אל	Iphtah-el	19:14	Γαιφαηλ (B) Γαιιεφθαηλ (A)
		19:27	Γαι και Φθαιηλ (B) Γαι Ιεφθαηλ (A)
יקדעם	Jokdeam	15:56	Ιαρικαμ (B) Ιεκδααμ (A)
יקנעם	Jokneam	12:22	Ιεκοναμ
		19:11	Ιεκναμ
		21:34	Absent
יקתאל	Jokthe-el	15:38	Ιακαρεηλ (B) Ιεχθαηλ (A)
יראון	Iron	19:38	Κερωε (B) Ιαριων (A)
ירדן	Jordan	1:2 (70 occurrences)	Ιορδάνης
ירושלם	Jerusalem	10:1, 3, 5, 23; 12:10; 15:8, 63; 18:28	Ιερουσαλημ
יריחו	Jericho	2:1 (29 occurrences)	Ιεριχω
ירמות	Jarmuth	10:3, 5, 23; 12:11; 15:35; 21:29	Ιεριμουθ Ρεμμαθ
ירפאל	Irpeel	18:27	Καφαν/Νακαν? (B) Ιερφαηλ (A)
יתיר	Jattir	15:48	Ιεθερ
		21:14	Αιλωμ

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
יתלה	Ithlah	19:42	Σιλαθα (B) Ιεθλα (A)
יתנן	Ithnan	15:23	Ασοριωναιν (B) Ιθναζιφ (A)
כ			
כבול	Cabul	19:27	Χωβα (B) Χαβωλ (A)
כבון	Cabbon	15:40	Χαβρα (B) Χαββα (A)
כנען	Canaan	3:10 (23 occurrences) 5:1, 12	Χανααν Φοινίκης
כנרות	Chinneroth	11:2 כִּנֶּרוֹת 19:35 כִּנֶּרֶת	Κενερωθ Κενερεθ
כסולת	Chesuloth	19:18	Χασαλωθ (B) Αχασελωθ (A)
כסיל	Chesil	15:30	Βαιθηλ (B) Χασιλ (A)
כסלון	Chesalon	15:10	Χασλων (B) Χασαλων (A)
כסלת תבר	Chisloth-tabor	19:12	Χασελωθαιθ (B) Χασαλωθ (A)
כפירה	Chephirah	9:17 18:26	Κεφιρα Μιρων
כפר העמני	Chephar-ammoni	18:24	Κεφιρα και Μονι (B) Καφη-ραμμιν (A)
כרמל	Carmel	12:22; 15:55 19:26	Χερμελ Χερμηλος
כתלישׁ	Chitlish	15:40	Μααχος (B) Χαθλος (A)
ל			
לבאות (בית)	Lebaoth Beth-lebaoth	15:31 19:6	Λαβως (B) Λαβωθ (A) Βαθαρωθ (A) Βαιθλαβαθ (B)
לבוא חמת	Lebo-hamath	13:5	τῆς εἰσόδου Εμαθ
לבנה	Libnah	10:29, 31, 32, 39 (not in LXX); 12:15; 15:42; 21:13	Λεβνα Λεμνα
לבנון	Lebanon	1:4; 9:1 11:17; 12:7; 13:5, 6	Ἀντιλίβανον Λιβάνον

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
לדביר	Lidbir	13:26	Δαβιρ
לוז	Luz	16:1	Absent Λουζα (16:2, not in MT)
		18:13	Λουζα
לחמס	Lahmas	15:40	Μαχες (B) Λαμας (A)
לכיש	Lachish	10:3, 5, 23, 31, 34, 35; 12:11; 15:39	Λαχης
לקום	Lakkum	19:33	Δωδαμ (B) Λακου (A)
לשם מ	Leshem	19:47	Absent
מאלן בצעננים	Oak of Zaanannim	19:33	Βεσεμιιν (B) Βεσενανιμ (A)
מגדו	Megiddo	12:21; 17:11	Μαγεδδω
מגדל אל	Migdal-el	19:38	Μεγαλα (B) Μαγδαλιηλ (A)
מגדל גד	Migdal-gad	15:37	Μαγαδαγαδ (B) Μαγδαλγαδ (A)
מדבר	Wilderness	1:4 (15 occurrences) 5:6; 18:2	ἔρημος (A) Μαδβαρίτιδι
מדבר צן	Midbar Zin	15:1 15:3	τῆς ἐρήμου Σιν Σεννα
מדון	Madon	11:1 12:19	Μαρρων Ασωρ
מדין	Middin	15:61	Αιων (B) Μαδων (A)
מדמנה	Madmannah	15:31	Μαχαριμ (B) Μεδεβηνα (A)
מולדה	Moladah	15:26 19:2	Μωλαδα Μωλαδα (A) Κωλαδαμ (B)
מחנים	Mahanaim	13:26, 30 21:38	Μααναιν Καμιν
מידבא	Medeba	13:9 13:16	Μαιδαβα Μισωρ
מי הירקון	Me-jarkon	19:46	απο θαλασσης Ιερακων
מי יריחו	Waters of Jericho	16:1	Absent

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
מי מרום	Waters of Merom	11:5, 7	ὕδωρ Μαρρων
מי נפתוח	Waters of Nephtoah	15:9; 18:15	ὕδατος Ναφθω
מכמתת	Michmithath	16:6; 17:7	Ικασμων
מעון	Maon	15:55	Μαωρ (B) Μαων (A)
מעכתי	Maacathite	12:5; 13:11, 13	Μαχατι
מערה	Meerah	13:4	Absent
מערת	Maarath	15:59	Μαγαρωθ (B) Μαρωθ (A)
מפעת	Mephaath	13:18	Μεφααθ
מצה	Mozah	18:26	Αμωκη (B) Αμωσα (A)
מצפה	Mizpeh	13:26; 11:3	Μασσηφα
בקעת מצפה		15:38	Μασφα
		18:26	Μασσημα (B) Μασφα (A)
	Valley of Mizpeh	11:8	Πεδιων Μασσωχ
מראשה	Mareshah	15:44	Βαθησαρ (B) Μαρησα (A)
מקדה	Makkedah	10:10, 16, 17, 21, 28, 29; 12:16; 15:41	Μακηδα
מרעלה	Maralah	19:11	Μαραγελλα (B) Μαραλα (A)
משרפות מים	Misrephoth-maim	11:8 13:6	Μασερων Μασερεφωθμαιμ
משאל	Mishal	19:26 21:30	Μααση (B) Μασαλ (A) Βασελλαν
נ			
נבשן	Nibshan	15:62	Ναφλαζων (B) Νεβσαν (A)
נגב	Negeb	10:40; 11:16; 12:8; 15:19, 21	Ναγεβ ἐρήμος
נהלל	Nahalal	19:15 21:35	Ναβααλ (B) Ναλωλ (A) Σελλα
נחל קנה	Wadi Kanah	16:8 17:9	Χελκανα Φαραγγα Καρανα
נעיאל	Neiel	19:27	Ιναηλ (B) Ανιηλ (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
נעה	Neah	19:13	Αννουα (A) Αοζα (B)
נעמה	Naamah	15:41	Νωμαν (B) Νωμα (A)
נערתה	Naarah	16:7	Absent
נפות דור	Naphoth-dor	11:2; 12:23	Ναφεδδωρ
נציב	Nezib	15:43	Νασιβ (B) Νεσιβ (A)
נהר פרת ס	Euphrates River	1:4	Εὐφράτης
סנסנה	Sansannah	15:31	Σεθεννακ (B) Σανσαννα (A)
סכות	Succoth	13:27	Σοκχωθα
סככה	Secacah	15:61	Αιχιοζα (B) Σοχοχα (A)
סלכה ע	Salecah	12:5; 13:11	Σελχα
עבדן	Abdon	21:30	Δαββων
עבר הנהר	Across the River	24:2, 3, 14	Περαν του ποταμου
עברן	Ebron	19:28	Ελβων (B) Αχραν (A)
עגלון	Eglon	10:3, 5, 23, 34, 37	Οδολλαμ
		10:36	Absent
		12:12	Αιλαμ
		15:39	Ιδεαδαλεα
עדיתים	Adithaim	15:36	Absent
עדלם	Adullam	12:15; 15:35	Οδολλαμ
עדעדה	Adadah	15:22	Αρουηλ
ערד	Arad	12:14	Αραθ
ערר	Eder	15:21	Αρα
עוים	Avvim	18:23	Αιιν (B) Αυιμ (A)
עזה (העזתי)	Gaza (those of Gaza)	10:41; 11:22; 15:47 (13:3)	Γάζα
עזקה	Azekah	10:10, 11; 15:35	Αζηκα
עטרות	Ataroth	16:2 16:7	Χαταρωθι Αταρωθ
עטרות אדר	Ataroth-addar	16:5 (see 16:2) 18:13	Αταρωθ και Εροκ Μααταρωθορεχ
עי	Ai	7:2 (33 occurrences)	Γαι

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
עיבל (הר)	Ebal (Mount)	8:30, 33	Γαιβαλ
עיים	Iim	15:29	Βακωκ (B) Αυιμ (A)
עין	Ain	15:32	Absent or Ερωμωθ (Ain and Rimmon)
עין גנים	En-gannim	15:34 19:21 21:29	Ραμεν Ραμμας (B) Ραμαθ (A) Πηγην γραμματων
עין גדי	En-gedi	15:62	Ανκαδης (B) Ηνγαδδι (A)
עין דר	En-dor	12:23 17:11	Ναφεδδωρ Absent
עין חדה	En-haddah	19:21	Αιμαρεκ (B) Ηναδδα (A)
עין חצור	En-hazor	19:37	πηγὴ Ασορ
עינם	Enam	15:34	Μαιανι (B) Ηναιμ (A)
עין רגל	En-rogel	15:7; 18:16	πηγὴ Ρωγηλ
עין רמון	En-rimmon (?)	19:7	Αιν και Ρεμμων (A) Ε-ρεμμων (B)
עין תפוח	En-tappuah	17:7	Πηγην Θαφθωθ
עיר המלח	City of Salt	15:62	Αι πολεις Σαδωμ (B) Αι πολεις αλων (A)
עין שמש (מי)	(Waters-of) En-shemesh	15:7 18:17	ὕδωρ πηγῆς ἡλίου πηγην Βαιθσαμυς
עין תפוכ	En-tappuah	17:7	πηγὴν Θαφθωθ
עלמון	Almon	21:18	Γαμαλα
עמה	Ummah	19:30	Αρχωβ (B) Αμμα (A)
עמון	Ammon	12:2; 13:10, 25	Αμμων
עמעד	Amad	19:26	Αμιηλ (B) Αμαδ (A)
עמק אילון	Valley of Aijalon	10:12	φάραγγα Αιλων
עמק בית הרם	Valley of Beth-haram	13:27	Εμεκ Βαιθαραμ
עמק יזרעאל	Valley of Jezre-el	17:16	Κοιλαδι Ιεζραελ
עמק עכר	Valley of Achor	7:24, 26 15:7	Εμεκαχωρ τῆς φάραγγος Αχωρ
עמק קציץ	Emek-keziz	18:21	Αμεκασις
עמק רפאים	Valley of the Rephaim	15:8 18:16	γῆς Ραφαϊν Εμεκραφαϊν

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
ענב	Anab	11:21	Αναβωθ
		15:50	Ανων (B)
			Ανωβ (A)
ענים	Anim	15:50	Αισαμ (B)
			Ανιμ (A)
ענתות	Anathoth	21:18	Αναθωθ
עפני	Ophni	18:24	Absent, replaced by
			Καραφα (B)
			Αικαρεν (A)
עפרה	Ophrah	18:23	Εφραθα (B)
			Αφρα (A)
עצם	Ezem	15:29	Ασομ (B)
		19:3	Ασεμ (A)
			Ασομ
עצמון	Azmon	15:4	Ασεμωνα
עקרבים (מעלה)	Akrabbim (Ascent of)	15:3	Ακραβιν
עקרון	Ekron	13:3; 15:11, 45, 46; 19:43	Ακκαρων
ערבות ירחו	Plains of Jericho	4:13	πρὸς τὴν Ιεριχω
			πόλιν
			ἐπὶ δυσμῶν
			Ιεριχω . . .
		5:10	ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
ערבות מואב	Plains of Moab	13:32	Αραβωθ Μωαβ
ערבה	Arabah	8:14	Absent
		12:1, 8	Αραβα
		15:61	Θαραβααμ
		15:6; 18:18, 22	Βαιθαβαρα
ערד	Arad	12:14	Αραθ
ערוער	Aroer	12:2; 13:9, 16, 25	Αροηρ
עשן	Ashan	15:42	Absent
		19:7	Ασαν
עשתרות	Ashteroth	9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31	Ασταρωθ
עתה קצין	Eth-Kazin	19:13	πολιν Κατασεμ (B)
			πολιν Κασιμ (A)
עתר	Ether	15:42	Ιθακ (B)
		19:7	Αθερ (A)
			Εθερ
פ			
פרה	Parah	18:23	Φαρα (B)
			Αφαρ (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
צ			
צדים	Ziddim	19:35	Absent, replaced by πολεις τειχηρεις των Τυριων
צידון	Sidon	11:8; 19:28	Σιδῶνος
ציער	Zior	15:54	Ζωρθ (B) Ζιωρ (A)
צלע (האלף)	Zela (healeph)	18:27	Σεληκαν (B) Σηλαλεφ (A)
צמרים	Zemaraim	18:22	Ζαρα (B) Σεμριμ (A)
צנן	Zenan	15:31	Σεννα (B) Σενναν (A)
צענים (מאלון)	Zaanannim (Oak of)	19:33	Βεσεμιιν (B) Βεσενανιμ (A)
צפון	Zaphon	13:27	Σαφαν
צקלג	Ziklag	15:31 19:5	Σεκελακ (B) Σικελεγ (A) Σικελακ (B) Σεκελα (A)
צר	Zer	19:35	Τυρος
צרעה	Zorah	15:33 19:41	Ραα (B) Σαραα (A) Σαραθ (B) Σαραα (A)
צרת השחר	Zereth-shahar	13:19	Two place-names Σεραδα καὶ Σιωρ
צרתן	Zarethan	3:16	Absent, replaced by Καριαθιαριμ
ק			
קבצאל	Kabzeel	15:21	Καιβαισελεηλ
קבצים	Kibzaim	21:22	Καβσαιμ
קדמות	Kedemoth	13:18 21:37	Κεδημωθ Δεκμων
קדש (בגליל)	Kadesh in Galilee	20:7 21:32	Καδης Καδες
קדש	Kedesh, Kadesh	12:22 15:23 19:37	Μαγεδων Καδης Καδες
קדש ברנע	Kadesh-barnea	10:41; 14:6, 7; 15:3	Καδης Βαρνη
קטת	Kattath	19:15	Καταναθ (B) Κατταθ (A)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
קין	Kain	15:57	Ζακαναιμ (B) Ζανωακιμ (A)
קינה	Kinah	15:22	Ικαμ (B) Κινα (A)
קנה	Kanah	19:28 (see 16:8)	Κανθαν
קעילה	Keilah	15:44	Κειλαμ (B) Κειλα (A)
קרית ארבע	Kiriath-arba	14:15; 15:13 21:11	πόλις Αρβοκ Καριαθαρβοκ
קרית בעל	Kiriath-baal	18:14	Καριαβααλ
קריות חצרון	Kerioth-hezron (=Hazor)	15:25	Αἱ πόλεις Ασερων
קריתים	Kiriathaim	13:19	Καριαθαιμ
קרית יערים	Kiriath-jearim	9:17; 15:9, 10 (הר), 60 18:14 18:15	πόλις Ιαριν Καριαθιαριν Καριαθβααλ
קרית סנה	Kiriath-sannah	15:49	Πολις γραμματων
קרית ספר	Kiriath-sepher	15:15, 16	Πόλις γραμμάτων
קרקע	Karka	15:3	Absent, replaced by Καδης
קרתה	Kartah	21:34	Absent, replaced by Καδης
קרתן	Kartan	21:32	Θεμμων
קִשְׁיון	Kishion	19:20 21:28	Κισων (B) Κεσιων (A)
ר			
ראמות	Ramoth	20:8	Αρημωθ
ראמת נגב	Ramath-negeb	19:8	Ιαμεθ (A) Βαμεθ (B) Negeb = κατα λιβα
רבה	Rabbah	13:25 (east of Jordan) 15:60 (west of Jordan)	Ραββα Σωθηβα (B) Αρεββα (A)
רבית	Rabbith	19:20	Δαβιρων (B) Ραββωθ (A)
רחב	Rehob	19:28 19:30 21:31	Ρααβ (B) Ροωβ (A) Ρααυ (B) Ραωβ (A) Ρααβ

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
רומה	Rumah	15:52	Ρεμνα (B) Ρουμα (A)
רמה	Ramah	18:25 (see 13:26) (city in Benjamin)	Ραμα
רמה	Ramah	19:29 (see 13:26) (city in Asher)	Ραμα
רמה	Ramah	19:36 (see 13:26) (city in Naphtali)	Αραηλ (B) Ραμα (A)
רמון	Rimmon	15:32 19:7 19:13	Ερωμωθ (B) Ρεμμων (A) Ρεμμων (A) Ερεμμων (B) Ρεμμωνα Αμαθαρ (B) ΡεμμωνΑμμαθαριμ(A)
רמת	Remeth	19:21	Ρεμμας (B) Ραββωθ (A)
רמת	Ramoth	21:38	Ραμωθ
רמת המצפה	Ramath-mizpeh	13:26	Ραμωθ
רמת נגב	Ramath-negeb	19:8 (see 13:26)	Βαμεθ κατα λιβα (B) Ιαμεθ κατα λιβα (A)
רקון	Rakkon	19:46	Absent
רקת	Rakkath	19:35	Δακεθ (B) Ρεκκαθ (A)
רקם	Rekem	18:27	Φιρα? (B) Ρεκεμ (A)
שׁ			
שִׂבמה	Sibmah	13:19	Σεβαμα
שׂוכה	Socoh	15:34 15:48	Σαωχω (B) Σωχω (A) Σωχα (B) Σωχω (A)
שׂעיר (הר)	Seir (Mount)	11:17; 12:7 שֵׂעִיר 15:10 הַר שֵׂעִיר 24:4 הַר שֵׂעִיר	Σηιρ ὄρος Ασσαρες ὄρος τὸ Σηιρ
שׂריד	Sarid	19:10, 12	Εσεδεκ (B) Σαριδ (A)
שׁ			
שׁבע	Sheba	19:2	Σαβεε (A) Σαμαα (B)

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
שִׁבְרִים	Shebarim	7:5	Absent
שׁוּנֶם	Shunem	19:18	Σουναν (B) Σουναμ (A)
שַׁחֲצוּמָה	Shahazumah	19:22	Σαλιμ κατα Θαλασσαν (B) Σασιμα κατα θαλασσαν (A)
שִׁטִּים	Shittim	2:1; 3:1	Σαττιν
שִׂיאֹן	Shion	19:19	Σιωνα (B) Σιαν (A)
שִׁיחוֹר	Shihor	13:3	Absent
שִׁיחוֹר לִבְנָת	Shihor-libnath	19:26	Two cities Σιων καὶ Λαβαναθ
שְׁכֶם	Shechem	17:7 20:7; 21:21 24:1, 25 24:32	υιων Αναθ (B) Συχεμ (A) Συχεμ Σηλω Σικιμοις
שִׁכְרוֹן	Shikkeron	15:11	Σακχαρωνα
שִׁלֹה	Shiloh	18:1, 8, 9 (not in the LXX), 10; 19:51; 21:2; 22:9, 12	Σηλω (add 24:1, 25)
שִׁלְחִים	Shilhim	15:32	Σαλη (B) Σελειμ (A)
שָׁמִיר	Shamir	15:48	Σαμιρ (B) Σαφιρ (A)
שִׁמְרוֹן	Shimron	11:1; 19:15	Συμοων
שְׁמַע	Shema	15:26	Σαλμαα (B) Σαμαα (A)
שִׁמְרוֹן מְרוֹן	Shimron-meron	12:20	Συμοων Μαρρων, separate city
שִׁנְעָר	Shinar	7:21	Absent
שַׁעַלְבִּין	Shaalabbin	19:42	Σαλαβιν
שַׁעֲרַיִם	Shaaraim	15:36	Σακαριμ (B) Σαργαριμ (A)
שַׁעֲרַיִם	Sharuhen	19:6	Absent
שְׁפֵלָה	Lowland/ Shephelah	9:1; 10:40; 11:2, 16; 12:8; 15:33	πεδινος
שָׁרוֹן ת	Sharon	12:18	Σαρων
תַּאנַת שִׁלֹה	Taanath-shiloh	16:6	Θηνασα και Σελλησα

Hebrew Locations in Joshua	*English (NRSV)*	*Occurrences in Joshua*	*Greek* A—Alexandrinus B—Vaticanus
תבור (הר)	Tabor (Mount)	19:22	Γαιθβωρ (B) Θαβωθ (A)
תימן	South	12:3; 13:4 15:1	Θαιμαν λίβα
תמנה	Timnah	15:10 15:57; 19:43	Absent Θαμναθα
תמנת סרה	Timnat-serah	19:50 (see 15:10) 24:30	Θαμνασαραχ Θαμναθασαχαρα
תענך	Taanach	12:21; 17:11 (not in the LXX); 21:25	Ταναχ
תפוח	Tappuah	12:17 15:53 16:8 17:8	Ταφουγ Βαιθαχου Ταφου Θαφεθ
תראלה	Taralah	18:27	Θαρεηλα (B) Θαραλα (A)
תרצה	Tirzah	12:24	Θαρσα

This page intentionally left blank

General Index

Aaron, 27, 35, 294, 354, 357
Abadab, 82
Abinadab, 48, 393
Abram (Abraham), 215, 217, 218, 219, 237, 245, 267, 297, 299, 345, 372, 429, 436
Achan, 4, 26, 29, 35, 44, 58, 59, 67, 81, 82, 223, 231, 286, 317, 339, 343, 346, 350, 353, 360, 374, 385, 389, 393, 412, 418
Achsah, daughter of Caleb, 35
Achshaph, 463–64, 491
Across the River (province), 193, 195, 217
Adam, 262
Adoni-zedek (Adoni-bezek), 25, 74, 392, 424, 427, 428, 429, 444, 445, 448, 473
Adullam, 489
Adummim, 347
Ahura Mazda, 244
Ai, 4, 10, 14, 26, 28, 29, 35, 37, 50, 65, 66, 193, 230, 241, 256, 282, 342, 343–44, 345, 350, 358, 362, 364, 365, 366, 368, 369, 371, 374, 376, 382, 386, 387, 400, 401, 412, 414, 449, 488
altar, of uncut stones, 4, 28, 44, 50, 66, 67, 82, 213, 218, 256, 285, 291, 362, 365, 366, 367, 372, 376, 377, 379, 383, 390, 392, 394, 415, 479
Amalekites, 213, 356, 370, 390
Ammon and Ammonites, 485–86
Amorites, 66, 223, 230, 231, 235, 251, 258, 260, 261, 367, 400, 416, 417, 427, 432; kings of, 400, 424, 430, 458, 461, 465, 488
amphictyony, Israel as, 13
Amurru, 259
Anab, 470
Anakim, 25, 26, 27, 58, 223, 429, 436, 459, 461, 469–70, 473, 480–81
aniconism, 44, 45, 53, 59–61, 284, 289, 291, 293, 297, 334, 345, 350, 352, 367, 377, 379, 386, 394
Anti-lebanon, 192, 194
Aphek, 490
apotropaic, Passover ritual as, 248, 297–98
Arabah, 378, 464, 484, 488
Arad, 489
Arba, 429
archaeology, 9, 12–13, 14
ark, 28, 35, 41, 43, 44, 59, 61, 66, 67, 213, 236, 255, 257, 258, 271, 274, 277, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 288, 290, 307, 312, 319, 322, 324,

ark (*continued*)
356, 359, 362, 365, 376, 377, 378, 380, 382, 383, 391, 479; as container of law, 52, 53; of the covenant, 5, 26, 44, 46–47, 51, 52, 257, 258, 263, 264, 284, 289, 291, 310, 324, 332, 392; as footstool, 51; of God, 51, 257, 284; as holy war object, 302; procession of, 3, 4, 25, 44–51, 64, 65, 66, 223, 228, 250, 257, 271, 275, 279, 282, 283, 301, 302, 303, 305, 324, 333, 339, 350, 362, 371, 374, 381, 384, 393–94; as source of divine communication, 54, 293; of testimony, 5, 46–47, 51, 52, 53, 275, 284, 293, 295; as war palladium, 51, 52, 282; of Yahweh, 5, 46–47, 51, 52, 251, 257, 284, 311, 312, 324, 334, 345
Arkites, 258
Aroer, 484–85
Arvadites, 258
Ashdod, 48, 393
Asher, 4, 446
Ashkelon, 259
Ashteroth, 405, 471, 487
Assyria and Assyrians/Neo-Assyrians, 27, 29, 67, 94, 195, 211, 216
atonement, day/ritual of, 329, 331, 353
Azekah, 431, 444, 449

Baal-gad, 469, 488
Baal-Peor, 432
Babylon and Babylonians, 94, 195, 216, 227, 338, 342, 414
Balaam, 328
ban, 3, 26, 45, 54–59, 82, 89–90, 213, 223, 228, 230, 231, 236, 238, 241, 243, 246, 247, 248, 302, 303, 317, 328, 336–38, 349, 355, 360, 386, 415, 448; and contemporary interpretations, 88–94; and desire, 56, 57, 58, 312, 347, 350, 352, 385; as extermination, 25, 26, 223, 241, 246, 247, 359, 477, 479; and forbidden booty, 4, 44, 56, 59, 306, 312, 334, 336, 337–38, 349, 350, 351, 352, 358, 359, 384, 385; and holiness, 43, 57, 58, 59, 286, 306, 312, 329, 336, 337; and manifest destiny, 89–90; as sacrifice to Yahweh, 3, 26, 56, 57, 58, 246, 306, 329, 330; as sacrilege, 26, 29, 59, 67, 82, 213, 339, 342, 346, 349, 350, 351, 352, 354, 361, 362, 374, 384, 385
Bashan, 231, 261, 405, 487
Beeroth, 406, 409, 415
Beer-sheba, 192
Benjamin, 4, 11, 48, 50, 269, 281, 319, 345, 349, 354, 355, 386, 387, 406, 409, 415, 429, 431, 444, 445, 446
Beth-arabah, 347
Beth-aven, 193, 269, 342, 344
Bethel, 12, 342, 344–45, 348, 349, 366, 369, 375, 489
Beth-hoglah, 347
Beth-horon, 427, 430–31, 449
Beth-jeshimoth, 486
Beth-shean, 12, 36
Beth-Shemesh, 48, 393
blessing, 372, 373–74, 376, 377, 378, 379, 381, 383, 391; conditional, 378, 382, 383, 384, 394, 395; unconditional, 378, 382, 383, 394, 395
booty, profane, 384, 385–86, 461; and intermarriage, 385, 386

Caleb, 25, 27, 214, 265, 356, 357, 412, 429, 436, 458
camp, 57, 77, 220, 221, 265, 271, 274, 286, 290, 297, 300, 322, 365, 375, 376, 392, 393, 403, 427, 428, 433, 434, 441, 449; compared to city, 334, 336, 337, 366, 418, 458, 479; exclusion of Rahab from, 337; no king in, 418; pollution/purging/purity of, 340, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 359, 361, 386, 418; as residence of the twelve tribes, 418; and war, 418, 452
Canaan, 25, 221, 231, 260, 271, 280, 301
Canaanite myth-and-ritual pattern, 325–26
Canaanites, 4, 66, 83, 88, 90, 193, 224, 229, 240, 241, 243, 247, 251, 256,

258–60, 261, 266, 276, 356, 358, 367, 382, 400, 416, 417, 461, 465, 488
Carchemish, 195
Carmel, 492
Carmi, 343, 353
catechism, 272, 278, 279–81, 291–92, 295
cave, 453
Chephirah, 406, 409, 415
Chinneroth, 464
chronology, Priestly, 294–95, 298
circumcision, 4, 35, 36, 37, 67, 81, 82, 193, 213, 250, 251, 255, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 272, 274, 275, 278, 279, 282, 285, 292, 296–300, 322, 365, 371, 386, 392; as purification, 299–300; second, 299
cities, 221; compared to camp, 334, 336; curse upon, 6, 36, 228, 302, 305, 306, 313–15, 336, 356, 391; judicial centers of refuge, 4, 27, 35, 36, 213, 336, 389, 429; Levitical religious centers, 4, 27, 286, 336; royal cities and city-states, 4, 5, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 36, 44, 60, 66, 73, 211, 212, 223, 228, 242, 251, 285, 286, 291, 297, 302, 314, 352, 355, 356, 367, 384, 385, 418, 429, 433, 441, 459, 479; symbolism of walls of, 335–36
comparative anthropology, 10, 13, 14–15
conquest, 3, 13, 15, 25, 27, 188, 211, 216, 220, 222, 231, 239, 276, 287, 325, 334, 374, 381, 445, 446, 458; complete, 5, 21, 32; as genocide (*see* ban: as extermination); historicity of, 8, 11–12, 15–16, 472; incomplete, 5, 21, 32; as infiltration, 9, 10, 13, 15; as ritual, 282; royal conquest accounts (*see* war); as unifying, 8, 9, 13, 15
courage, 219–20, 222
covenant, 27, 220, 247, 275, 296, 340, 359, 360, 394, 419–21; and the ark, 274; ceremony of, 83, 213, 286, 372, 388, 392, 393; conditional, 378; exclusive nature of, 4, 50; with the Gibeonites, 241, 404, 406, 409, 411; and geography, 217, 218; and the promise of land, 75; renewal of, 28, 52
Cyprus, 195

Dan, 4, 25, 35, 446
Darius, 289
David, King, 48, 49, 79, 213, 219, 220, 261, 328, 344, 393, 414, 429, 433, 446
Day of Yahweh, 217, 227
Dead Sea, 227, 260, 262, 347
Debir, 58, 347, 430, 436, 447, 448, 454–55, 473, 488, 494, 499
Delta of Egypt, 457
Deuteronomic literature in the Pentateuch (D), 26, 27, 28, 51, 52
Deuteronomist, 6, 7, 200, 235, 237, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 319, 320, 339, 350, 354, 407, 408, 411, 439, 471, 493, 494
Deuteronomistic Historian (DtrH), 21, 203
Deuteronomistic history (Dtr), 10, 16–18, 21, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 210, 211, 274, 275, 278, 319, 375, 408
Deuteronomistic Supplement (DtrS), 203, 204
Dimonah, 82
disgrace of Egypt, 4, 36. *See also* reproach of Egypt
divine presence, 43, 51–54, 339–40, 353, 359, 385, 391–92, 479
Dor, 464–65, 492

Ebal, Mount, 3, 4, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 37, 44, 45, 50, 52, 54, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 71, 82, 218, 228, 250, 256, 257, 284, 286, 301, 302, 339, 353, 355, 362, 365, 366, 367, 371, 372–73, 374, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381, 383, 389, 393, 400
Ebenezer, 48
Edom, 403
Edrei, 487

Eglon, 35, 39, 41, 58, 427, 430, 441, 448, 454, 473, 488
Egypt and Egyptians, 3, 217, 231, 250, 266, 270, 280, 281, 282, 299, 358, 457
Ekron, 393
El, the living. *See* Yahweh
Eldad and Medad, 214
elders, 376, 388–89
Eleazar, 27, 39–40, 44, 354, 388, 392, 393
Elim, 283
Elohist source (E), 17, 18, 200, 234, 235, 237, 272, 273, 317, 348, 349, 439, 471
En-dor, 465
Ephraim, 4, 8, 11, 260, 345, 392, 431, 446, 462
Ephrath, 49
ethnic identity, 4, 385–86
etiology, 9, 12, 14, 236, 237, 238, 279, 281, 282, 291, 296, 297, 298, 316, 318, 319, 320, 339, 349, 350, 361, 367, 391, 409, 440, 471
Euphrates River, 75, 192, 193, 194, 195, 215, 217, 258
exclusion, religious and social, 5. *See also* covenant
exile, Babylonian, 62, 76, 200, 296
exodus, out of Egypt, 3, 6, 13, 15, 35, 191, 230, 237, 243, 245, 250, 267, 271, 273, 281, 282, 290, 291, 295, 299, 325, 330, 416, 457
Exodus Motif, 245

fundamentalism, 92–94

Gad, 4, 188, 198, 221, 292
Gath, 48, 393, 470
Gath-Hepher, 470
Gath-Rimmon, 470
Gaza and those of Gaza, 195, 258, 260, 437–38, 470
Geder, 488
Gederah, 488
Gederoth, 488
Gedor, 488
Gemorrah, 260
genealogy, 343, 353, 354–55
genocide. *See* ban: as extermination
Gerizim, Mount, 3, 4, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 44, 45, 50, 52, 54, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 71, 82, 218, 228, 250, 256, 257, 264, 284, 286, 301, 302, 339, 345, 353, 355, 362, 365, 366, 367, 371, 372–73, 374, 378, 380, 381, 383, 389, 393, 400
Gershom, 267
Gershonites, 405
Gershurite, 487
Gezer, 35, 36, 259, 435, 454, 473, 488
Gibeah, 44, 365, 386, 387, 392
Gibeath-haaraloth, "Hill of Foreskins," 267
Gibeon, 71, 74, 260, 300, 393, 401–2, 427, 444, 457, 469, 473; altar at, 402; and Jerusalem, 402; place of war, 444; Solomon's vision at, 402; sun standing still at, 441–44
Gibeonites, 26, 66, 71, 72, 74, 83, 231, 235, 241, 260, 306, 338, 359, 393, 405, 406, 414–15, 424, 429; compared to Rahab, 337, 397, 416–17, 419; cursed to perform cultic service, 402, 404, 407, 408, 409, 415, 417; enter the camp, 403, 419; knowledge of Torah of, 417; masquerade of, 397, 402–3, 408, 410, 413, 417, 420, 439, 474; as Nethinim, 414, 415; as tricksters, 337, 394, 401, 409, 416–17
Gideon, 328, 357–58
Gilead, 260, 485, 488
Gilgal, 4, 14, 31, 50, 66, 67, 212, 227, 251, 252, 255, 256, 264–65, 271, 272, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281–83, 291, 294, 296, 298, 300, 301, 347, 349, 350, 376, 380, 382, 393, 409, 424, 427, 428, 444
Girgashites, 258, 259, 261
Gittaim, 393
glory of Yahweh, 374, 383
Goiim, 484, 492

golden calf, 52, 53, 54, 247, 340, 345, 351, 358, 360, 422
Goshen, 427, 438, 457, 458
Great River, 194–95
Great Sea, 192, 196, 215, 400

Halak, Mount, 468, 488
Hamathites, 258
Hasmonean, 28, 30
Hazar-gaddah, 462
Hazeroth, 283
Hazor, 58, 459, 462–63, 471, 473
Hazor-hadattah, 462
Hebron, 25, 27, 58, 429–30, 441, 448, 454, 473, 488
Hepher, 490
Hermon, Mount, 191, 193, 194, 461, 465–66, 484, 487
Heshbon, 230, 405, 488
Hethites, 258
Hezekiah, 219
highlands/hill country, 195, 260, 400, 436, 458, 461, 464, 468, 488
historical credo, 282
Hittites, 75, 196, 258, 260, 367, 400, 415, 416, 417, 429, 461, 465, 469, 488
Hivites, 66, 258, 259, 260, 367, 400, 403, 415, 416, 417, 461, 465, 488
Hoham, 427, 429, 435, 448, 473
holiness, 52, 286, 333, 340. *See also* ban; theophany/revelation, genre of
holy ground, 215, 323, 324, 329–30
Horeb, Mount, 51, 52, 53, 193, 284, 285, 388
Horites, 260, 401, 403
Hormah, 356, 489
horses and chariots, 472, 475–77
Huleh, Lake, 191
Hurrian, 261, 403, 429

indigenous nations, list of, 3, 4, 5, 196
inner-biblical interpretation, 53–54, 58–59, 208–9, 377–78, 408, 410, 417, 445–46, 447, 451, 472, 476
intertext, book of Joshua as, 42, 43
Issachar, 4

Jaar, 49
Jabbok, 327, 485
Jabesh-gilead, 387
Jabin, king of Hazor, 8, 459, 462, 472
Jacob, 327, 345
Jarmuth, 430, 441, 448, 454, 488
Japhia, 430, 448
Jashar, Book of, 25, 35, 427, 432, 433, 442, 451, 452
Jebusites, 36, 66, 258, 259, 260, 261, 367, 400, 416, 417, 444, 445, 446, 461, 465, 488
Jehovist (JE), 6, 200, 201, 272, 317, 320, 348, 408, 439
Jericho, 4, 12, 14, 26, 44, 58, 64, 81, 193, 223, 224, 227–28, 231, 237, 238, 241, 242, 275, 282, 283, 284, 302, 315, 321, 322, 342, 372, 393, 416, 449, 488; as holy, 58, 59, 306, 323, 329–30; march around, 35, 308–10; spying on, 44, 228; walls of, 28, 83, 233, 236, 238, 248, 285, 301, 307, 316, 318, 331, 335, 356, 384, 385
Jerusalem, 6, 25, 28, 29, 31, 36, 48, 50, 74, 77, 79, 212, 217, 219, 260, 261, 270, 345, 355, 392, 393, 424, 428–29, 441, 446, 454, 488; as city of God, 429; Jebusite population of, 392, 428, 429, 447; temple of, 48, 49, 50, 60, 261, 332, 338, 355, 381, 393, 414, 415, 423, 428, 441, 448; walls of, 332, 333, 355, 429
Jobab, 463
Jokneam, 491
Jordan River, 3, 32, 45, 66, 190, 191–92, 193, 194, 198, 199, 220, 222, 227, 230, 265, 277, 280, 281, 283, 293, 295, 342, 347, 365, 371, 387, 416; as border, 82, 191; crossing of, 6, 26, 29, 31, 35, 36, 44, 45, 50, 52, 61, 71, 81, 83, 191, 204, 214–15, 227, 236, 237, 241, 242, 246, 250, 251, 256, 264, 272, 278, 279, 283, 290, 333, 334, 339; flooding of, 35, 255, 262
Joseph, 35, 345, 372, 446; bones of, 5, 39–40, 392; two tribes of, 4

Joshua, 210–12, 213–14, 241, 265, 268, 274, 380, 386; as assistant/servant/successor of Moses, 3, 82, 190–91, 205, 274, 329, 390, 404, 451, 458, 461; as author, 82; as charismatic leader, 65, 94, 213; as circumciser, 265, 268; as city builder, 36; commission/installation of, 3, 187, 210–11; cursing the city (*see* cities); cursing the Gibeonites, 413, 422–23, 448; death and burial of, 22–25, 35, 39–42, 207, 392; as Hoshea, 214; idealization of, 26, 210, 211, 212, 214, 303, 274, 292, 329, 338, 356, 399; intersession of, 44, 52–53, 339, 356–58, 362, 381, 393; and Jesus, 81; as king, 210–11; leading ritual, 360; married to Rahab, 82; speeches/instruction/teachings of, 5, 213, 251, 274, 310, 322, 333; stops the sun, 82, 433, 444–45, 450–51, 452; studies Torah, 82, 84, 218; as warrior, 210, 211, 445
Josiah, 195, 200, 201, 202, 211, 212, 345, 443
Jubilee, 307, 331, 332, 335
Judah, 4, 26, 48, 264, 265, 343, 346, 353, 355, 387, 444, 445, 457
Judea and Judeans, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 49, 227, 373, 386, 388, 446

Kadesh, 294, 457
Kadesh-barnea, 437, 457
Kedesh, 491
Kerioth-hezron (=Hazor), 462
Kinah, 82
Kiriath-arba, 429
Kiriath-jearim, 48, 49, 393, 406, 409, 415
Kiriath-sannah, 436
Kiriath-sepher, 436
knives and swords, 35, 36, 256, 266, 285, 296–97, 299, 328, 337

Lachish, 12, 430, 448, 454
Land beyond the Jordan, 35
Land of Mizpah, 466
Land of the Hittites, 35, 190, 192, 195–96
Lasharon, 490
law and legal matters, 213, 229, 276, 291, 296, 353, 360, 371; and the Deuteronomistic History, 201; exemption from, 224; fulfillment, of, 7; and geography, 215, 220; observance of, 202, 204, 206, 208, 209, 212, 280; reading of, 71, 256, 286, 382, 388; and rights of non-Israelites, 241, 247, 248; and successful leadership, 211; writing of, 257. *See also* Torah
leaders of the congregation, 408, 409, 411, 412–13, 421–22, 448
Lebanon, 75, 190, 192, 193–94, 195, 215, 400
Levites, 6, 36, 191, 206, 257, 273, 285, 286, 373, 380, 414, 429
Libnah, 435, 454, 489
lowlands (=Shephelah), 427, 436, 457, 464, 488
Luz, 345

Maacathite, 487
Machpelah, cave of, 195, 429, 453
Madaba map, 372, 378
Madon, 463, 491
Makkedah, 58, 74, 212, 219, 300, 424, 427, 428, 431, 439, 444, 449, 454, 473, 489
Manasseh, 4, 25, 188, 198, 259, 260, 292, 358, 404
manna, 4, 67, 250, 265, 270, 271, 272
Marah, 283
Megiddo, 12, 491
Melchizedek, 428, 448
Merneptah Stele, 15–16, 259
Midianites, 332
Miriam, 294
Misrephoth-maim, 467–68
Mizpah, 415, 466
Mizpeh, 466
monotheism, 4, 44, 45, 61–65

Moses, 35, 213, 218, 219, 221, 247, 266, 357, 358, 370, 376, 390, 451, 458, 459; authority of, 451–52, 461; death and burial of, 23–24, 207, 213, 294; instruction of, 35, 477–78; as mentor of Joshua, 3; as servant of Yahweh, 34, 190, 197, 213, 255, 373, 404, 488; and the theophany at Sinai, 323, 328, 329
Mountain of God, 330, 331
murmuring motif, 356–57

Nabih, 84
Naphoth-dor, 465, 492
Naphtali, 4, 446, 462
Negeb, 195, 212, 436, 457, 458, 488
Nine Worthies, 84–85
Nomistic Deuteronomistic Redaction (DtrN), 21, 31, 32, 64, 203, 204, 383

Oaks of Moreh, 378, 429
oath, 26, 224, 245, 276; between Moses and Caleb, 412; between Rahab and the spies, 231, 233, 234, 236, 239, 240, 241, 246–49, 314, 315, 337, 412; between the leaders of the congregation and the Gibeonites, 337, 411, 412–13, 421; divine, to ancestors, 219, 412
Obed-edom, 48
Og, 25, 58, 224, 230, 231, 261, 337, 351, 386, 405, 409, 458, 481, 493, 497–99; mythological role of, 498; as Rephaim, 497–98
oral tradition, 10, 281, 349, 350, 409, 439. *See also* etiology
Ozan, 305, 315, 316

Passover, 4, 26, 35, 67, 81, 83, 248, 250, 255, 256, 265, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 274, 280, 282, 283, 294, 296, 297, 299, 300–301, 371, 392
Perizzites, 66, 258, 260–61, 367, 416, 417, 461, 465, 488
Persia and Persians, 94, 193, 195, 217, 218, 219, 244, 245, 338, 372, 388
Philistines, 48, 289, 296
Phinehas, 27, 35, 39–40, 354, 388, 393
Piram, 427, 430, 448
polytheism, 5, 61, 63, 64
Priestly source/literature/editing, 6, 7, 17, 26, 27, 28, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 205–6, 214, 255, 257, 267, 268, 273, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 292, 293, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 306, 311, 320, 324, 331, 339, 350, 351, 352, 354, 355, 374, 379, 383, 387, 388, 411
priests and priesthood, 6, 190–91, 206, 263, 271, 272, 278, 284, 290, 292, 297, 300, 302, 305, 307, 311, 316, 319, 332, 388, 407, 408, 409, 410
promised land, 3, 4, 13, 25, 30, 43, 45, 50, 61, 75–77, 82, 192, 214, 221, 227, 228, 231, 250, 251, 256, 257, 261, 280, 282, 297, 299, 301, 302, 357, 360, 366, 371, 381, 385, 415; borders of, 194, 195, 215–19; as conditional, 21, 22, 31, 38, 187, 188, 202–3, 204–5, 206, 208, 209, 210, 383, 384, 396; division of, 27, 322; as empty space, 24–25, 66, 223, 251, 482; flowing with milk and honey, 26, 81; as rest, 3, 187, 336, 337; as unconditional, 21, 22, 31, 38, 187, 188, 202–3, 204–5, 206, 208, 209, 210, 383, 384, 396; and utopia, 43, 75, 76–77, 216, 218–19

Rabshakeh, 289
Rahab, 73, 87, 228, 229, 231, 232, 236, 241, 276, 285, 317, 318, 355, 436; compared to the Gibeonites, 337, 397; confession of, 45, 64, 223, 224, 229, 234, 235, 236, 243–46, 337, 351, 449; in the history of interpretation, 82, 87, 240; living outside of camp, 337, 386, 418; as prostitute, 82, 223, 224, 228, 239, 242, 245, 248, 337; red cord/thread of, 35, 226, 233, 247–48; rescue of, 314, 315, 337; as trickster, 73, 224, 237–40, 242, 337; window in home of, 226, 239, 247–48

Rakkath, 82
Ramath-mizpeh, 466
Rameses, 283
rams' horns. *See* trumpets and rams' horns
reception history of the book of Joshua, 77–94
recognition formula, 281, 285, 288–89
redaction criticism, 19–21, 319–20, 410–11, 440, 445–46, 493
Red Sea, 31, 32, 215, 229, 230, 235, 243, 245, 246, 262, 265, 271, 280, 281, 291, 295, 371, 449, 472
Rephaim, 231, 261, 486–87; Og as (*see* Og); as royal dead, 497–98
Rephidim, 390
reproach of Egypt, 86, 251, 270, 298, 299, 300. *See also* disgrace of Egypt
Reuben, 4, 188, 198, 293
rites of passage, 250–51, 279, 280, 295, 392
royal conquest accounts. *See* war

sacrilege. *See* ban
Sagen, 10, 14, 237, 281, 282, 349, 409, 440
Salecah, 487
Salt Sea, 262
Samaria, 28, 264
Samaritan/Samarian, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 338, 345, 372, 373, 386
sanctuary of Yahweh, 337, 392, 393, 395
scribes, 220, 285–86
Sea at the End, 192, 193
Sea of Chinneroth, 191
Sea of the Arabah, 262
Sea of the Philistines, 215
Sebarim, 342, 345
Seir, Mount, 403, 468–69
Sharon, 490
Shaubak, 84
Shechem, 3, 13, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 44, 50, 59, 66, 257, 260, 337, 359, 362, 372, 376, 382, 393, 423
Shiloh, 48, 49, 257, 337, 360, 392, 393
Shimron, 463
Shimron-meron, 463, 491
Shinar, 342, 347
Shittim, 3, 4, 45, 194, 224, 226–27, 237, 241, 251, 252, 256, 271, 273, 279, 282, 283
Sidon, 194, 258, 467
Sidonites, 258
Sihon, 25, 58, 196, 223, 230, 231, 243, 337, 351, 386, 405, 409, 458, 488, 493, 497
Simeon, 4
Sinai (region), 193
Sinai, Mount, 51, 53, 284, 285, 287, 332, 374, 383
Sinites, 258
slopes, 437, 457, 488; of Pisgah, 437, 486
Sodom, 260
Solomon, 49, 50, 193, 215, 216, 217, 219, 414, 423, 441
Stone of Bohan, 347
source criticism, 6–8, 317–18
spies and spying, 35, 223, 224, 226, 231, 234, 235, 236, 247–49, 355–56, 436
stones, 379, 380, 382, 395; great stones from heaven, 431–32, 441, 444, 450; great stones in front of the cave at Makkedah, 434, 440, 450; as memorial, 5, 31, 35, 66, 67, 213, 220, 250, 255, 256, 263, 264, 265, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 287, 290, 291, 297, 378, 394, 450; plastered, 61, 377, 378, 379, 380; tablets, 53, 61; uncut/natural, 377, 378, 379, 380, 394, 450; writing on, 38, 392, 394
Succoth, 262
sun, 432; poem to, 432, 438, 441–45, 447; royal solar worship, 443, 444, 447; standing still, 292, 428, 432
swords, 327–28, 366, 367, 369–70, 390

Taanach, 491
tabernacle, 51, 198, 294, 329, 330, 374, 383, 392, 423
Tappuah, 489–90

Tell Beit Mirsim, 12
Tent of Meeting, 214, 337, 392, 452
textual criticism, 32–43
theophany/revelation, genre of, 284–87, 288–90, 293, 303, 306, 320, 325–26, 340, 384; and crossing over, 287; of the prince of the army of Yahweh, 303, 306, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 325, 326, 327–28; and sanctification, 286; as a type-scene, 322–24, 326–27; and wonders, 286–87, 289, 297
Tiberias, 82
Tigris River, 194
Timnat-serah, 25, 36, 392
Tirzah, 492
Torah, 31, 38, 190, 197–98, 203, 211, 217, 218, 235, 237, 257, 377; book of, 21, 209, 374, 380, 394; copy of, 380, 383, 394; of God, 19, 395; indicating success in war, 5, 395; of Moses, 28, 34, 75, 94, 200, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 373, 380, 392, 394, 461, 479; observance of, 5, 187, 188, 206, 209, 212, 230, 383, 394, 395, 396; reading of, 45, 256, 365, 366, 371, 382, 383, 394, 399; writing of, 44, 67, 257, 265, 339, 362, 365, 366, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 384, 390, 392, 394–96, 401; of Yahweh, 77. *See also* law and legal matters
tradition history of the book of Joshua, 8–16
treasury of the house of Yahweh, 337–38, 385
trumpets and rams' horns, 26, 67, 213, 302, 306, 307, 308, 311, 312, 313, 316, 317, 319, 324, 325, 331, 332, 334, 335, 384
typology, 80–81
Tyre, 193, 260

unleavened bread, 4, 67, 250, 255, 256, 265, 270–71, 272, 274, 280, 283, 300–301
Upi, 259
utopia. *See* promised land
Uzzah, 48, 329

Valley of Achor, 342, 347–48, 349, 350, 360, 361, 436
Valley of Aijalon, 432, 433, 443
Valley of Lebanon, 469, 488
Valley of Mizpeh, 466, 468
vow. *See* oath

wadi Arnon, 484, 485
war, 1, 73, 196, 201, 219, 221, 222, 231, 282, 284, 286, 287, 292, 328, 365, 380; against kings and royal cities, 4, 43, 44, 64, 65–74, 424, 440; against northern kings, 65, 71–74, 397, 472, 478–79; against southern kings, 65, 71–74, 397, 400, 407, 415, 416, 439, 454–56, 472; Entemena's war against Umma, 67–68, 73; and execution of kings, 71, 212, 219, 220, 366, 371, 391, 438, 454, 473; as extermination/genocide, 59, 74, 87–88, 235, 366, 386, 457, 459, 473, 474; at Gibeon, 444; holy, 43, 44, 51, 54, 59, 61, 66, 213, 214, 220, 243, 246, 275, 282, 286, 302, 303, 306, 320, 322, 325–27, 328, 333, 334, 350, 351, 352, 355, 356, 358, 359, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 384, 461, 473; Neo-Assyrian royal conquest accounts, 27, 67–71, 211, 424, 440–41, 447, 449, 450, 495; oracles, 449; polemic in book of Joshua against royal conquest accounts, 71–74; rules of, 409, 410, 411; as seven-day ritual, 330–31, 333–34; shout in, 311, 313, 324, 332, 333, 334, 335. *See also* ban
waters of Merom, 463, 467, 471
wilderness, 192, 193, 194, 215, 370, 488; journey in, 3, 6, 191, 193, 215, 220, 227, 230, 231, 242, 250, 255, 266, 268, 269, 273, 280, 281, 283, 301, 330; of Sin, 283; of Sinai, 283; of Zin, 193, 294

Yahweh, 224, 287; altar of, 423; and covenant, 75; as destroyer of city walls, 29; as divine warrior, 4, 48, 231, 246, 303, 325–27, 340, 442; as El, the living, 4, 28, 51, 54, 64, 75, 251, 258, 288–89, 297, 302, 340, 481; glory (Kabod) of, 51; as God in heaven and on earth, 63, 64, 243, 244–45, 289; as God of the exodus, 4; house of, 315, 423; as Lord of all the earth, 289, 290, 481; messenger of, 328; and prince (commander) of the army of, 31, 83, 283, 302, 303, 305; Sabaoth, 51, 312
Yahwist Source (J), 17, 18, 200, 234, 235, 237, 272, 273, 280, 281, 349, 471
Yanoam, 259
Yehud, 413, 414. *See also* Judea and Judeans

Zabdi, 343, 346, 353
Zarethan, 262
Zebulun, 4, 430, 463
Zelophehad, daughters of, 27, 413, 414
Zemarites, 258
Zerah, 343, 346, 353
Zeus, 244
Zimri, 343
Zin, 193
Zipporah, 267, 297

Index of Authors

Abadie, P., 97
Abel, F.-M., 97, 333, 431
Achenbach, R., 68, 89, 97
Aharoni, Y., 97, 467–468
Aichele, G., 97
Akenson, D. H., 89, 97
Albers, E., 97, 272
Albertz, R., 92, 129, 132
Albright, W. F., 9, 11–14, 16, 61, 71, 88, 90, 98, 343–344, 401–402, 436
Alfrink, B. J., 98
Allegro, J. M., 37, 98
Alt, A., 9–14, 16, 30, 98
al-Ṭabarī', 99
Ames, F. R., 127
Amit, Y., 23, 99
Anbar, M., 99, 377, 390
Anderson, A. A., 37, 89
Anderson, G. A., 99
Anderson, R. T., 118
Andrews, D. K., 99, 244
Appleby, R. S., 65, 92–93, 134
Arayaprateep, K., 99
Armstrong, K., 93, 99
Assis, E., 99
Assmann, J., 65, 99
Ateek, N. S., 91, 100
Augustine, 81
Auld, A. G., 17, 33, 100, 189–190, 194, 197, 255, 258, 266–267, 269, 297, 313, 343, 345–346, 348, 365, 372, 374–375, 403, 427–428, 433, 445–446, 454
Ausloos, H., 100
Avi-Yonah, M., 100

Babcock, B., 100
Bächli, O., 100
Bahrani, Z., 44, 67, 70, 100
Baldry, H. C., 100
Ballhorn, E., 100
Barr, J., 91, 101, 455
Barsani, L., 101
Barstad, H. M., 25, 31
Bartfeld, H., 101
Barth, C., 101, 285
Barthélemy, D., 101
Bartlett, J. R., 101
Batto, B. F., 101
Bautch, R. J., 101
Becker, U., 101, 446, 448
Becking, B., 102, 129
Beek, M., 102
Begg, C. T., 102, 339

Beilner, W., 102
Bellis, A., 102, 240
Benjamin, C. D., 102
Benjamin, D. C., 103
Berge, K., 75, 103
Berman, J. A., 103, 339, 350, 387
Bersani, L., 103
Berthelot, K., 103
Betlyon, J. W., 103, 347
Biddle, M. E., 103
Bieberstein, K., 33, 190, 199, 204, 206, 222, 236, 248, 255, 296, 319–321, 327
Bietenhard, S., 103
Bimson, J. J., 103, 462
Bird, P., 103, 238–240
Blaschke, A., 103, 296, 300
Blenkinsopp, J., 48–49, 51, 103, 132, 260, 354–355, 393, 401–402, 406, 408–409, 442
Blum, E., 19, 104
Bolin, T. M., 63, 104
Boling, R. G., 13, 18, 104, 190, 201, 226, 228, 241–242, 258, 260–262, 269, 312, 315, 323, 329, 338, 345, 370, 380, 384, 432, 434, 436, 441, 450, 454–455, 461, 463–464, 488, 490–491
Boorer, S., 104, 219
Bordreuil, P., 104, 498
Bowden, M., 133
Brekelmans, C. H. W., 105
Brekke, T., 105
Brenner, A., 105, 242
Brettler, M. Z., 105, 146, 207
Briend, J., 105, 207–208
Briggs, P., 105
Bright, J., 12, 105
Brodsky, H., 105, 344
Bronner, L. L., 105
Brueggemann, W. A., 105, 475
Buber, M., 106
Budde, K., 106, 446
Burger, J., 106
Burnett, J. S., 106
Butler, T. C., 18, 106, 194, 201, 205, 221, 235, 300, 311, 333, 371, 376, 399, 403, 405, 407, 410, 427, 460
Butticaz, S., 106

Cahill, J., 106, 428
Callaway, J. A., 14, 106, 343
Calvin, J., 85–88, 90–91, 106, 240–241
Campbell, A. F., 51, 106
Campbell, K. M., 106
Carden, M., 106
Carr, D., 107, 217
Carroll, R. P., 107
Causse, A., 107
Cazelles, H., 107, 373
Chapman, R. L., 107, 116
Chapman, S. B., 42, 107
Charlesworth, J. H., 37, 107
Cherry, C., 89, 107
Childs, B. S., 14, 107, 238, 296
Chirichigno, G. C., 108
Chrysostom, 81
Clements, R. E., 108
Coats, G. W., 108, 280, 283, 298, 356
Coggins, R. J., 30, 108
Cohen, S., 108, 296, 298
Cohn, H. H., 108, 480
Cohn, R. L., 108
Colenso, A., 108
Collins, J. J., 79, 91–92, 108
Conrad, E. W., 108, 219, 368, 449
Coogan, M., 14, 109
Cooper, A., 109, 291
Cooper, J. S., 67, 109
Coote, R. B., 109, 201, 211
Corley, J., 109
Cornelius, I., 59, 109
Cowles, C. S., 109
Cowley, A., 109
Crane, O. T., 109
Creach, J. F. D., 109, 275, 419–420
Creanga, O., 109
Crook, Z. A., 110

Cross, F. M., 51, 110, 240, 282, 285, 325–326, 433
Crown, A. D., 110
Culley, R., 110
Cunningham, K., 110, 238
Curnock, G. N., 110
Curtis, A. H. W., 110

Damien, N., 110
David, R., 110
Davies, G. I., 110, 283, 298
Davies, M., 111, 238
Davison, J. M., 111
Day, J., 111, 414
Debel, H., 111
Deurloo, K. A., 111
Dever, W. G., 14, 111
Dietrich, W., 111
Dillmann, A., 32, 111
Dimant, D., 37, 111
Dines, J. M., 41, 43, 112
Dion, P. E., 112, 368
Dorsey, D. A., 112, 431
Doty, W. G., 125
Douglas, E., 112
Dozeman, T. B., 112, 217, 245
Drinkard, J. F., 112
Driver, G. R., 112
Dube, M., 91, 112
Durham, J. I., 112
Dus, J., 51, 113, 274–275, 432, 442–444
Dutiot, U., 101

Earl, D. S., 57, 90, 113, 275
Edelman, D., 113
Ehrlich, A. B., 113
Ehrlich, C. S., 113
Eisler, R., 113
Eissfeldt, O., 8, 113, 206, 234, 273, 318, 349, 378, 471
Elazar, D. J., 113
Elliger, K., 113
Ellis, R. R., 113
Elssner, T. R., 113
Eph'al, I., 114
Erlandsson, S., 114
Esarhaddon, 195
Eshel, H., 79, 114
Eusebius 344, 372, 378, 431, 490
Evans, M. J., 114, 240
Ewald, H., 114, 200

Fabry, H.-J., 114, 280–281
Fales, F. M., 114
Farber, Z. I., 114
Farmer, K. A., 114, 238
Faust, A., 14, 114
Feldman, L. H., 114
Feldman, S., 79–80, 115
Fensham, F., 115, 419
Fenton, P. B., 115
Ferguson, J., 76, 115
Fernández, A., 115
Fewell, D. N., 115
Fields, W. W., 115
Finkel, J., 115
Finkelstein, I., 14–15, 27, 115, 211, 283, 472
Finley, M. I., 115
Fishbane, M., 115, 203, 301
Flanagan, J. W., 116
Fleming, D. E., 116, 302, 319, 327, 330, 333
Flight, J. W., 116
Floss, J. P., 116, 235–236
Flusser, D., 116, 298
Fox, M., 116
Frankfort, H., 116
Fredriksson, H., 116
Freedman, D. N., 116
Freeman-Grenville, G. S. P., 116
Fretheim, T. E., 116
Fritz, V., 14, 18, 45, 116, 203, 264, 275, 296, 319–320, 329, 338, 350, 370, 380, 382, 385, 390, 463, 471–473, 495
Frolov, S., 117
Frye, N., 117
Frymer-Kensky, T., 117
Fuhs, H. F., 117, 287

Gadamer, H. G., 77, 91, 117
Gangloff, F., 117
García Martínez, F., 78, 117
Gard, D. L., 109
Garstang, J., 13, 117, 227–228
Garstang, J. B. E., 13, 117
Gaster, M., 117
Geoghegan, J. C., 117
George, D. B., 117
Gertz, J. C., 117
Gevirtz, S., 118, 336
Giles, T., 118
Gladigow, B., 59, 118
Glatt-Gilad, D. A., 118
Glueck, N., 118, 227, 247
Gnuse, R. K., 62, 118
Goff, M., 121
Goldhagen, D. J., 118
Goldstein, B. R., 109, 291
Goldstein, J. A., 30, 118
Gomes, J., 118, 344
Good, E. M., 118
Goodblatt, D. M., 118
Gooding, D. W., 118, 255, 266, 269–270
Gordin, M. D., 76, 119
Gordon, R. P., 119
Görg, M., 119, 201
Gottwald, N. K., 15, 72, 119
Grabbe, L. L., 119
Gradwohl, R., 119, 267
Graf, D. F., 116
Gray, J., 119, 201, 387
Grayson, A. K., 119
Greenspoon, L. J., 119, 365
Gregory of Nyssa 81
Grelot, P., 119, 373
Gressmann, H., 10, 120, 237
Grimes, R. L., 120, 417
Grintz, J. M., 120
Grosby, S., 120, 218
Gruenthaner, M. J., 120
Grünwaldt, K., 120
Guillaume, P., 120
Gunkel, H., 10, 120, 237
Gunn, D. M., 120
Haak, R. D., 119
Habel, N. C., 120
Halbe, J., 120, 410, 420
Hall, R. G., 121
Hall, S. L., 121, 275, 321, 323–324, 329, 433, 442, 454, 458
Hallo, W. W., 60, 121
Halperin, B., 121
Hamiel, H., 147
Hamlin, E. J., 121, 329
Haran, M., 121, 414
Harlow, D. C., 121
Harris, J. G., 121
Hauck, F., 121
Havrelock, R., 121, 216
Hawk, L. D., 121, 201, 237, 241, 243, 248, 275, 323, 331, 353, 386, 389, 456
Hawkins, R. K., 122
Hayes, J. H., 122
Heither, T., 122
Heller, J., 122, 237, 443
Hendel, R. S., 60, 122, 251
Hertog, C. G. den, 122, 267, 296
Hertzberg, H. W., 122
Hertzler, J. O., 76, 122
Hesiod, 76
Hess, R. S., 16, 123, 128, 209, 233, 324, 419, 429, 455, 462–463
Hiebert, T., 123
Hill, A. E., 123
Hillers, D., 123
Hoffman, Y., 124
Hoffmeier, J. K., 16, 68, 124, 295
Hogan, K. M., 121
Holladay, J. S., 124, 432, 441, 443
Holland, T. A., 124, 227–228
Hollenberg, J., 124, 269
Holmes, S., 33, 124, 198, 255, 265, 269, 297, 365, 375
Hölscher, G., 124, 237
Holzinger, H., 124, 201, 234, 318
Hom, M. K., 124, 442
Hoppe, L., 124
Horn, P. H., 124
Hostetter, E. C., 124, 258

Houston, J. M., 124, 251
Houtman, C., 125
Howard, D. M., 125
Huizinga, J., 84, 125
Hulst, A. R., 125, 191, 214
Hynes, W. J., 125

Isaac, E., 10, 125
Ishida, T., 125
Ishwaran, K., 125

Jacob, E., 125
Jacobs, S. L., 125
Japhet, S., 49, 125
Jastrow, M., 126
Jenni, E., 126
Jeremias, J., 126, 284–285
Jericke, D., 126
Jobling, D., 126, 191, 215
John of Damascus, 81
Johnston, P., 126
Johnstone, W., 126
Jones, A., 126, 132
Jones, H. S., 132
Josephus, Flavius, 30, 79, 126, 212, 240, 256–257, 371
Juergensmeyer, M., 59, 126

Kallai, Z., 126, 217
Kalluveettil, P., 127, 419
Kaminsky, J. S., 121, 127, 479
Kartveit, M., 28–30, 127
Kasten, D. L., 127
Kaufmann, Y., 127, 216
Kearny, P., 127, 410, 417
Keel, O., 127, 370
Kelle, B. E., 127
Keller, C. A., 127, 274–275, 283
Kellermann, D., 127
Kelso, J. L., 98
Kempinski, A., 128, 381
Kenyon, K. M., 14, 128, 227–228
Kim, W., 128
Kingdon, R. M., 85, 128
Kippenberg, H. G., 31, 128
Kislev, I., 128
Kitts, M., 59, 126
Klein, R. W., 128, 343
Klingbeil, G. A., 123, 128
Knauf, E. A., 20, 28, 128, 228–229, 231, 235–237, 242, 246, 288–289, 329, 338, 344, 355, 381, 390, 411, 413, 417, 448, 453, 455, 457, 462, 471–472, 474, 478, 495
Knierim, R., 24, 128
Knobel, A. W., 129, 201
Knoppers, G. N., 30, 98, 129, 132, 343
Koch, K., 63–64, 129
Koenen, K., 129, 344
Köhlmoos, M., 129, 344
Koorevaar, H. J., 129
Korpel, M. C. A., 102, 129
Kosman, A., 129
Kramer, P. S., 130
Kratz, R. G., 19, 130, 207, 237
Kraus, H. J., 130, 240, 282
Krause, J. J., 130
Kruger, H. A. J., 130
Küchler, M., 127
Kuenen, A., 6–9, 16, 130, 200, 408
Kuhrt, A., 130
Kuper, L., 130

Lactantius, 81
Lambert, G., 130
Langlamet, F., 130, 237, 265, 273
Langlois, M., 131
Lanoir, C., 131
Lapp, P. W., 13, 131
Latvus, K., 131, 293, 351–352, 354
Layton, S. C., 131, 428–429
Lemche, N. P., 131
Levin, Y., 131, 203
Levine, B. A., 131, 351, 414
Levine, E., 131
Levitas, R., 131
Liddel, H. G., 132
Lind, M. C., 132
Linington, S., 132

Lipinski, E., 132, 261
Lipschits, O., 98, 104, 129, 132, 141
Liver, J., 132
Liverani, M., 67–68, 70–71, 132
Livesey, N. E., 132
Lohfink, N., 132, 210, 219
Long, B. O., 14, 133, 238, 291, 350
Longman, T., III, 109, 133
Lowenthal, D., 133
Luckenbill, D. D., 68, 133
Lukermann, F. E., 76, 144
Lust, J., 43, 133

MacDonald, N., 61, 133
Machinist, P., 133
Magen, Y., 30, 133
Maier, A., 51–52, 133
Malamat, A., 133, 333, 384, 462
Manuel, F. E., 76, 134
Manuel, F. P., 76, 134
Marconcini, B., 134
Marcus, D., 134
Margalit, B., 134, 440
Margolis, M. A., 32, 134, 190, 197, 269, 346, 407
Margot, J.-C., 134
Marty, M., 65, 92–93, 134
Marx, A., 135
Mayes, A. D. H., 135, 201, 208, 244, 377–377, 379, 410
Mazani, P., 135
Mazar, A., 115, 135
Mazor, L., 135, 190, 198–199, 266, 306, 311, 315–316, 365
Mbuwayesango, D., 135
McCarthy, D. J., 135, 228, 243, 246
McConville, J. G., 136
McKinley, J. E., 136
McNeill, W. H., 93, 136
Mendels, D., 66, 136, 212
Mendenhall, G. E., 15, 136
Merling, D., Sr., 16, 136
Merrill, E. H., 88, 109, 136
Mettinger, T. N. D., 52, 59–60, 136, 291
Meyer, E., 137, 445
Millard, A. R., 137
Miller, J. M., 14, 16, 122, 137, 445, 455, 472
Miller, P. D., Jr., 51, 137, 323, 326, 432, 442
Miller-Naudé, C. L., 27, 137
Mitchell, D. C., 79, 137, 212
Mitchell, G., 137
Mitchell, S., 137, 335
Mittmann, S., 137
Moatti-Fine, J., 33, 137, 258, 269, 306, 346, 348, 368, 370–371, 374, 402–403, 407, 428
Möhlenbrink, K., 137, 236, 297
Moore, G. F., 137, 207–208
Moran, W. L., 138
Morris, E., 89, 138
Mowinckel, S., 138, 216, 237
Muilenburg, J., 138, 264
Mumford, L., 76, 138, 335

Na'aman, N., 14–15, 29, 77, 138, 377, 379, 382, 463, 472–473, 490
Nelson, R. D., 14, 18, 32, 45, 48, 138, 201, 211, 221, 235, 248, 255, 266, 269, 275, 297, 306, 311, 316, 321, 323, 332, 342, 365, 371, 373, 377, 380–382, 387, 399, 410–411, 419, 442, 445, 495
Nentel, J., 138, 203, 208–209, 222
Netzer, E., 124, 227–228
Newman, M., 139
Newsom, C., 37, 139
Nicholas, D. A., 139
Niditch, S. N., 91, 139, 238
Niehaus, J., 139
Niehr, H., 60, 139, 413
Nihan, C., 29, 139, 377, 379, 382
Nissinen, M., 139, 335
Noegel, S., 139, 498
Noort, E., 7, 11, 37, 79, 84, 139–141, 191, 200, 216, 228, 270, 316, 365, 371, 377, 381, 408, 431–432, 441–442, 450, 498
North, R. G., 141, 438
Noth, M., 11–22, 24, 32, 45, 71, 88–89, 91, 141, 200–204, 208, 210–211,

230, 235–238, 273–275, 277–279, 281–283, 289–290, 296–298, 301, 306–307, 318–321, 344, 349–350, 375, 383, 390, 409–411, 413, 427–430, 436–437, 439–440, 442, 446, 450, 453–454, 463, 466, 469, 471–472, 478, 487, 490, 493–495

O'Connel, K. G., 141
O'Connor, M., 159, 434
Oded, B., 31, 68–70, 72, 141
O'Doherty, E., 141
Oeming, M., 132, 141, 351, 415
Oettli, S., 141
Ollenburger, B., 141, 428
Olyan, S. M., 142
Origen, 80, 87, 90, 142, 212, 306, 371
Orlinsky, H. M., 3, 142, 190
O'Sullivan, J. L., 89, 142
Oswald, L., 142
Otto, E., 142, 201, 235, 237, 273, 278, 280–281, 318, 349
Ottosson, M., 142

Patterson, R. D., 142, 238
Pachomius, 81
Paulinus of Nola, 81
Peckham, B., 142
Peels, H. G. L., 142
Perlitt, L., 18, 143
Pienaar, D. N., 143
Piesl, H., 60, 143
Pippin, T., 97
Pitkänen, P. M. A., 143, 355, 372
Plato, 76
Polak, F. L., 143
Polaski, D. C., 143
Polzin, R., 143, 201, 275–277, 279, 288
Pongratz-Leisten, B., 143
Pope, M., 143, 498
Porten, B., 30, 143, 431
Porter, J. R., 143, 210–211
Porter, P. W., 76, 144
Porzig, P., 144
Prakash, G., 76, 119
Prenter, J. A. de, 144
Pressler, C., 144, 275, 419–420
Pretzl, O., 144
Preuss, H. D., 144, 245
Pritchard, J. B., 144, 401
Pseudo-Philo, 79, 300
Puech, E., 37, 144
Pummer, R., 29–31, 144
Purvis, J. D., 30, 144
Pury, A. de, 146

Rabinowitz, I., 144, 371, 441
Rad, G. von, 8, 53, 145, 325–326
Rahlfs, A., 34, 145, 197
Rake, M., 145, 207, 445–448
Rashi, 145, 299
Ray, P. J., Jr., 123, 128
Reid, D. G., 133
Rendtorff, R., 19, 145
Ricoeur, P., 76, 145
Ritter, C., 8, 145
Roberts, J. J. M., 51, 137, 145, 429
Robertson, E., 145
Robinson, E., 8, 145, 344
Robinson, R. B., 145, 324, 333
Rofé, A., 32–33, 37, 43, 145, 190
Rohde, M., 146
Römer, T., 19, 21, 98, 146, 201, 206, 219, 244
Romm, J. S., 146
Rose, M., 146, 327
Rösel, H. N., 20, 147, 207, 248, 266, 268, 270, 316, 375, 437, 455, 457–458, 466–469, 471–472, 474, 477, 493, 495–496, 498
Rösel, M., 33, 40, 147
Roth, W., 147, 387
Roussel, L. M. A., 147
Rowlett, L. L., 147, 196, 219, 222, 240
Rudolph, W., 22, 148, 410
Ruwe, A., 148

Sacchi, P., 148, 194
Sack, R. D., 24, 148
Saebo, M., 148
Safrai S., 116, 298
Said, E. W., 91, 148

Sakenfeld, K. D., 148, 247
Sanders, P., 63, 148, 283
Sanders, S. L., 148, 256–257
Sasson, J. M., 148, 266, 297
Savran, G., 148, 322–323, 326
Sawyer, J. F. A., 148, 442
Saydon, P., 148
Schäfer-Lichtenberger, C., 148, 206, 211, 410, 417
Schaper, J., 149, 338
Schiffman, L. H., 149
Schmid, H. H., 19, 149
Schmid, K., 17, 57, 61, 63, 149
Schmidt, B. B., 60, 149
Schmitt, R., 149
Schneidau, H. N., 78, 150, 334
Schneider, W., 150, 207, 321
Schoors, A., 14, 150, 472
Schulz, S., 121
Schunck, K.-D., 150, 283
Schwarzenbach, A. W., 150, 468
Schwienhorst, L., 45, 150, 319–320, 338, 352
Schweitzer, S., 76, 150, 338
Scott, R., 132
Seebass, H., 150
Seely, D., 150, 464
Seidel, H., 150
Seitz, O. J. F., 150
Seow, C. L., 45, 150
Shepherd, G., 42, 150
Sherwood, A., 150, 241
Silberman, N. A., 14–15, 27, 115, 211, 283
Simian-Yofre, H., 151, 203
Simons, J. J., 151
Singer, I., 15, 151
Sipilä, S., 151, 255, 257, 262
Sivan, E., 75, 93, 151
Ska, J.-L., 151
Smend, R., 21–22, 24, 31–32, 38, 151, 202–203, 207, 209, 326
Smith, J. Z., 151
Smith, M. S., 61–64, 151
Snaith, N., 152, 230
Snijder, L. A., 152, 221
Soggin, J. A., 18, 32, 45, 152, 193, 201, 226, 235, 247, 258, 262–263, 269, 282, 291, 306, 312, 315, 342–344, 354, 381, 399, 401, 434, 437, 455, 461–462, 464, 467
Sonnet, J.-P., 152
Sperling, D. S., 152
Spina, F. A., 152
Spinoza, B. de, 152, 207
Spronk, K., 152, 498
Staal, G., 152
Stager, L., 14, 152
Stähli, H.-P., 153, 443
Stec, D. M., 153
Stek, J., 153
Stenhouse, P., 153
Stephanson, A., 89, 153
Stern, E., 76, 153
Stern, P. D., 56–57, 153
Sternberger, J.-P., 153
Steuernagel, C., 153, 201–203, 234–235, 237, 317–318, 348, 365, 375, 408, 439, 441, 451, 471, 493
Stolz, F., 153, 326
Stone, L., 153
Strabo, 153, 336
Strange, J., 28, 154
Štrba, B., 154
Sugirtharajah, R. G., 154
Sullivan, L. E., 154, 238
Sumner, W. A., 154
Suriano, M. J., 154, 497
Sutherland, R. K., 154, 410, 414
Swindell, A. C., 154

Talmon, S., 154
Talstra, E., 161
Tarragon, J. M. de, 131
Taylor, J. E., 116
Taylor, J. G., 154, 442–444
Tertulian, 81
Thelle, R. I., 154
Thigpen, J. M., 154
Thompson, L. L., 154, 251

Thompson, T. L., 63, 154
Tigay, J. H., 155, 206, 376
Tilley, H., 76, 119
Tov, E., 30, 33, 79, 155, 190–191, 197, 199, 255, 262, 266, 269, 342–343, 365, 371, 427
Trebolle Barrera, J., 155
Tricot, A., 155
Troyer, K. De, 155, 379, 427, 433
Tucker, G. M., 137, 156, 238, 248, 445, 455
Tunyogi, A., 156
Turner, E., 156, 250
Turner, V., 156, 250

Uehlinger, C., 60, 156
Ulrich, E., 3, 34, 37, 156, 256–257, 297, 365, 371, 382
Ulrich, K., 156

Volz, P., 98
Van Anrooij, W., 84, 157
Van Bekkum, K., 16, 157, 433–434, 467
Van der Kooij, A., 33, 157
Van der Lingen, A., 157
Van der Louw, T. A. W., 157, 231, 233–234
Van der Meer, M., 33, 38, 157, 189–191, 194–199, 255, 266, 269–271, 297–298, 300, 306, 324, 331, 365, 369–371, 373, 375, 382–383, 428
Van der Toorn, K., 60, 157, 217
Van Dyk, P. J., 14, 157
Van Gennep, A., 158, 250
Van Ruiten, J., 98
Van Seters, J., 19, 71, 158, 195, 201, 210, 236–327, 440
Veijola, T., 158, 354
Vermes, G., 158, 298
Vink, J. G., 158, 373, 379
Vogt, E., 158, 275
Vorländer, H., 61, 158
Vos, J. C. de, 158, 447
Vries, S. J. de, 98, 158, 301
Vulcanescu, R., 158, 417

Wagenaar, J., 158, 301
Wagner, S., 159, 236–237
Walker, P., 126
Wall, R. W., 159
Waltke, B. K., 159, 434
Walton, J. H., 159, 442–443
Warrior, R. A., 91, 159
Watts, J. D. W., 159, 335
Wazana, N., 75, 159, 192, 195, 216
Weimar, P., 159, 440
Weinfeld, M., 57, 159, 209, 211, 216, 352
Weinstein, J. M., 160, 258
Weippert, H., 160, 227
Weippert, M., 160
Weiser, A., 20, 160
Wellhausen, J., 6–10, 16, 26, 160, 200, 202, 204, 234–235, 272–273, 317–319, 323, 335, 348, 369, 375, 408, 413, 438–439, 445, 471
Wenham, G. J., 160, 201
Wette, W. M. L. de, 6, 111
Whitelam, K. W., 14, 160
Wijngaards, J. N. M., 160, 245, 293
Wilcoxen, J. A., 160, 283, 324
Williams, R. J., 160, 229, 258, 316, 344, 405
Williams, S., 136
Wills, L. M., 161
Wilson, I., 161
Wilson, R. R., 161, 354
Windische, D. H., 161
Winter, U., 161, 248
Winter-Nielsen, H., 161
Wiseman, D. J., 161, 402, 420
Wolowelsky, J., 149
Wood, B. G., 161
Woudstra, M. H., 32, 161
Wright, D. P., 57, 161
Wright, G. E., 13, 18, 104, 161, 190, 201, 226, 228, 241–242, 258, 260–262, 269, 312, 315, 325–326, 329, 338, 345, 370, 380, 384, 432, 434, 436, 441, 450, 454–455, 461–464, 488, 490–491

Wright, J. L., 30, 162, 475
Wüst, M., 162

Yadin, Y., 13, 162, 462, 472
Yardeni, A., 30, 143, 431
Yee, G., 91–92, 162
Young, I., 27, 162
Younger, K. L., Jr., 16, 65, 68, 71, 73–74, 162, 440, 450, 495

Zakovitch, Y., 162, 240
Zertal, A., 163, 372
Zevit, Z., 27, 137, 163, 288
Zimmerli, W., 163, 288

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible

GENESIS–2 KINGS (ENNEATEUCH) 19, 38, 207, 295

GENESIS–JOSHUA (HEXATEUCH) 5–8, 16, 18–21, 38, 42, 97, 100, 130, 138, 145–147, 152, 200, 234, 271–272, 295

GENESIS–DEUTERONOMY (TORAH/PENTATEUCH) 4–8, 13, 20–21, 26–29, 31–32, 38–39, 42–45, 48, 51–54, 56, 59, 61, 63, 67, 75, 77–78, 80–82, 84–85, 94, 100, 102, 104, 108, 128, 132, 137–139, 146, 149, 154–155, 157, 160, 187, 188, 193–195, 197, 200–201, 203–206, 209–215, 217–218, 221–222, 230, 235, 237, 242–243, 245–247, 250, 256–257, 264–265, 267, 271–273, 278, 280, 282–283, 285, 287–288, 291–300, 316, 323–324, 332, 338–339, 354, 359, 362, 365–366, 371, 373–374, 377–383, 390, 392, 394–396, 399, 401, 408, 413–414, 417, 420–421, 428, 451–452, 461, 479, 496

GENESIS–NUMBERS (TETRATEUCH) 16–20, 38, 100, 138, 205–206

GENESIS 19, 42–43, 149, 200, 215, 218

1–11 294

1 63

1:1–6:8 294

1:1–2:4 7

1:14 369

1:26–27 294

2:10–11 469

GENESIS (*continued*)
2:14 195
3:6 198
3:11 469
3:13 469
5:1 294
6:1–4 469, 481
6:4 480
6:9–50:26 294
7:13 301
8:13 294
8:20 423
9:11 407
9:25 422
10 258
10:10 342
10:15–19 258
10:15 467
10:16 261
10:19–20 260
10:19 438, 467
11:2 342
11:27–32 27
12:1–9 291
12:2 263
12:7 205, 215, 423
12:8 344–345
12:9 436
13:1 436
13:3 344–345, 436
13:7 258, 261
13:14 436
13:18 429
13:36–38 486
14 217, 448, 480
14:1 491
14:3 262
14:5 485
14:6 403, 469
14:9 492
14:17–24 428
14:17–20 448
14:22 289
15 19, 153, 217, 480
15:7 205, 215
15:16 261
15:18–20 258
15:18 193–195, 205, 215, 217–219
15:20 486–487
16:2 229
16:13 289
16:14 437
17 63, 148, 267, 296
17:4 263
17:5 263
17:6 263
17:14 296
17:16 263
17:20 263
17:23 301
17:26 301
18:4 287
18:18 263
18:19 151
19 237, 243
19:18 345
19:30 453
20:1 436–437
20:2 462
20:6 359
21:22–23 328
21:33 289
22:2 372, 429
22:4 285
22:15 297
23 195–196
23:9 453
23:10 196
23:19 429
24 237
24:3 244–245
24:7 205, 215, 244–245
24:8 237
25 195
25:9 196, 453
25:20 291
26:1 462
26:34 196
27:46 196
28:10–22 291
28:18 291
28:19 345
28:22 291

30:3 229
31:1–32:3 291
31:13 291, 345
31:35 291
31:49 466
31:51 291
32:3 469
32:10 191
32:23 485
32:24 327
33:14 469
33:16 469
33:18–20 291
34 148
34:2 260, 403
34:7 346, 360
34:14 270
34:30 261, 361
35:1–20 291
35:1 345
35:3 345
35:6 345
35:7 345
35:8 345
35:14 429
35:15 345
35:16 345
36:2 196, 260
36:20 403, 469
36:29 403
36:33 463
37:3 347
38:8 229
40:19 391
42:9 227
42:11 227
42:14 227
42:16 227
42:25 221
42:31 227
42:34 227
43:20 345
45:10 438
45:21 221
46:3 263
46:28 438
46:34 438
47:1 438
47:4 438
47:6 438
47:27 438
49 13, 195
49:13 467
49:29 196
49:30 196
50 195
50:8 438
50:13 196, 453

EXODUS–JOSHUA 20, 293

EXODUS 2–JOSHUA 11 20

EXODUS–DEUTERONOMY 3

EXODUS 19, 42, 46, 51–53, 55, 148–149, 163, 246, 280, 283–285, 291, 299, 462, 479
1:1–15:21 294
1:7–8 267
1:15–22 242
1:15–21 401
3 19, 154, 215, 327
3:1–4:17 324
3:1–6 323
3:1 328, 330
3:2 323
3:5 8, 320, 323, 329
3:7–4:17 323
3:8 258, 293
3:12 215, 220
3:17 258
3:20 287
3:22 360
4 148
4:10 345, 357
4:13 357
4:21–23 297
4:21 479
4:22–24 267, 272
4:24–26 266, 297

EXODUS (*continued*)
4:25 297
5 285
5:6–21 205
5:10–19 220
6 63, 154
6:3 63
6:7 281
6:14–27 354–355
6:14 27
6:20 27
6:23 27
6:25 27
7:5 281
7:13 479
7:17 289
7:22 479
8:10 286
8:15 479
8:18 289, 438
8:23 286
8:29 286
9:5 286
9:18–34 450, 458
9:18 286
9:21 479
9:26 438
9:29 289
9:35 479
10:4 287
10:5–15 458
10:5–12 450
10:6 26
10:20 479
10:27 479
11:7 434
11:10 479
12–15 282
12–13 271
12 280–281
12:1–20 300
12:1 294
12:2 298
12:7 298
12:13 298
12:14 281, 292
12:15 407
12:19 373, 379
12:21–27 298
12:21–23 248
12:23 290
12:25 205
12:26–27 273, 280
12:29 290
12:35 360
12:37 283
12:39 221
12:43–49 267–268, 296, 299
12:48 373, 379
12:49 373, 379
13:3–10 280
13:3 295
13:5 205
13:8 258
13:9 292, 295
13:11 205
13:14–16 273
13:14 295
13:17 229, 301, 437, 471
13:18 229
14–15 235, 389
14 159, 271, 291, 371, 389, 441
14:4 281, 479
14:8 479
14:9 476
14:11–12 357
14:13 389
14:14 458
14:15 358
14:16 245, 280, 292, 295
14:17 479
14:18 281
14:21 292
14:22 245, 280, 292, 295
14:23 476
14:24 449
14:25 389, 458
14:29 245, 280, 292, 295
15 237, 282, 325–326
15:1–17 389, 441
15:1–8 371
15:3 325
15:4–10 442
15:8 442
15:9 389

15:10 442
15:11 287
15:13–16 389
15:15 235
15:15b 246
15:16a 246
15:18 262
15:19 245, 295, 476
15:22–Josh 5:12 294
15:22–26 357
15:23 283
15:26 433
15:27–16:36 357
16 271, 301
16:1 283
16:2 408
16:35 159, 271, 301
16:35b 8, 273
17:1–7 357
17:1 283
17:8–16 140, 205, 214, 369–370, 390, 451
17:8–15 390
17:9–10 390
17:12 451
17:14–16 390
17:14 292
18:24–25 205
19–40 330
19–34 18
19–31 52
19 52, 284
19:4 284
19:6 263
19:10ff 272
19:10 54, 284, 287
19:11 284–285
19:12–13a 284
19:12 54
19:13 308, 332
19:13b 284
19:14 284
19:15 284
19:16 54, 284–285
19:17 284
19:20–24 54
19:21 284
19:22 284
19:24 284
20 20
20:24–26 291
20:25 142
21:4 416
21:14 402
22:20 55
22–27 413
23:20–24:11 291
23:20 328
23:23 258, 328
23:27 246, 449
23:28 82, 258
23:31–33 235
23:31 193, 196, 215, 218
24:3–8 359
24:4–5 377
24:12–14 205
24:13 191, 206, 214
24:15–18 52, 383
24:15 235
25–31 7
25 226
25:10–22 51–52, 284
25:10 46
25:14 46, 206
25:15 46
25:16 46
25:17 53
25:18 53
25:21 26, 46
25:22 46, 53–54
26 226
26:33 46
26:34 46
27 226
28:12 281, 292
28:29 281
28:35 190, 206
28:43 190, 206
29:30 190
29:31 329
29:46 284, 288
30 226
30:6 46
30:16 292
30:20 206
30:26 46

EXODUS (*continued*)
31:7 46
31:18 53
32 53, 351
32:1–35 357
32:1 293
32:2–5 360
32:4 293
32:7–10 351
32:10 247, 263
32:11–12 358
32:12 358
32:13–14 358
32:15 53
32:17 205, 214
32:31 345
33–34 287
33 53, 358
33:1–3 263
33:2 258
33:6 360
33:7–11 205
33:11 191, 214
33:12 293
33:13 358
33:19 287
34 53, 247
34:6–9 247
34:6 287
34:10–26 120
34:10 287
34:11 258
34:29–35 452
34:29 53
35–40 7
35 226
35:12 46
35:19 190
35:35 198
36:1 198
37:1–9 53
37:1 46
37:5 46
39:7 292
39:35 46
39:41 190, 206
40:1–2 294
40:3 46
40:5 46
40:17 294
40:20 46
40:21 46
40:34–35 383

LEVITICUS 42, 46, 51, 55, 131, 330
1–14 7
2:14 271
4:22 281, 413
5:15–21 59
5:15 26
5:21 351
6:9 329
8:3–5 408
9:22–24 383, 392
9:23 383
10:2 422
10:3 432
10:22 374
11:21 26
12:3 270, 296
12:4 268
12:25 215
13 297
16 329
16:1 46
16:2 53
16:8 27
16:29 373, 379
17–24 7
17:4 407
17:6 423
17:15 373, 379
17:16 346
18:26 373, 379
19:34 373, 379
20:2 348
23 26, 255, 270, 300
23:2 369
23:4–8 300
23:4–5 300
23:10–14 301
23:10 205, 301
23:14 300
23:21 301
23:24 281

24:16 373, 379
24:22 373, 379
25 331–332
25:2 205, 215
25:8 331
25:9 331
25:10–31 26
25:10 331
25:11 331
25:13 308
25:28 308
25:30 331
25:31 331
25:38 205, 215
25:40 308
26:1 291
26:40 59
27 26, 57
27:18 308
27:21 55, 308
27:28–29 57
27:28 55
27:29 55

NUMBERS 19, 42, 46, 51, 55, 131, 283, 287, 496–497
1–8 257
1:2 26
1:4 408
1:7 194
1:44 413
1:50 191
1:53 26, 408
2–5 359
2:8–10 486
2:19 486
3:6 191
3:25 194
3:31 46, 53, 191
4:5 46, 53
5 353
5:5–10 353
5:6 26, 59, 351, 353
5:7–8 353
5:12 59
5:27 59
7:3 408
7:89 46, 53–54
8:26 191
9:1 294
9:2 300
9:5 300
9:14 373, 379
10 52, 332
10:2 332
10:4 413
10:6 297
10:8–9 306, 311
10:8 332
10:9 322
10:10 292, 332, 369
10:11 269
10:12–88 408
10:12 283
10:13 374
10:33 46
10:35–36 48, 284
10:35 46, 51
11–12 213
11 205, 285, 388
11:1–3 357
11:4–35 357
11:11 213
11:12 205
11:16 205
11:18 272, 287
11:24 194
11:28 191, 206, 214
12:6–8 452
12:7–8 213
12:11 345
12:16 283
13–14 83, 237, 240–241, 356–357, 458
13 469–470, 480
13:6–16 214
13:8 214
13:12 312
13:16 214
13:22 429, 469, 480
13:26 437
13:28 469, 480–481
13:29 195, 258
13:33 469, 480
14 357

NUMBERS (*continued*)
14:1–4 408
14:2–4 356–357
14:5 357
14:6–7 457
14:6 214, 356–357
14:7–9 357
14:7 287
14:13–16 357–358
14:17–19 358
14:17 358
14:23 205
14:27 408
14:30 214
14:33 269
14:34 269
14:38 314
14:39–45 356
14:44 46
14:45 489, 496
15:25 27
15:29–30 373, 379
16:13 293
16:22 422
16:40 281
17:1–15 352
17:11 408
18:2 191
18:5 408
18:12 26
18:14 55
18:23–24 27
20–21 499
20:1 294, 437
20:3–5 357
20:12 205
20:14 437
20:16 437
20:22–29 294
20:22 437
20:24 205
21 7, 230–231, 235, 237, 405, 458, 493
21:1–3 489, 496
21:1bb 493
21:2 55
21:3 55, 433, 493
21:6 493
21:8 493
21:10–32 484
21:12 484
21:14 484
21:20 486
21:21–35 408, 493, 497
21:21 230
21:23 230
21:24–35 496
21:24 485, 497
21:26 230
21:27 230
21:28–29 230
21:28 230
21:29 230
21:32 227
21:33–35 487
21:33 231
21:34 230
22:1 496
22:23 8
22:31 8, 328
23:14 486
23:22 327
25 235, 237, 271
25:1ff 235
25:1–5 241, 272, 386
25:1 226–227, 237, 242, 273
25:1a 237
25:4 432, 443
25:8 403
25:18 403
26 13
26:3 496
26:33 27, 492
26:55 27
26:65 214
27:1–11 414
27:1 27, 492
27:2 413
27:12–23 205
27:12–14 294
27:12–13 128
27:12 205
27:16 441
27:17 441
27:18 214

27:22 214
31 27, 58, 201, 387
31:3 413
31:6 332
31:12 496
31:16–18 386
31:16 59
31:19–24 58
32 205, 237, 405
32:7 205, 215
32:8 437
32:13 269
32:20–24 26
32:25–27 26
32:28–32 26
32:31–32 26
32:33 231
32:34 485
33:37 437
33:40 489, 496
33:48–49 227
33:49 226–227, 486
34–35 27
34 6, 216
34:2b–12 217
34:3 262
34:4 437, 457
34:6–34 27
34:6 196
34:7–9 490
34:7 196
34:13 27
34:17 214
34:18 413
35:1–5 27
36:11 27, 492

DEUTERONOMY–2 KINGS 275

DEUTERONOMY 7, 19, 21–24, 26, 31–32, 42, 46, 51–65, 76, 82, 94, 103–104, 116, 131, 133, 138–140, 143, 146, 149, 152, 155–156, 161, 190, 193, 198, 200–202, 204–214, 216, 218–219, 236, 244–246, 257, 264, 276, 278, 280, 284–287, 292, 295, 299, 336, 351, 359, 372, 376–378, 380, 388–389, 395–396, 409, 422–423, 452, 469, 476, 496–497
1–4 499
1–3 16, 117, 493
1 19, 237, 241, 458
1:1–5 377
1:2 437
1:3 269
1:4 27, 231, 405
1:6 53
1:7 193–195, 201, 215, 218
1:15 205, 286
1:19–46 240
1:19–33 457
1:19 53, 437
1:20 205
1:21 26
1:24 227
1:25 205, 215
1:28 26, 469, 480
1:29 26, 215
1:31 220
1:34 422
1:35 205
1:37–38 210
1:38 191, 205–206, 214
1:41 359
1:46 437
2–3 235, 458, 495
2 230
2:4 287, 469
2:7 269
2:10–12 403
2:10–11 480, 486
2:10 26
2:12 469
2:13 202, 206, 484

DEUTERONOMY (*continued*)
2:14 437, 484
2:18 469
2:20 480
2:22 469
2:24–32 27
2:24 202, 206, 230–231, 287
2:26–3:7 497
2:26–37 484
2:26 230
2:27 209
2:30 196, 230
2:31–3:11 408
2:31 230
2:32 230
2:34 55–56, 58, 386
2:35 386
2:36 485, 497
2:37 485
3 230–231
3:2 320
3:5 261
3:6 55–56, 58, 230–231
3:7 386, 437
3:8–9 466
3:8 496
3:10 487
3:11 231, 480, 497–498
3:12 273
3:13 273
3:13b 493
3:16 262, 485, 493, 497
3:18–28 210
3:18–20 26, 199, 205, 221, 273
3:18 287
3:20 205
3:21–28 205, 214
3:21–22 198
3:24 193, 295
3:25 215
3:27 191, 486
3:28 196, 214, 219
4–5 53
4 27, 237, 244, 359
4:1–40 60
4:1 205
4:12 53
4:13 53
4:14 287
4:15–16 60
4:20 245
4:23 359
4:26 287
4:31 459
4:32–40 244
4:34 196, 295
4:35 62
4:37 245
4:39 62, 244
4:41–26:19 103
4:41–43 27
4:44–40:20 202
4:47 231
4:48 466, 496
4:49 262, 437
5 359
5:2 396
5:6 245
5:15 196, 245, 295
5:23 109, 388
5:26 289
5:31 205, 215
5:32 396
6:3 26, 396
6:5 396
6:12 245
6:14 244
6:18 205
6:20–25 279–280
6:21 196, 245, 295
6:23 205
6:25 396
7:1–6 478
7:1–5 235, 276
7:1–4 408
7:1 258, 261, 478
7:2–4 478
7:2 55–56
7:3–4 61
7:5 60
7:8 196, 205, 245, 295
7:12 396, 408
7:19 245
7:23 449

7:26
8:1
8:2
8:14
8:15
8:19
9–10
9:2
9:3
9:8–14
9:8
9:9
9:16–24
9:16
9:18–29
9:18
9:19
9:23
9:26
9:28
10
10:1–11
10:1–5
10:1–2
10:1
10:2
10:3
10:5
10:8
10:9
10:11
10:12–11:32
10:12–22
11
11:1–7
11:2
11:4
11:8–17
11:8
11:9
11:13
11:14
11:18–25
11:19
11:24
11:25
55–57, 245, 352
205, 396
269
245
266
244
53, 339, 351
480
214
351
53
53
235
359
53
373
422
205, 215, 433, 437
196, 245, 295, 358
276, 358
51
53
51–52, 284
60
46
46
46
46
26, 46, 53, 191, 206
27
205
208–209
208
117, 373
208
196
208
287
26
396
408
208
205
192–196, 200–202, 208–209, 212, 215, 218
196
11:26–32
11:26–30
11:28
11:29–33
11:29–31
11:29–30
11:29
11:30
11:32
12
12:3
12:5
12:10
12:11
12:12
12:14
12:18
12:26
13
13:1b–6
13:3
13:5
13:6–11
13:6
13:7–18
13:10
13:12–18
13:14
13:15–16
13:15
13:16
13:18
13:19
14:23
16:2
16:6
16:7
16:18
16:22
17
17:2
17:8–20
17:8–13
17:11
17:12
17:14–20
17:15
17:16
208
377
244
376
365
373, 374, 376, 378
372
29, 264, 378
396
28
60, 291
372, 407–408
219
407
27
407, 423
423
423
361
210
244
245
361
361
361
245
360
396
361
360
55, 56
55–57, 245, 352
197
407
407
407
407
220, 286
60
476
359
273
257
209, 396
206
257, 476
476
476

DEUTERONOMY (*continued*)
17:18–20 211–212
17:18–19 211
17:18 373, 380
17:19 209
18:1 27
18:5 191, 206
18:7 206
18:10 268
19–34 339
19 27
19:1–13 27
19:4 27
19:18 205
20 476
20:1 476
20:5–9 273
20:5 220, 286
20:8 286
20:9 286
20:10–20 241
20:10–18 408, 410–413, 417, 419–420, 478
20:10–15 57, 385, 417
20:10–11 417
20:10 245
20:14 386
20:15–18 276
20:15–16 417
20:15 417
20:16–18 386, 417
20:16 417
20:17–19 478
20:17 26, 55, 258, 347, 417
21:1–9 389
21:5 191
21:10–14 385
21:13–19 389
21:18–21 389
21:22–23 26, 371, 391, 454
21:23 391
22:1 346
22:13 229
22:21 360
23:1–16 210
23:5 408
23:9–14 286
23:11–13 65
24:1 209
24:3 209, 245
24:8 408
25:5–10 389
26 376
26:2 407
26:4–9 282
26:6 245
26:13 359
27 37, 53, 256, 291, 365, 373, 376
27:1–13 373, 374, 376–379, 382
27:1–8 26
27:2–3 61, 377–379
27:2 256, 377, 382
27:3 209
27:4–8 377–380, 382–383, 392, 394, 396
27:4 29, 82, 372, 377–379
27:5–7 377
27:5–6 142, 377, 379
27:7 377
27:8 209, 377, 379, 382
27:9–10 377
27:11–13 377, 383
27:12–13 379, 382
27:12 372
27:13 372, 378
27:14 403
27:15–28:68 396
27:15 315
28 336, 376
28:2 338
28:8 205
28:12 313
28:14 209, 396
28:52 215, 336
28:58 209
28:61 209
29 135, 410, 420–421
29:1–8 420
29:2 269
29:4 410
29:5–6 420
29:5 410
29:7 231
29:9 403

29:10 286, 388, 408, 410
29:11–12 420
29:11 359, 422
29:19–26 209
29:20 420
29:24 359
29:28 209
30:10 209
31 51, 206
31:1–29 214
31:1–8 27, 201
31:2–8 210
31:2 191
31:4 231
31:6–7 206
31:6 196, 206
31:7–9 210
31:7–8 198, 205, 273
31:7 196, 202, 205–206, 219
31:9–13 383
31:9 46, 209, 389
31:12 209
31:14–15 210
31:14 205
31:16–22 206
31:16 359
31:20 205, 359
31:23 196, 205–206, 210, 214–215
31:24–29 27
31:24 209
31:25 46
31:26 46, 209
31:28 286, 388
32 148
32:8 63
32:34 313
32:39 62
32:46 209
32:52 351
33 325
33:1 355
33:2f 326
33:2 468
33:26–27 326
34 6, 201, 203, 294
34:1 486
34:2 196
34:3 227
34:5–9 22–24
34:5–6 23, 237
34:5 23, 190, 213
34:6 23
34:8–9 452
34:9 24, 205, 214
34:10–12 452

DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY 5, 11, 16–22. 24, 32, 38, 102, 117–118, 138, 140–141, 143, 147, 196, 200–202, 205–206, 210, 274–275, 278, 281, 319

JOSHUA–2 KINGS (FORMER PROPHETS) 5–6, 13, 18–19, 32, 38, 45, 48, 56

JOSHUA 3–29, 31–39, 41–46, 48–55, 58–62, 64–66, 71–73, 75–94, 97, 99–106, 108–113, 117, 119, 121–125, 128, 130–131, 135–148, 151, 153, 155–156, 160–162, 187, 193–194, 197–198, 201, 204, 207–214, 218–223, 227–228, 230, 236, 239–240, 245–246, 258–259, 261–262, 264– 266, 278, 281–282, 284–289, 292–298, 300–301, 306, 315–316, 319, 322–323, 326, 328–329, 332, 334, 336–337, 344–345, 347, 351–352, 354–355,

JOSHUA (*continued*)

358–360, 365, 370, 372, 376–397, 401–406, 411–412, 414–416, 418–419, 423–424, 427, 429–431, 435–438, 445, 449–450, 457, 463–466, 469–471, 476–479, 481–482, 485–487, 489–498

1–12 3, 6–7, 24, 26, 43–45, 64, 66–67, 71, 97, 102, 105, 109, 123, 147, 213, 223, 251, 265, 276, 337, 339, 343, 397, 418, 422, 479, 493, 496

1–11 8, 10–11, 71, 121, 124, 213, 493–495, 499

1–9 135, 449

1–6 160, 283, 359

1–3 125, 228

1:1–3:6 141

1:1–2:10 105

1:1–2:5 162

1 3, 6–7, 16–17, 20–21, 24, 29, 34, 38, 83, 94, 138, 187, 189–190, 199–206, 210–212, 222, 235–236, 239, 241, 461

1:1–11 204

1:1–9 102, 148, 187–188, 210–212, 322, 383

1:1–6 21, 187, 203, 208

1:1–4 140, 190

1:1–2 21, 201–206

1:1 34, 38, 187–188, 190–191, 199, 213, 226, 241, 373, 403

1:1a 22–23, 204, 206–209

1:1b–9 207

1:1b–2 204–206, 208–209, 211

1:1b 206–208

1:2–6 117, 187–188, 197, 220

1:2–4 188

1:2–3 75

1:2 190–191, 194, 201–203, 205, 208, 215, 219, 403–404, 544

1:2a 204, 206

1:2b 204, 212

1:3–18 201

1:3–9 201–202

1:3–5 200, 202

1:3–5b 204

1:3–4 202–204, 206, 208–210, 212, 215–216, 218, 220

1:3 38, 187, 192, 201, 202, 209, 216, 221

1:4 35, 75, 187, 190, 192–196, 201, 258–260, 269–370, 400, 465, 479, 488, 536, 540, 543, 545, 547

1:5–9 202

1:5–7 21

1:5–6 202–206, 208–211

1:5 38, 187–188, 196, 201–206, 215, 220, 338, 359, 493

1:5b–6 204

1:6–9 21, 201–202, 206

1:6 21, 26, 38, 75, 187–188, 196, 202–206, 215, 219–220, 222, 383–384, 412, 434, 481

1:6a 210

1:7–9 21, 31, 38, 187–188, 202–204, 206, 209–210, 212, 220, 222, 383–384

1:7–9c 204

1:7–8 5, 32, 38, 43, 187–188, 197–198, 202, 211, 220, 394–396, 452, 479
1:7 34, 157, 190, 194, 196–197, 202, 209, 211, 213, 222, 394, 403, 454
1:8 38, 146, 197–198, 209, 338
1:9–18 205
1:9–12 37
1:9 26, 94, 188, 198, 202, 210, 220, 454
1:9a 200
1:9b–11 204
1:10–18 187–188, 202–206, 211, 220
1:10–16 201
1:10–11 188, 201, 203–205, 220
1:10 8, 198, 201, 242, 388, 418
1:11–18 418
1:11 8, 198, 201, 221, 241, 285–286, 334, 418, 496
1:12–18 188, 203–205, 493
1:12–17a 201
1:12–15 26, 188, 203–204, 220
1:12 198
1:13 187, 198–199, 204, 213, 221, 403, 481
1:14–15 35, 221
1:14 198–199, 221, 400, 538
1:15 187, 190, 199, 213, 221, 403, 496, 538
1:16–18 188, 203, 204, 220, 222
1:16–17 204
1:16 489
1:17–18 201
1:17 199, 338
1:18 196, 201, 205, 222
1:18a1–a2 204
1:18ef 204
2–12 3, 7
2–9 17, 281–282, 409
2–8 3, 43–45, 397, 499
2 3, 35, 45, 64, 71, 73, 110, 130–131, 134–135, 150, 153, 156–157, 223–224, 226, 228, 234–238, 240–241, 276, 282, 285, 306, 315, 318, 322, 337, 397
2:1–24 102, 124
2:1–6 224
2:1–4 239, 242
2:1–3 228–229
2:1–2 236
2:1 130, 224, 226–228, 234, 236–237, 239, 241–242, 257, 355, 402, 488, 544, 552
2:1b 234
2:2–6 214, 224, 239, 242
2:2–5a 284
2:2–4 284–285
2:2 229
2:2b 236
2:3 229, 233, 236
2:4–6 242
2:4–5 37, 226
2:4 35, 229, 234, 236
2:4a 236, 242–243
2:4b–5 242–243
2:4b 236
2:5 229, 233, 236, 239, 322
2:6–9 117
2:6 229, 234, 236–237, 242–243
2:7–11 224–225, 242–243, 449
2:7 229, 236, 322
2:8 223, 234, 236–247
2:9–21 106
2:9–14 236
2:9–11 234–235, 241, 243, 249, 289
2:9–10 229, 243

JOSHUA (*continued*)
2:9 35, 223, 226, 229, 243, 246
2:9a 235, 243, 249, 420
2:9b–11 235
2:9b–11a 243
2:9b 17, 229, 234, 249
2:10–11 234–235
2:10 6, 55, 223–224, 229–231, 241, 243, 261, 337, 400, 448, 484, 488, 493, 497, 538, 543
2:10a 243
2:10b 17, 243
2:11 6, 64, 231, 235, 243–244, 246, 351, 356
2:11a 244
2:11b 17, 243–245, 420
2:12–21 224–225, 239, 241–242, 246, 337
2:12–14 231, 232, 246
2:12–13 224, 246
2:12 232, 236, 246, 412, 417
2:12a 234
2:13 232, 234, 236, 247
2:14 35, 224, 226, 231, 232, 240, 246–248
2:14a 234
2:14b–15 234
2:15–21 246–247, 315
2:15–20 232
2:15 233–234, 236, 239, 247–248
2:16–21 248
2:16–21aa 236
2:16 236, 246, 436
2:17–21 234–235, 246, 248
2:17–20 248
2:17–19 224, 23
2:17 226, 232–234, 236, 315, 412
2:18 233–234, 236, 248
2:18b 234
2:19 234, 248
2:20 232, 234, 236, 248, 412
2:21 35, 226, 234, 239, 248
2:21b–23 234
2:1bb 236
2:22–25 236
2:22–24 224–225, 236
2:22 234, 236, 249, 436
2:23 234, 249, 436
2:24 228, 234–235, 481
2:24b 249
3–22 263
3–12 381
3–9 250
3–8 3–4, 44–45, 50–53, 64–67, 73, 223, 292, 339, 350, 371–372, 374, 381, 397, 416, 479, 481
3–6 130
3:1–5:12 44, 54, 250–251, 256, 271–278, 281–283, 292, 296, 302, 317, 322, 333, 339–340, 362, 381
3:1–5:1 115
3–5 8, 71, 143, 282, 301, 381
3–4 10, 20–21, 26, 31, 35, 71, 99, 101, 113, 120, 130, 142, 151, 158, 161, 191, 214, 221, 246, 255, 257, 274–275, 282–283, 340, 359, 449, 461
3 6, 67, 75, 148, 154, 236, 241, 288
3:1–17 274, 276
3:1–11 281
3:1–6 251–252, 256, 278–279, 284, 287, 333
3:1 226–227, 237, 241, 257, 271–275, 283, 465, 552

3:1abb 272
3:2–9 279
3:2–6 275
3:2–6a 283
3:2–4 271–275, 278, 283, 286
3:2–3 17, 418
3:2 8, 26, 54, 221, 236, 241–242, 273–274, 334, 388, 418
3:3–6 359
3:3–4 284
3:3 6, 8, 46, 257–258, 273–274, 282, 284, 292, 359, 373, 412
3:4 54, 257–258, 287–288, 359
3:4a 258
3:4b 258
3:4aba 274
3:4bbg 8, 273
3:5–6 250, 278
3:5–6a 283–284, 286
3:5 8, 54, 220, 257–258, 271–275, 282, 286, 289, 292, 359
3:6–10 17, 273, 274
3:6–9 273
3:6–8 8, 272–273
3:6 26, 46, 198, 250, 257–258, 272–275, 284, 292, 359, 388, 412
3:6b 283
3:7–5:1 256
3:7–17 252, 278–279, 285, 288
3:7–8 251, 278–288, 322
3:7 6, 26, 29, 213, 258, 274–275, 288, 338, 359
3:7a 273
3:7b–8 276
3:8–11 275
3:8 46, 257–258, 272, 274–275, 284, 288, 359, 388, 412
3:9–17 272
3:9–13 220, 278–289, 322
3:9–12 8, 273
3:9–11 272
3:9–10 274
3:9 250, 272–273, 275
3:9b 276
3:10–17 273
3:10–11 251, 273, 289
3:10–11a 273
3:10 4, 28, 75, 230, 250–251, 258–261, 273, 275, 285, 288–289, 297, 400, 465, 496–497, 544
3:10a 272
3:10b 272
3:11–12 277
3:11 46, 236, 257, 261, 272–275, 284, 287, 289, 359, 412, 481
3:12–13 273
3:12 8, 29, 271–275, 281–282, 288
3:13–6:27 54
3:13–17 281
3:13–14 272
3:13 46, 257, 262, 272–275, 289, 481
3:13a 273
3:13b 273
3:13abbg 8
3:14–17 250, 272–274, 288, 322
3:14–17aba 8, 273
3:14–16 250, 262
3:14–15a 273
3:14 46, 257, 262, 273, 284, 287–288, 292, 338, 359, 412
3:14a 273, 275
3:14b–15a 275
3:14b 275

JOSHUA (*continued*)
3:15–16 273
3:15 35, 46, 255, 257, 262, 388
3:15a 262, 272–273, 275
3:15b–16 273
3:15b 272, 275, 288
3:16–17 271, 273
3:16 126, 261–262, 273, 275, 292, 464, 535, 543, 550
3:16a 262
3:17 8, 46, 250, 257, 263, 273, 275, 278, 284, 287, 292–293, 359, 388, 412
3:17b 273
3:17ab 272
3:17bb 273
4 6, 59, 67, 75, 148, 378, 394, 450
4:1–14 252, 278–279
4:1–11 273
4:1–9 274–275
4:1–8 276–277, 281
4:1–3 273–275, 278, 290, 292, 322
4:1–2 292
4:1 213, 263, 272–273, 287, 290, 292–293
4:1a 273
4:1b 8, 273
4:2–5 61
4:2–3 273, 276
4:2ff 114
4:2 8, 263, 271–273, 292
4:3–4 252
4:3 8, 198, 263, 272–273, 287, 290–291, 388
4:4–9 291
4:4–7 8, 220, 272–273, 278–281, 290–291, 295
4:4–5 263, 272–274
4:4 35, 255, 263, 279, 291
4:5–7 5, 290
4:5–6 61
4:5 35, 46, 255, 257, 276, 279, 287, 290
4:6–8 273
4:6–7 31, 271–274, 280, 290
4:6–7a 272, 273
4:6 17, 257, 273–274, 279
4:6a 279
4:7–8 250–251
4:7 17, 46, 257, 263, 273–274, 279–280, 284, 287, 291, 297, 359, 412
4:7a 273
4:7b 272
4:8–14 290
4:8–9 61
4:8 8, 263, 271–275, 287–288, 290–292
4:9–14 276
4:9–11a 273
4:9 8, 14, 46, 61, 264, 271, 272–275, 281, 284, 290–292, 359, 388, 412
4:10–19 274
4:10–11 273–274, 290, 292
4:10 8, 35, 46, 257, 264, 271–272, 274–275, 287–288, 290, 292, 388, 478
4:10a 281
4:10ab 17, 274
4:10aab 8, 273
4:10b–11 281, 290–291
4:10b 273, 275
4:11 46, 264, 272–273, 275, 277, 287, 290, 292, 388
4:11a 272, 275
4:11b 273, 275
4:11bb 8, 273
4:11aba 8, 273
4:12–18 281
4:12–14 272, 275
4:12–13 290, 292–293

4:12 8, 17, 46, 272–275, 287, 478
4:13 7–8, 264, 273–275, 287, 464, 549
4:13a 273
4:14 6, 8, 17, 26, 29, 264, 273–275, 290, 292, 322, 359
4:15–5:1 252, 278–279, 293, 298
4:15–19 275, 293
4:15–19a 275
4:15–18 273, 276
4:15–18a 17, 273
4:15–17 273
4:15–16 252, 278, 293, 322
4:15 213, 274, 388
4:16–18 274
4:16–17 273, 278
4:16 46, 257, 284, 293, 295
4:17–18 272
4:17 278–279, 293
4:18–20 273
4:18–19 271, 393
4:18 46, 226, 257, 264, 273–275, 293, 388, 412
4:18b 8, 273
4:19–5:1 276–277
4:19–24 5, 250–251, 256, 273, 280–281
4:19–20 61, 274
4:19 7–8, 264–265, 270, 272–275, 279, 281, 288, 292–294, 298, 301, 392, 452, 539
4:19b 273, 275
4:20–5:1 293
4:20–24 8, 31–32, 220, 272–275, 291, 295
4:20–23 275
4:20 8, 61, 265, 272–273, 280, 282, 291, 295, 539
4:21–24 6, 271, 273–274, 278–280, 290–291
4:21b–22 273
4:21 17, 265, 280–281, 295
4:21b 279
4:22–23 265
4:22 17, 191, 198, 265, 280, 295
4:23–24 282
4:23 265–266, 274, 279–280, 287, 295, 543
4:23a 295
4:24 17, 256, 266, 275, 280–281, 295
5 10, 35, 104, 148, 255, 267, 271–272, 282, 299, 315, 326
5:1–5 273
5:1–3 274
5:1 8, 230, 251, 256, 259, 266, 271, 273–275, 285, 289, 293, 295, 365, 416, 449, 538, 543–544
5:2–12 4, 28, 37, 67, 251–252, 256, 265, 276, 278, 365, 371
5:2–9 36, 81, 111, 211, 250–251, 256, 267, 272, 285, 292, 295–296, 299, 386, 392, 418
5:2–8 269–270, 365
5:2–7 115, 267
5:2–3 35, 256, 273, 281, 296–297, 328
5:2 6, 36, 59, 61, 213, 255, 266, 269, 272, 274–275, 278, 297, 299, 322, 337, 365, 382, 394, 418
5:2b 276
5:3 267–269, 272, 274, 297, 299, 539

JOSHUA (*continued*)
5:4–7 6, 17, 35, 219, 255, 267, 275, 296, 299
5:4–6 122
5:4 36, 193, 267–269, 272, 292, 299
5:5–12 8
5:5–7 272
5:5 193, 268–269, 281, 292, 296–297, 299
5:6 26, 193, 219, 263, 268–269, 292–293, 299, 412, 433, 545
5:7 268–270, 299
5:8–9 273
5:8 263, 267, 269, 272, 275, 281, 292–293, 296–297, 334
5:8b 273
5:9 4, 140, 213, 265, 270, 272–273, 275–276, 278, 281, 296–297, 322, 539
5:10–12 7, 26, 35, 80–81, 105, 159, 255, 256, 270, 272–274, 283, 300, 318
5:10–11 295, 301
5:10 265, 270, 294, 298, 300–301, 464, 539, 549
5:10a 275
5:10b 275, 300
5:11–12 255
5:11 270–271, 275, 300–301
5:12 260, 270–271, 273, 295, 301, 544
5:12a 275
5:12b 275
5:13–6:27 44, 303, 205, 316, 318–321, 323–327, 332, 339, 362, 381
5:13–6:5 303, 327, 330
5:13–15 8, 31, 71, 97, 125, 154, 215, 302–303, 205, 317–327, 330
5:13–14 21
5:13–14a 303, 320, 327
5:13 8, 58, 306, 321, 323, 404
5:13b 303
5:14 4, 306, 308, 312
5:14a 328
5:14b–15 303, 320, 327
5:14b 303
5:14ab–15aa 317
5:15 59, 286, 303, 307, 323, 384
6–11 147, 495
6–10 20, 381
6–8 26
6–7 223, 231, 257
6 6, 8, 10, 21, 35, 45, 48, 67, 75, 101, 110, 113, 131, 134–135, 145, 150, 228, 235–236, 282, 285, 314, 317–319, 326, 334, 337, 343, 349, 355, 372, 381, 385, 449, 494
6:1–27 321–326, 384
6:1–25 384
6:1–20 135
6:1–17 321, 324
6:1–5 35, 213, 303, 205, 307, 310–311, 324, 327, 330
6:1–3 319–320, 325, 330
6:1–3aa 317
6:1–2 320
6:1 307, 317–319, 321, 322–323, 330
6:1ab 320
6:2–25 157, 306
6:2–13 319
6:2–5 322–324
6:2–3 324
6:2 308, 318, 322, 330
6:2a 319

6:2aa 320
6:2ag 320
6:3–5 307
6:3–6 317
6:3–4 317
6:3–4a 307
6:3 307–308, 320, 330
6:3a 318
6:3b 318
6:3aa 319
6:3ab–b 320
6:4–13 26
6:4 46, 257, 308, 320, 324, 332, 334, 388
6:4a 325, 330–331
6:4b–5 320
6:4b 307, 320, 325, 330–331
6:4aa 318, 320
6:4ab 319–320, 330
6:4ba 318
6:4aab 17, 320
6:4aab 319
6:4abb 318
6:5 308, 311, 317, 319–320, 324, 332, 384
6:5a 307
6:5aa 319, 325, 330–331
6:5ab 17, 330–332
6:5ab–b 319
6:5abb 325, 330
6:5abgb 318
6:5b 307
6:5c 307
6:5ba 307
6:5bb 307
6:6–26 322
6:6–20 305–306, 308, 310–311, 327
6:6–13 319
6:6–10 303, 308, 310, 322
6:6–9 310, 320, 332
6:6–7 393
6:6 46, 220, 257, 284, 302, 308, 310, 317–318, 320, 324, 330, 332, 359, 388, 412
6:6a 318, 320, 325, 332
6:6b 325, 332
6:7–9 317
6:7–8a 311
6:7 46, 257, 302, 310, 320, 324, 332
6:7a–18 317
6:7a 317, 319–320
6:7b 320
6:7aa 320
6:7ab 320
6:7bb 318
6:7aba 318
6:8–10 332–333, 335
6:8–9 310–311, 324
6:8 26, 46, 257, 284, 302, 308, 311, 318, 320, 324, 331–332, 334, 412
6:8b 308, 318
6:8aa 325, 333
6:8ab–9 333
6:8ab 317, 325
6:8aba 319
6:8abb 325
6:9–10 325
6:9 46, 302, 306, 310–313, 318, 320–321, 324, 388
6:9aba 317
6:10–12a 317
6:10–11 324
6:10 220, 310–311, 319, 332–333
6:10aab 320
6:10abgb 318
6:11–26 303, 322
6:11–20 308
6:11–16a 310
6:11–14 303, 317
6:11–12 325
6:11 46, 257, 302–303, 311, 317–318, 320–321, 324, 333–334, 418
6:12–15 384
6:12–14 303, 324, 333
6:12–13 317, 320, 324

JOSHUA (*continued*)
6:12 46, 257, 302, 312, 318, 320, 324–325
6:12a 320
6:12b–13 317
6:12b 17, 319–320
6:13 46, 257, 302, 306, 308, 310–312, 318, 320–321, 324, 331, 334–345, 388
6:13a 17, 319, 325
6:13abb 325
6:14–27 319
6:14–15 320, 324–325, 331
6:14 312, 317–319, 334, 418
6:14ab–b 320
6:15–26 303, 334
6:15–20 303
6:15–16a 303, 334
6:15 312, 319
6:15a 317–318, 320
6:15ab 317
6:15bb 318
6:15bab 318
6:16–19 220, 325, 385
6:16 4, 231, 311–312, 324, 388
6:16a 317–318, 320, 324, 334
6:16b–19 303, 336–337
6:16b–17 324
6:16b 317–319, 334–335
6:16aa 319, 334
6:16ab 320
6:16ba 335
6:16aab 320
6:16abb 335
6:17–19 320, 335
6:17–18 320
6:17 26, 55, 58, 102, 231, 312, 318–319, 352
6:17a 317–318, 320, 336
6:17b 320, 336–337
6:18–20a 324
6:18 26, 55, 94, 312, 318, 320, 334, 348–349, 352, 385, 418
6:19 312, 317–320, 337, 385
6:20 28, 303, 306, 310–311, 313, 317–318, 324, 333–335, 384–385
6:20a 317
6:20b–24a 324
6:20b 317, 319–320, 331
6:20aa 320, 335
6:20ab 320
6:20ba–b 319
6:20abb 336
6:20abbg 318
6:20agdbab 318
6:21–27 305–306
6:21–26 303, 313, 325
6:21–25 303, 218, 336–337
6:21–24 319
6:21 26, 55, 231, 233, 314–315, 317, 320, 324, 328, 336, 356
6:20 325
6:20a 320
6:22–25 236
6:22–24a 320
6:22–23 102, 236, 317, 336–337
6:22 236, 314–315, 320, 412
6:23–24 314
6:23 227, 239, 249, 315, 334, 403, 418–419
6:23ab 320
6:23aab 320
6:24 315, 317, 324, 337, 356, 360, 385
6:24b 320, 324
6:25 102, 236, 312, 318–320, 324, 337, 419
6:26 4, 6, 17, 25, 35–37, 79, 302–303, 314–316, 318–320, 334, 336, 356, 391, 412, 415, 422
6:26a 316
6:26b 316

6:27 303, 318, 320, 322, 325, 343, 359
7–10 12
7–8 163, 340, 345, 349, 360, 362, 374, 381, 387, 449, 494
7 35, 44–45, 58, 67, 71, 98, 110, 123, 127, 223, 231, 285, 312, 337, 339–340, 342–343, 345, 347–355, 361, 374, 419
7:1–8:28 155
7:1–26 339, 362, 381
7:1–5 54, 340, 349
7:1 26, 55, 59, 231, 342–343, 349, 351–352, 355, 362, 374, 384–385
7:2–5 241, 355, 362, 374, 384–386
7:2–5a 375
7:2–3 355
7:2 35, 343–345, 348–349, 369, 402, 488–489, 537, 548
7:3 343, 345, 356
7:3b 349, 356
7:4 343
7:4b 349
7:5 343, 345, 349, 357, 370, 552
7:5b–26 349
7:5b–9 375
7:5b–7 349
7:5b–6 349
7:6–8:29 102
7:6–26 54, 362, 374, 384–385
7:6–16 54
7:6–9 340, 356–358
7:6 35, 46, 257, 339, 345–357, 359, 389, 393, 418
7:7–13 348
7:7–9 354
7:7 230, 345, 356–357
7:8–11 349
7:8–9 356–357
7:8 346
7:9 259, 358
7:10–21 340
7:10–15 340, 358
7:10–13 213, 322
7:10–11 4, 358
7:10 358
7:11 55, 58, 75, 231, 346, 352, 359, 412
7:12 55, 231, 352, 359
7:12b 349
7:13–15 59, 358
7:13 55, 231, 286, 349, 352, 359
7:14–15 348, 359
7:14–15aba 349
7:14 29, 343, 346, 353, 359
7:15 55, 58, 75, 346, 348, 352, 360, 412
7:15bb 349
7:16–21 340, 358, 360
7:16–18 349, 353, 355
7:16–17 346
7:17 346
7:18 35, 342–343, 346
7:18b 353
7:19–20 349
7:19 342–343, 346, 360
7:20 342–343, 346, 359
7:20b–21 349
7:21 347, 477, 553
7:21bb 349
7:22–26 340
7:22–24a 349
7:22–23a 349
7:22 360
7:23 347, 360
7:23b 239
7:24–25 348
7:24 342–343, 347–348, 360–361, 548
7:24b 349
7:24bb 349
7:25–26 348, 360, 450

JOSHUA (*continued*)
7:25 29, 343, 348–349, 361
7:25bb 349
7:26 14, 340, 343, 348–349, 361, 391, 450, 548
7:26a 349
7:26b 349
8 6, 10, 21, 28, 35, 37, 44, 99, 110, 135, 223, 257, 282, 339–340, 344, 349–350, 362, 364–365, 367, 372, 374, 386–388, 390–391, 402, 494
8:1–35 339, 381
8:1–29 362, 372, 374, 384–385, 390
8:1–9 366–367, 375
8:1–2 322, 362, 366, 387
8:1 6, 26, 54, 213, 368, 374, 384, 434, 449, 454
8:1aab 17
8:2 368, 384–386
8:2a 17
8:2b 6
8:3–29 387
8:3–18 365
8:3–11a 374
8:3–9 362, 375–376
8:3–8 362
8:3 368
8:3a 375
8:3b–11 375
8:4 375, 387
8:5–6 387
8:5 368, 375
8:6 387
8:7–8 368
8:7 496–497
8:8 213, 360, 367
8:9–29 362
8:9 345, 368, 375, 387, 537
8:9b 375
8:10–29 367
8:10–17 25
8:10–14 375
8:10–13 35, 365–366, 368, 375–376
8:10–12 375–376
8:10–11 387
8:10 388–389, 418
8:11b–13 37, 375
8:11b–12 375
8:11 375–376
8:12–13 375
8:12 345, 375, 387, 537
8:12b 375
8:13 82, 368, 375–376, 389, 418
8:13b 375
8:14–35 366
8:14–18 33
8:14 369, 375, 387–389, 464, 549
8:15–17 387
8:15–16 369
8:15 29, 127, 193, 369, 375, 387
8:16b 369
8:17 345, 369, 375, 537
8:18–20 375
8:18–19 387
8:18 35, 322, 365, 369–370, 388, 390
8:19 360, 389
8:20–22 387
8:20 35, 193, 370, 387–389
8:21–25 375
8:21 370, 387
8:22–24 81
8:22 345, 370, 391
8:23 391
8:24 193, 328, 370
8:26 55, 58, 351, 369–371, 375, 388, 390, 402
8:27–29 375
8:27 6, 477
8:28–29 391

8:28 14, 349, 367, 391, 468
8:29 6, 14, 26, 339, 360, 371, 388, 391, 415, 422, 450, 454
8:30–35 4, 6, 13, 17, 37, 50, 53, 61, 67, 71, 94, 128, 151, 155, 218, 256–257, 362, 365–366, 371–374, 376, 381–382, 390–392, 394, 400, 479
8:30–33 5, 29, 376–384, 394–396
8:30–32 382
8:30–31 382
8:30 371–372, 377, 383, 432, 548
8:31–34 452
8:31–32 392, 450
8:31 59, 213, 285, 373, 377, 383, 394, 403–404, 478
8:32 59, 61, 373, 377, 379–380, 383, 392, 394
8:33–35 382
8:33 29, 46, 213, 257, 284–286, 373, 378–379, 383, 389, 391–392, 394, 403–404, 412, 418, 423, 478, 540, 548
8:34–35 5, 26, 31, 365, 382–384, 392, 394–396
8:34 373–374, 382, 394
8:35 29, 478
9–12 4, 27, 43–44, 64–68, 71–74, 381, 396–397, 415–416, 440, 478, 481–482
9–11 26, 416
9–10 448
9 4, 21, 65–66, 71, 119–120, 132,135, 148, 154, 241, 337, 359, 367, 394, 397–399, 408–413, 415, 417, 420, 423, 439, 448–449, 474, 499
9:1–15a 408, 411–414
9:1–5 398, 415–416
9:1–2 37, 65–67, 73, 365, 367, 371, 376, 400–401, 407, 409, 415–416, 440
9:1 66, 194, 196, 230, 258–259, 259–261, 371, 400, 403, 416–417, 436, 449, 543, 545, 553
9:2 256, 400, 411
9:2a–f 400–401
9:2b 190
9:2d 190
9:3–27 407
9:3–15 410–411
9:3–5 408, 411, 415
9:3 344, 399, 401–404, 411, 416, 419–420, 539
9:4–6 411
9:4–5 337
9:4 402
9:5 403, 410
9:6–15 398, 419, 441, 452
9:6–7 403, 406
9:6 75, 265, 334, 337, 359, 376, 380, 399, 403, 410–412, 418, 449, 539
9:6a 417, 419
9:6b–15a 418–419
9:6b–8 419
9:6b 419
9:7 73, 260, 359, 401–403, 410–412, 415, 417, 420, 449, 539
9:8–13 408
9:8–10 411
9:8–9 235
9:8 190, 403–404, 411–412, 419–420, 449
9:9–13 411, 419–420

JOSHUA (*continued*)
9:9–11 420
9:9–10 407, 484
9:9 338, 401, 404
9:9b–10 420
9:9bb–10 409
9:9bb 17
9:10 17, 230–231, 405, 448, 487–488, 493, 497, 539, 542, 549
9:11–14 411
9:11 306, 359, 403–404, 412, 416, 419
9:12–14 410
9:12–13 420
9:12 405
9:14–15a 412, 419–420
9:14 403, 405, 408, 410–411, 418, 421
9:15 265, 337, 406, 408, 410–412, 417–418, 421, 448
9:15a 408, 411–412, 418, 421
9:15b–27 411, 414
9:15b–22 414
9:15b 7, 17, 408–412, 421
9:16–27 398
9:16–21 410, 421
9:16–19 421
9:16–17 413
9:16 359, 406, 408, 411–412
9:17–21 7, 408, 410–411
9:17 402, 406, 409, 411, 415, 537, 544, 551
9:18–21 410
9:18–19 26
9:18 406, 408–413, 418, 421–422, 448
9:19 407, 408, 413, 418
9:20–21 421
9:20 26, 406, 408, 412
9:21 402, 406–411, 413, 418, 421
9:21b 407
9:22–27 411
9:22–27a 408
9:22–25 421
9:22–23 413
9:22 198, 402, 407–408, 411
9:23 74, 337, 399, 404, 407–408, 413, 415, 417, 419, 421–423, 448
9:24–25 401, 408, 411
9:24 6, 17, 191, 403–404, 408, 417, 481
9:25 6
9:26–27 421, 423
9:26 408, 411
9:27 402, 404, 407–411, 421, 423
9:27a 7, 408
9:27b 6
9:27bb 17
10–12 397
10–11 71, 223, 231, 474
10 4, 7, 17, 21, 35, 65–66, 71, 82, 159, 161, 300, 334, 397, 406–407, 424, 427, 430, 435, 438–440–441, 444–454, 458, 471–475, 478, 494, 496, 500
10:1–28 441
10:1–15 424, 427, 438–440, 473
10:1–14 441, 451, 454, 458, 472
10:1–11 74, 140, 439
10:1–8 131
10:1–7 440
10:1–6 71, 73, 448
10:1–5 416, 440, 444
10:1–3 445–447, 472
10:1–2 72–73, 494
10:1 25, 55, 58, 65–66, 231, 344, 351, 392, 402, 407, 416, 424, 428–429, 439–440,

448–449, 472, 488, 539, 544
10:1aa 440
10:1bb 440
10:1abb 17
10:2 74, 113, 344, 402, 416, 427, 429, 449, 539
10:2b 17aa 440
10:3 25, 429–430, 447, 488, 541, 544–545, 547
10:4 123, 437, 448–449, 458, 539
10:5 230, 418, 429–430, 539, 541, 544–545, 547
10:5b 472
10:6 73, 230, 265, 334, 392, 402, 404, 418, 430, 436, 440, 452, 539
10:7–14 453
10:7–11 441, 448, 451, 453
10:7 265, 392, 440, 452, 539
10:8–15 134, 440
10:8 6, 71–72, 213, 322, 439–440, 444, 454
10:8a 440, 472
10:9–14 130
10:9–11 444, 449
10:9–10 444
10:9 265, 392, 444, 449, 539
10:9a 440, 472
10:10–11 72, 440
10:10 71, 429–431, 444, 449, 489, 537, 539, 546–547
10:10a 449
10:10aba 440
10:11–12 431
10:11 71–72, 431, 444, 449–450, 453, 458, 537, 547
10:11b 450
10:12–15 140, 159, 451
10:12–14 119, 124, 148, 428, 433, 438–439, 441, 444, 448, 450–451
10:12–13 25, 71–72, 110, 432
10:12–13a 451
10:12 230, 431–432, 441, 444, 453, 536, 539, 548
10:12b 432, 441v
10:12c–13b 432
10:12aa 432, 450
10:12ab–13aa 444, 450
10:12ab–13ab 443
10:12ab 432
10:12ba 432
10:12bb–13ab 442, 447
10:12bb 432, 441–442
10:13 35, 263, 292, 427, 433
10:13b–14 451
10:13b–14a 452
10:13b 451
10:13c 156
10:13aa–ab 442
10:13aa 432–433, 442
10:13ab 442, 442
10:13ac 442
10:14 433, 445, 451, 458
10:15 35, 155, 265, 300, 334, 365, 392, 418, 427, 428, 433, 439–441, 448, 451–453, 539
10:16–43 73
10:16–39 435
10:16–28 433, 441
10:16–27 72, 74, 424, 428, 431, 438–440, 450–451, 473–474, 477
10:16–21 452
10:16–17 71, 428, 452
10:16 440, 453, 546
10:17 155, 427, 433, 440, 453, 546
10:18–27 71

JOSHUA (*continued*)
10:18–19 452
10:18 428, 433–434, 440, 450, 453
10:19–20 72
10:19 71, 433, 453, 474, 539
10:19aa 440
10:20–21 452–453
10:20 453, 474
10:20aa 440
10:21 334, 418, 434, 441, 453
10:22–27 212
10:22–26 447
10:22–25 452, 454
10:22 434, 440, 454
10:23 72, 155, 427, 429–430, 433–434, 439, 541, 544–545, 547
10:23a 440
10:24–25 220
10:24 454
10:24aa 440
10:25 6, 17, 26, 74, 196, 219, 434, 440, 454
10:26–27 415, 451–452, 454
10:26 434, 451
10:26aa 440
10:27 6, 14, 428, 433–434, 450–451, 453, 546
10:27ag 440
10:27ba 440
10:28–11:23 212
10:28–43 439
10:28–42 440
10:28–39 110, 162, 424, 429, 438–439, 441, 447, 454–456, 473–474, 478–479
10:28–29 494
10:28 55, 58, 231, 328, 351, 424, 450, 455–456, 546
10:29–30 454, 494
10:29 435, 455–456, 489, 545–546
10:30 328, 435, 456
10:31–32 454
10:31 430, 435, 455–456, 545
10:32 328, 435, 455–456, 545
10:33 430, 435, 454–456, 488, 494, 539
10:34–35 454
10:34 430, 455–456, 545, 547
10:35 35, 55, 58, 328, 351, 424, 427, 430, 435, 456, 545
10:36–37 454
10:36 429–430, 435, 455–456, 541, 547
10:37 55, 58, 231, 328, 435, 439, 456, 547
10:38–39 454, 494
10:38 430, 436, 455–456, 488, 540
10:39 26, 35, 55, 58, 231, 328, 351, 424, 427, 429, 435–436, 456, 540–541, 545
10:40–43 424, 427, 439, 472–473
10:40–42 6, 439
10:40–41 457
10:40 55, 231, 351, 400, 424, 436–437, 457, 464, 468, 481, 488, 536, 546, 553
10:41 437–438, 457, 468, 470, 491, 540, 547, 550
10:42 438, 457–458, 477
10:43 35, 265, 300, 334, 365, 392, 418, 438–441, 452, 458, 539
11–12 71, 462
11 4, 17, 21, 65–66, 116, 439, 459, 461–462, 471–476,

478, 494, 496, 499–500
11:1–15 472, 478
11:1–9 439, 459, 471–473, 477–478
11:1–5 416, 459, 475
11:1 65–66, 440, 462–464, 466–467, 471–472, 491, 494, 536, 542, 545, 553
11:2–4 461
11:2–3 474
11:2 347, 369, 436, 464–465, 468, 471–472, 484, 488, 492, 540, 544, 547, 553
11:3–4 471
11:3 196, 230, 258–261, 436–437, 461, 465–466, 468, 484, 487, 536, 542, 546
11:4 418, 441, 466, 474
11:5 463, 467, 471, 546
11:5b 472
11:6–22 71
11:6–9 459, 472
11:6 26, 72, 74, 213, 322, 360, 461, 467, 471, 475–477
11:7–22 72
11:7–8 475, 477–478
11:7 463, 467, 471, 545–546
11:7a 472
11:8 461, 464, 466–468, 471, 539, 546, 550
11:8a 472
11:9 360, 471, 475–477
11:10–20 6, 439
11:10–15 459, 471–473, 475, 477–478
11:10–11 477
11:10 72, 162, 328, 462, 468, 471–472, 477, 542
11:11–12 472
11:11 55, 58, 231, 328, 351, 360, 461–462, 468, 474, 477, 542
11:12–14 477
11:12 55, 72, 190, 213, 231, 328, 351, 403, 437, 477–478
11:12abb 17
11:13 462, 468, 474–475, 477
11:14 328, 468, 477
11:15 17, 191, 213, 403, 461, 468, 477–478
11:16–12:24 478
11:16–22 459, 473, 478
11:16–20 471, 478, 493
11:16–17 474
11:16 286, 436, 464, 468, 478, 540, 546, 553
11:17 194, 466, 468–469, 472, 478–488, 499, 538–539, 541–542, 552
11:18–20 415, 479
11:18 479, 491
11:19–21 472
11:19 131, 260, 461, 469, 473, 479, 491
11:20 55, 351, 479, 491
11:21–23 5, 32, 471
11:21–23a 17
11:21–22 461, 470, 478, 480, 486
11:21 26, 55, 58, 223, 351, 429, 436, 461, 469–470, 480, 486, 540–541, 549
11:22 438, 461, 470–471, 536, 540, 547
11:23–24 472
11:23 4, 44, 59, 61, 65–66, 94, 204, 223, 265, 336, 396, 424, 459, 473, 481
11:23b 6

JOSHUA (*continued*)
12 4, 6, 16, 65–66, 116, 212, 415, 482, 493
12:1–24 17
12:1–8 493
12:1–6 25, 231, 482, 484, 493, 497
12:1 464, 466, 484, 493, 496–497, 536, 538, 542, 549
12:1a 493, 496
12:1b–6 493
12:2–6 231, 497
12:2–3 485, 496–497
12:2 230, 405, 464, 484–486, 488, 492–493, 497, 536, 540, 542, 548–549
12:2b–3 493
12:3 262, 437, 464, 484, 486, 536–537, 543, 553
12:4–5 485, 496–498
12:4 231, 405, 480, 484, 486–487, 493, 497–498, 535, 539, 549
12:5 405, 466, 485, 487, 493, 539, 540, 542, 546–547
12:6–8 494
12:6 190, 488, 498
12:7–24 482
12:7–23 493
12:7–8 493, 499
12:7 66, 194, 468–469, 484, 488, 493, 499, 538–539, 545, 552
12:8 193, 230, 258–261, 436–437, 464, 488, 499, 536, 546, 549, 553
12:9–24 493–496, 499
12:9–23 493
12:9–13a 494–495
12:9 25, 344–345, 488, 494, 499, 537
12:10–16a 499
12:10–12a 494
12:10 212, 429, 447, 488, 541, 544
12:11 430, 488, 545
12:12 430, 435, 484, 488, 535, 539, 547
12:12b–13a 494
12:13 436, 488, 492, 539–540
12:14 488–489, 496, 542, 547, 549
12:15 435, 480, 489, 545, 547
12:15a 494
12:16–17 499
12:16 345, 403, 431, 484, 489, 492, 499, 537, 546
12:16a 494
12:16b–24 499
12:17–18 496
12:17 489–490, 542, 554
12:18 484, 490, 495, 536, 553
12:19–20 494
12:19 463, 484, 545
12:19b–20 499
12:20 463–464, 484, 536, 553
12:21–24 496
12:21–22 484
12:21–22a 491
12:21 484, 491, 545, 553
12:22 437, 491–492, 495, 543–544, 550
12:23 265, 465, 484, 492, 539–540, 547–548
12:24 492–493, 554
12:25 484
13–24 3–4, 6–7, 24, 26, 66, 213, 251, 418
13–22 6–7, 16, 26
13–21 17, 27, 123, 481
13:1–21:42 17

13–19 4, 27, 75, 123, 138
13 4, 7, 35, 139
13:1–7 213
13:1–6 31–32, 322, 396
13:1 32, 497
13:1b–6 6, 21
13:2–6 204, 217
13:2 487, 540
13:2b–6 31
13:3–4 260
13:3 259, 438, 470–471, 537, 547, 549
13:4 259–260, 467, 486, 490, 536, 546, 553
13:5 194, 466, 469, 487, 538–539, 542–543, 545
13:6 194, 467–468, 497, 545–546
13:7–8 35, 546
13:7 541
13:8–13 484
13:8–12 6
13:8 27, 190, 213, 403, 538
13:9–11 485
13:9 484–485, 536, 540, 546, 549
13:10 231, 405, 486, 542, 548
13:11 405, 466, 485, 487, 539, 540, 546–547
13:12 231, 405, 480, 485–486, 539, 549
13:13 487, 497, 540, 542, 546, 553
13:14 6, 27, 35
13:15–14:5 7
13:16 484–485, 536, 546, 549
13:17 405, 537–538, 540, 542
13:18 542, 546, 550
13:19 550–552
13:20 437, 486, 536, 538
13:21–22 27
13:21 231, 405, 487, 542
13:23 192
13:24–28 485
13:25 485–486, 540, 548–549, 551
13:26 405, 466, 537, 542, 545–546, 551–552
13:27 192, 231, 405, 537, 542–543, 547–548, 550
13:29–31 485
13:30 231, 405, 486, 537, 539, 541, 546
13:31 231, 405, 485, 487, 535, 539, 540, 549
13:32 192, 464, 538, 549
13:33 6, 27, 35
14–19 4
14–17 20
14 7
14:1 27, 260, 347
14:1b 17
14:2 360
14:3 192, 538
14:6–15 6, 25, 27
14:6 265, 392, 437, 550
14:6abb–15 17
14:7 190, 213, 403, 437, 550
14:9 347, 412
14:10 193
14:12 470, 497
14:13–15 429
14:13 429, 541
14:14 429, 541
14:15 429, 470, 541, 551
15–17 474
15 4, 7, 25, 35, 158, 213, 474
15:1 7, 27, 193, 360, 486, 535, 545, 553
15:2 262, 543
15:3 437, 457, 490, 535, 542, 545, 549–551
15:4 543, 549
15:5 192, 262, 543
15:6 464, 535, 537, 549

JOSHUA (*continued*)
15:7 347, 349, 548
15:8 35, 261, 392, 429, 480, 539, 542, 544, 549
15:7 265, 348, 436, 535, 540, 548
15:9 262, 538, 540–541, 546, 551
15:10 469, 538, 540, 544, 551–553
15:11 540, 542–543, 549, 553
15:13–19 25, 27, 455, 480
15:13–14 469, 480
15:13 429, 470, 541, 551
15:14 470, 497
15:15 436, 540, 551
15:16 551
15:17 406
15:19 436, 546
15:20 7
15:21 436, 535, 542, 546–547, 550
15:22 540, 547, 551
15:23 437, 462, 542, 544, 549–550
15:24 538, 541–542
15:25 430, 462, 542, 551
15:26 546, 553
15:27 538, 542
15:28 537, 542
15:29 538, 548–549
15:30 489, 536, 542, 544
15:31 545, 547, 550
15:32 548, 552–553
15:33 436, 536–537, 550, 553
15:34 541, 548, 552
15:35 431, 544, 547
15:36 488, 539, 547, 553
15:37 541, 545
15:38 466, 540, 543, 546
15:39 430, 538, 545, 547
15:40 544–545
15:41 431, 488, 537, 539, 546–547
15:42 435, 545, 549
15:43 536, 543, 547
15:44 536, 546, 551
15:45 549
15:46 471, 536, 549
15:47 196, 438, 471, 536, 543, 547
15:48 436, 541, 544, 552–553
15:49 436, 540, 551
15:50 470, 537, 549
15:51 438, 458, 539, 540–541
15:52 536, 551
15:53 490, 536, 538, 543–554
15:54 429, 541, 550
15:55 492, 541, 543–544, 546
15:56 541, 543
15:57 539, 550, 553
15:58 488, 538–539
15:59 536–537, 546
15:59a 35
15:60 262, 406, 551
15:61 193, 464, 537, 545, 547, 549
15:62 546, 548
15:63 6, 25, 36, 51, 77, 261, 355, 392–393, 429, 445, 447–448, 497, 544
16–17 4, 25, 474–475
16:1–18 7
16:1–4 35, 474–475
16:1–3 6
16:1–2 345
16:1 25, 27, 192–193, 345, 360, 545–546
16:2 345, 537, 547–548
16:3 431, 435, 537, 539
16:4–8 7
16:5–10 25
16:5–9 475
16:5 431, 537, 539, 548
16:6 543, 546, 553
16:7–10 35

16:7 192, 543, 547
16:8 475, 489, 543, 547, 551, 554
16:9 6
16:10 6, 35–36, 259–260, 404, 539
16:10a 35
17 257
17:1–13 25
17:1–10 7
17:1–6 485
17:1 27, 360, 405, 485, 539
17:1a 7
17:2 490
17:3–6 7, 414
17:3 27, 485, 492
17:4 388
17:5 6, 405, 485, 538–539, 540
17:6 485, 540
17:7–10 475
17:7–8 489
17:7 536, 546, 548, 553
17:8–10 475
17:8 6, 554
17:9 6, 543, 547
17:10 543
17:10b 6
17:11 465, 475, 491, 538, 540, 542, 545, 548, 553
17:12 259, 497
17:13 259, 497
17:14–18 6, 25, 474
17:14 360
17:15–16 436
17:15 261, 486–487
17:16 36, 259–260, 548
17:17–18 475
17:17 198
17:18 259, 477
18–19 4, 25
18:1 7, 17, 337, 392, 553
18:1ff 20
18:2–19:48 20
18:2–6 6
18:2 545
18:3–7 220
18:3–4 27
18:3 198, 431, 497
18:4 197
18:7 7, 190, 192, 213, 403, 538
18:8–10 6
18:8 360, 538, 553
18:9 418, 553
18:10 553
18:11–25 7
18:11a 7
18:12 192–193, 344, 537
18:13 345, 431, 537, 545, 548
18:14 406, 431, 537, 551
18:15 546, 551
18:16 261, 480, 539, 548–549
18:17 535, 540, 548
18:18 464, 537, 549
18:19 262, 537, 543
18:20b 7
18:21 537, 548
18:22 345, 464, 537, 549–550
18:23 547, 549
18:24 539, 544, 549
18:25 406, 537, 539, 551
18:26 466, 544, 546
18:27 544, 550, 552, 554
18:28 261, 428–429, 539, 542, 544
18:28b 7
19 7
19:1 27
19:2 546
19:3 536, 538, 542, 549
19:4 489, 539, 542
19:5 537, 542
19:6 545, 553
19:7 548–549, 552
19:8 551–552
19:10 552
19:11 492, 540, 543, 546
19:12 430, 540, 544, 552

JOSHUA (*continued*)
19:13 470, 490, 540, 547, 549, 552
19:14 541, 543
19:15 463, 537, 542, 547, 550, 553
19:18 543–544, 552
19:19 536, 542, 553
19:20 535, 551
19:21 538, 548, 552
19:22 192, 538, 552–553
19:25 463–464, 536–537, 541
19:26 492, 536, 544, 546, 548, 553
19:27 536, 543–544, 547
19:28 467, 541, 547, 550–551
19:29 536, 541–542, 552
19:30 536, 548, 551
19:33 535, 541–542, 545, 550
19:34 535, 541
19:35 541, 543–544, 550, 552
19:36 462, 535, 542, 552
19:37 437, 462, 487, 535, 548, 550
19:38 538, 542–543, 545–546
19:40–48 25
19:41 537, 550
19:42 433, 536, 544, 553
19:43 433, 536, 549, 553
19:44 536, 538–539
19:45 470, 538, 540, 542
19:46 546, 552
19:47–48 35
19:47 35, 497, 545
19:50 36, 553
19:51 27, 197, 360, 553
19:51a 17
20–21 4, 36–37, 77
20 4, 7, 25, 27, 36, 66, 145, 336
20:1–6 213, 322
20:3 27, 35
20:4–6 35
20:4 389
20:7 36–37, 286, 429–430, 437, 540–541, 550, 553
20:8 193, 405, 485, 538–539, 540, 551
20:27 46
21 4, 7, 25, 27, 37, 66, 336
21:1 388
21:2 260, 392, 553
21:4 27
21:6 405, 539
21:11 429, 541, 551
21:13 429, 435, 541, 545
21:14 537, 544
21:15 436, 540–541
21:16 538
21:17 402, 538–539
21:18 548–549
21:21 435, 539, 553
21:22 431, 537, 550
21:23—22:6 17
21:23 536, 539
21:24–25 470
21:24 433, 536, 540
21:25 491, 540, 553
21:27 405, 538–539
21:28 551
21:29 430, 544, 548
21:30 546–547
21:31 541, 551
21:32 437, 540–541, 550–551
21:34 492, 543, 551
21:35 540, 547
21:36 538, 542
21:37 550
21:38 540, 552
21:39 405, 542–543
21:41–42 7
21:42a–d 35
21:42b 36
21:42c 36
21:43–45 20, 27, 32, 204–205, 208, 210
21:43 219, 412, 497
21:44 412

22 4, 36, 213, 216, 351, 414
22:1–6 220
22:2 190, 404
22:4 7, 190, 213, 404, 538
22:5 5, 7, 190, 213, 394–396, 404
22:7 405, 538
22:8 385
22:9–34 7
22:9–11 260
22:9 260, 485, 539, 540, 553
22:10 192, 260
22:11 260
22:12 553
22:13 27, 388, 485, 540
22:15 485, 540
22:16–21 343
22:16 351, 543
22:18 422
22:20 55, 223, 231
22:21–29 220
22:22 351
22:24 198
22:27 404
22:29 392
22:30 388
22:31 351, 388
22:32 260, 388, 485, 540
23–24 5, 83
23 5, 7, 16–17, 20–22, 31, 64, 138, 201, 213, 263, 396
23:1–16 17, 32, 204, 210
23:1–6 220
23:1–3 21
23:1 32
23:2 286, 389
23:3 263, 292
23:4–8 21
23:4 196, 263, 292, 292, 543
23:5 497
23:6 5, 394–396
23:7–8 65
23:7 263, 292, 404, 412
23:9 21, 263, 292, 497
23:10 21
23:11 21
23:12 21, 263, 292
23:13 263, 292, 497
23:14–16a 21
23:16 75, 404, 412
23:16b 21
24 5, 13, 17, 19–20, 22, 24, 27–28, 39, 50, 138, 213, 381
24:1–33 17
24:1–29 392–383
24:1–15 220
24:1 7, 259, 285–286, 389, 553
24:2 64, 219, 404, 547
24:3 219, 260, 547
24:4 496–497
24:5 35
24:6 543
24:7 193
24:8 230, 497, 538
24:9 7
24:11 230, 258–261
24:12 230
24:13 7, 32
24:14 404, 547
24:15 64, 404
24:16 404
24:17 293
24:18 230, 404
24:19–28 220
24:19 404
24:20 404
24:21 404
24:22 404
24:23 395
24:24 404
24:25 75, 359, 395, 412, 553
24:26 5, 28, 82, 218, 337, 392, 394–395
24:28–33 39–41
24:28–31 22–24, 41, 140
24:28 23, 40
24:29–33 5
24:29–31 25, 39
24:29–30 39

JOSHUA (*continued*)
24:29 23, 40–41, 213, 404
24:30 23, 40–41, 392, 540, 553
24:31 7, 23, 39, 41, 389, 404
24:31a 35
24:32–33 25, 41
24:32 39–41, 553
24:33 39–40, 388, 392, 539
24:33a 35, 39, 41
24:33b 35, 39, 41

JUDGES 5, 19–26, 31–32, 37, 40–42, 46, 55, 99–101, 104, 112–113, 117, 119–122, 124, 131, 137, 141, 143–144, 147, 151, 155–156, 159, 190, 204, 206–208, 210, 372, 446, 472, 491, 497
1:1–2:9
1:1–2:6 25
1:1–2:5 445–446
1–2 21
1 8–9, 11, 161, 446–448, 472
1:1–2:5 23
1:1–7 25
1:1–2 446
1:1 190
1:1a 22–24, 207–209
1:1b 208
1:3–7 448
1:4–7 445–447
1:4 261, 446
1:5–15 427
1:5–7 428
1:5 261, 446
1:6–10 25
1:6 446
1:7 446
1:8–10 25
1:8 25, 446–447
1:9 437
1:10–15 455
1:11 436
1:17 55–56
1:19 25
1:20 470, 480
1:21 261, 428, 445–448
1:22–26 25
1:24–26 25
1:26 195–196
1:27–35 446
1:27–28 25, 446
1:27 465, 491
1:29 25, 435, 446
1:30 446
1:31–32 446
1:33 446
1:34 446
1:35 433, 446
2:6–10 22–24
2:6–9 22–23, 41, 117, 140, 207
2:6 23
2:7 23, 41
2:8–9 23
2:8 23
2:9 23
2:10–11 41
2:10 23–24, 41
2:10ff 23
2:11b 22
2:11ff 17
2:12 22
2:13 22
2:15a 22
2:20–3:6 22
2:28 41
3 430
3:3b 217
3:5 258
3:11 269
3:12 41
3:27 308
4 116, 462, 472, 492
5 325, 462, 472
5:4–5 284
5:4 468
5:19 491
6:2 453
6:11–12 328

6:15 358
6:16 215, 220
6:24 423
6:34 308
7:18 331
7:21 333
9:7 372
9:46 64, 289
10–11 486
10 466
10:10 359
10:15 359
11 230, 405
11:12–28 484, 497
11:13 485, 497
11:19 230
11:20 230
11:21 230
11:22 485, 497
11:33 485
11:35 312, 361
14:3 296
15:14 333
15:18 296
16 437
18:31 423
19–21 355, 387–388
19–20 387
19:10 428
19:11 261
19:24 360
20 365, 386–387
20:1–25 386
20:1–11 466
20:1 192
20:6 346, 360
20:13–15 387
20:26–28 387
20:27 46
20:29–48 387
20:30–34 387
20:32 387
20:34 387
20:36 387
20:38–48 387
20:38 387
20:39 387
20:41 387
20:42 387
20:47 387
21 387
21:11 55, 387

SAMUEL–KINGS 48–50, 52

SAMUEL 5, 7, 19–20, 26, 37, 42, 46, 101, 113, 120, 207

I SAMUEL 55, 137, 393
3–4 48
3:16 453
3:17 360
4–6 48–49, 51–52
5–6 471
5 393
5:1 48
5:2 393
5:8 48, 470
5:10 48, 393
6:6–11 329
6:10 48
6:17 470
6:18 261
6:21 406
7 159
7:1 48, 406
7:2 406
7:5–12 466
7:14 470
7:17 423
9:2 498
9:54 328
10–15 264–265
10:17–24 466
11:3 196
11:6 196
11:10 388
11:13 388
11:14–15 264
11:17 196
11:21 196
11:24 196
12:9 196
12:10 196
12 16, 20, 138, 201

1 SAMUEL (*continued*)
13:3 331
13:5 344
14:9 432
14:23 344
14:24 315
14:28 315
14:29 312
15:1–33 265
15:1–15 265
15:3 55–56
15:8 55, 261
15:9 55
15:12 492
15:15 55
15:18 55
15:20 55
15:21 55–56
15:63 261
17 470
17:1 431
17:6 369
17:26 289
17:36 289
17:43 315
17:45 369
17:55 328
18:16 261
20:16 292
21 470
21:6 443
22 489
22:1 453
22:3 466
24:3 453
25 492
27 470, 492
26:4 227
26:19 315
28:7 464
28:8 411
28:12 411
30 492
30:26 388
30:27 344
30:28 485
30:30 489
30:31 430

2 SAMUEL 393
1:1a 207
1:18 433
1:19–27 433
2–5 430
2:8 402
2:12 402, 414
2:13 402
2:16 402
2:24 402
2:28 331
3:3 487
3:30 402, 414
4 406
4:3 406
4:12 391
5 428
5:6–10 446–447
5:6 261
5:8 261, 480
5:22 480
5:25 435
6–15 48
6 393
6:2 51
6:6–8 48
6:9–12 393
6:10 393
6:12–14 393
6:12 48–49
6:21–7:1 393
7:1 48
8:3–8 476
8:6 220
10:5 228
10:6 328
13:12 360
13:23 462
13:37 487
14:3–20 411
14:15 323
14:18 360
14:23 487
15:1 476
15:7–10 430
15:10 227
18:16 331
18:24 335

20:1 331
20:8 414
21 470
21:1–9 414
23:13 480
23:39 196
24:6 195
24:7 260
24:9 328
24:16 261
24:18 261

KINGS 5, 7, 20, 26, 42, 55, 101, 147, 155–156, 207, 212

I KINGS 37, 423
1:1–5 216–217
1:9 199
2:1–4 211–212
2:2–4 211
3 444
3:1 335
3:5 402, 414
4:11 465
4:12 491
4:26 476
4:33 194
5:1–5 215
5:1 193
5:6 194
5:14 194
5:17 454
5:20 467
6–8 48
6–7 50
7:46 262
7:51 312, 338
8 16, 20, 138, 201, 429, 444
8:1–11 441
8:6–7 49
8:12–13 441
8:12 432
8:13 444
8:22 423
8:23 213
8:24 213
8:25 213
8:26 213
8:29 213, 423
8:30 213
8:32 213, 244
8:44 423
8:52 213
8:53 432
8:54 423
8:66 213
9:2 402, 414
9:15–17 435
9:15 336, 462
9:20–21 414
9:20 258
9:21 55
10:1 405
10:29 196, 476
11:1 196, 258, 467
11:5 467
11:7 213
11:15 328
11:26 268
11:32 213
11:36 213
11:38 213
12:29 345
12:32 345
12:33 345, 467
13:1 345
13:4 345
13:10 345
13:11 345
13:32 345
14:2–6 411
14:26 312, 338
15:2 487
15:5 196
15:10 487
15:18 462
15:21 492
16:15 492
16:23–24 492
16:34 6, 316, 336
17:1 361
17:22 433
18 492
18:17 312, 361

1 KINGS (*continued*)
18:30 423
19:4 289
19:7 297
19:13 347
19:19 289
19:21 191
20:1 462, 476
20:26–30 490
20:29 331
20:38–41 411
20:42 55

2 KINGS 200
1:1a 207
2 227–228
2:1–4 197
2:1 264–265
2:8 282, 347
2:24 315
3:2 291
3:10 345
4:43 191
4:38 265
6:15 191
6:24 462
6:26 335
7:6 196
8:7 462
8:19 213
8:22 435
9:27 491
10:27 291
10:29 345
12:9–11 45
14:14 338
14:25 262, 470
15:29 462
16:8 338
17 30
17:7ff 17
17:24–41 29
18:8 438
18:13 455
18:14–17 430
18:15 338
19:8 430
19:11 55
19:34 213
20:15 338
20:18 285
22:8 212
22:11 212
23:9 423
23:11 444, 476
23:15 345
23:29 195, 491
23:24 212
23:31 435
24:7 195
24:18 435
25:4 336
25:10 336
25:23–26 466
25:27–30 17

ISAIAH–CHRONICLES (LATTER PROPHETS) 56

SECOND ISAIAH 25, 76, 244, 429

THIRD ISAIAH 429

ISAIAH 43, 77, 135, 159
2:2–4 77
2:10–21 453
2:13 405
2:19 453
2:21 453
8:23 437, 492
8:33 471
11:11 347, 407
11:15 55–56
14:9 497
15:4 333
15:5 431
17:2 485
18:2 402
19:19 423
22–23 211
23:2 467
23:4 467

23:12 467
25:12 336
27:12–13 217
28:2 450
33:9 491
34:2 55
34:5 55
35:9 491
36:2 430
37:4 289
37:8 430, 435
37:11 55
37:35 213
41:7 198
42:1 213
43:6 486
43:10 244
43:28 55
44:6 244
44:18 198
44:26 213
45:6 244
45:22 244
46:6–7 289
51:7 270
52:13 198, 213
57:9 402
59:21 146
65:10 347–348, 491

JEREMIAH 25, 43, 55
1:6 357
1:7 220
1:8 215, 220
2:7 329
3:15 198
3:16 45
4:5 308
4:10 345
4:20 357
6:23 369
9:24 198
11:3 315
12:5 191
17:26 427
20:15 315
24:9 270
25:9 55
25:20 438, 471
25:22 467
26:20 406
27:3 467
29:22 271
29:23 360
32:44 437
33:13 437
33:21–26 213
34:7 431, 455
36:23 346
38:14 360
39:8 336
40–42 466
41:12 401
41:16 402
42:18 270
47:1 438
47:4 467
47:5 438
48:3 431
48:5 431
48:34 431
48:45 230
49:3 344
49:19 191
49:27 462
50:15 336
50:19 405
50:21 55
50:26 55
50:42 369
50:44 191
51:3 55
51:12 336
51:44 336
51:58 336
52:1 435
52:7 336

EZEKIEL 43, 55, 76, 191, 288, 413
5:5 76
5:14 270
8:16 443
9:8 345

EZEKIEL (*continued*)
9:18 357
11:10 288
11:12 288
11:13 357
16:3 196
16:45 196
17:20 351
20:27 351
25:5 288, 464
25:7 288
25:9 486
25:11 288
27:6 405
27:8 467
28:21 467
28:22 467
38:11 336
38:12 76
39:18 405
42:13 329
44:29 55–56
46:6 195
47:10 196
47:15–20 217
47:15 196
47:18 191
47:19 196
47:20 196
47:22 373
48:35 76
48:28 196

THE MINOR PROPHETS 43

HOSEA 344
2:1 258
2:5 193
2:10 360
2:16–17 193
2:17 347–248
3:4 291
4:15 344
5:8 333, 344
6:2 285
6:7 262
9:10 193
9:15 265
10:1–2 291
10:5 344
10:15 345
12:4 345
12:12 265
13:4–5 193
13:15 193

JOEL
2:17 270
2:20 196
4:4 467
4:18 226–227

AMOS 344
1:4 405, 462
1:6 438
1:8 471
1:12 486
1:14 336
3:9 471
4:4 265, 345
5:5 265, 344–345
5:6 345
7:10 345
7:13 345

OBADIAH
1:9 437

JONAH
1:9 244–245
2:4 230
2:6 230
3:1 297

MICAH 55
4:13 55–56, 289
6:5 226–227, 282
7:4 405

HABAKKUK
3 325
3:3–15 326

ZEPHANIAH
2:4 471
2:5 438
2:8 270

HAGGAI 76, 429
2:10–19 76
2:20–23 76

ZECHARIAH 55, 429
2:16 330
4:14 290
5:11 347
6:5 290
6:9–14 76
7:7 437
9:2 467
9:6 471
11:2 405
11:3 191
14:8 196
14:11 55

MALACHI 56
4:6 56

PSALMS 287, 423
1:2–3 43, 197
1:2 146
9:1 287
9:11 229
18:13–18 450
18:39 454
24 49
24:7–10 325
26:6 333
26:7 287
27:14 197
29:8 437
31:25 197
40:5 287
41:2 333
42:3 258
42:5 423
47:3 454
48 335, 429
48:13–15aa 335
48:13 333
51:18 336
52:10 423
55:15 423
57:1 453
66:1 333
68 325
68:8–9 326
68:18 326
71:17 287
72:16 194
72:18 287
77:11 287
78:12 287
83:10 462
84:3 258
84:11 423
88:10 497
92:12 194
98:1 287
105:5 287
106:7 287
106:22 287
110 448
110:1 454
110:4 448
114 282, 287
115:4–7 289
122 37
132 49–50
132:7–8 51
132:7 49
132:8 45
135 497
135:2 423
135:11 230–231
135:15–17
136 497
136:19 230
136:20 231
136:26 244
137 429
142:1 453

PROVERBS 416
1:4 402, 416

PROVERBS (*continued*)
2:18 497
8:5 416
8:12 416
8:19 271, 463
JOB
5:13 416
9:13 242
26:12 229
38:22 450
39:23 369
41:29 370

SONG OF SONGS
2:1 491
7:4 405

RUTH 42, 100–101, 119–122, 144
1:16 220
1:18 196
4:10 292

ESTHER 43, 101
9:19 261

DANIEL 56, 347
1:2 347
2:18 244–245
2:19 244–245
2:28 244
2:37 244–245
2:44 244–245
5:23 245
6:26–27 289
6:27–28 289
6:27 289
6:28 289
8:11 328
9:22 323
10:4 194
10:21 328
11:44 56
12:10 328
19:42 433
19:43 433

EZRA–NEHEMIAH 25, 29, 43, 63, 65, 76–77, 112, 218, 333, 389

EZRA 31, 76–77, 101, 245, 355, 415, 422–423
1:1–4 31
1:2–4 63–64, 76
1:2 244–245
1:4 422
2:20 414
2:25 406, 415
2:28 344–345
2:34 228
2:43 414
2:45 435
2:55–58 414
2:48 414
2:68 388, 422
2:70 414
3 429
3:1–3 29
3:1–2 29
3:3 29
3:7 196
3:8 422
3:9 422
3:10 332
4 355
4:1–3 29
4:2 388
4:11–22 217
5 355
5:5 388
5:11 244–245
5:12 244–245
6:7 388
6:9 244–245
6:10 244–245
7:7 414
7:12–26 218
7:12 244–245
7:21 244–245
7:23 244–245
7:24 414
7:25 415
8:20 414

9:1 258
10 386
10:1–17 353
10:2 351
10:8 56

NEHEMIAH 31, 76–77, 101, 245, 336, 355, 415, 422–423, 471
1:3 270
1:4 244
1:5 244
2:4 244–245
2:5 245
2:8–10 486
2:10 30
2:16 388
2:17 29, 336
2:19–20 30
2:19 486
2:20 29, 244
2:29 430b
3–6 355
3–5 336
3–4 429
3:2 76
3:7 402, 415, 466
3:15 466
3:19 466
3:26 414
3:33–4:1 30
4 76
4:1 471
4:8 388
4:14 331
6:1–2 30
7 76, 414
7:5 402
7:6 414
7:7 414
7:24 431
7:25 414
7:29 406, 415
7:32 228, 344–345
7:46 414
7:48 435
7:60 414
7:70 338
7:71 338
7:73 414
8:13 388
9:8 258
9:22 230–231
10:28–31 386
10:29–30 230, 414
10:30 430–431
10:31 230
10:33–40 422
10:35 423
11:1 76
11:3–4 414
11:3 414
11:13 388
11:18 76
11:21 414
11:30 489
11:33 406
12 336, 355, 429
12:35 332
13:23–31 386
13:23 462, 471
13:24 471
13:28 30

CHRONICLES 43, 45, 48–50, 56, 77, 101, 125, 245, 286, 338, 343, 351, 415, 422–423, 435

I CHRONICLES 37, 49, 128
1–9 129, 141
1:14 261
1:44 463
2:6–8 343, 353
2:6 343
2:7 343
4:41 56
5:25 351
6:19 320
6:27 320
6:40 429
6:42 429, 435
6:53 431

1 CHRONICLES (*continued*)
6:54 470
6:67 435
7:28 435
7:29 491
8:5 431
8:9 463
8:18 463
8:29 402
9 415
9:1 351
8:29–32 402, 415
9:26 338
9:35–44 402, 415
9:35 402
10:13 351
11 428–429, 489
11:1–3 430
11:4 261
11:6 261
11:7 489
11:41 196
11:46 428
13 49
13:5 406
15 49
16:16 435
16:39 402
20:4–8 480
20:24 435
21 49
21:1 327
21:15 261
21:16 328
21:18 261
21:29 402
22:4 467
22:12–13 197
25:6 422
26:20 338
26:22 338
26:24 338
27 190
27:25 338
27:29 491
29:2 422

2 CHRONICLES
1:3 402
1:4 406
1:13 402
1:17 196
3:1 261
5 50
5:1 338, 422
6:12 423
6:19–23 213
8:5 431
8:7 196, 258
8:12 423
11:9 430–431
12:2 351
12:9 338
15:8 423
16:2 338
16:6 466
19:11 286
20 286
20:10 469
20:19–23 286
20:23 56, 469
21:10 435
25:4 373
25:11 469
25:14 469
26:11 220
26:16 351
28:15 228
28:19 351
28:20 219
29:6 351
29:19 423
29:21 423
30:7 351
32:7 196, 219
32:9 430
32:14 56
33:16 423
35:16 423
35:20 195
36:8 338
36:18 338
36:23 76, 245

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

SIRACH 78–79, 109
46:1–10 109
46:1 79, 212
46:2 370

1 ESDRAS
8:69 258

TOBIT 43

JUDITH 43
5:16 258
12:9 229

MACCABEES 42–43, 78, 103, 296

1 MACCABEES
1:48 296
1:60–61 296
2:55 78
11:67 462

2 MACCABEES 118
6:2 30
6:10 296
12:15 78
13:14 263

4 MACCABEES
1:29 268

New Testament

MATTHEW
1:5 78, 240

ACTS
7:45 78

HEBREWS 78
4:8 78
11:31 78, 240

JAMES
2:25 78, 159, 240

JUDE
1:7 194

REVELATION
16:16 491

Other Ancient Sources

AMARNA LETTERS 435, 462
EA 36.15 259
EA 85.70 467
EA 223 463
EA 290:9 470
EA 366 463
EA 367 463

ANCIENT NEAR EAST IN PICTURES (ANEP)
351 454
355 454
629 266, 300

EGYPTIAN EXECRATION TEXTS 462
E 11 463
E 55 463

ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI 437
A4.7 30
A4.8 30
30 63
30:2 244
30:28 244
31:2 244
31:27 244
32:4 244
38:2 244
38:3 244
38:5 244
40:1 244

GILGAMESH EPIC 335
VII.iii.1–20 239

LIST OF THUTMOSE III
No. 35 463

ROYAL CONQUEST ACCOUNTS
Asiatic Campaigns of Thutmose III 14 437
Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III: Campaigns Against Syria and Palestine 56–63 485–86
Annals of Sennacherib: Siege of Jerusalem ii 37–iii 49 486
Annals of Ashurbanipal: Campaign against Palestine i 53–ii 94 486
Nine Campaigns of Ashurpanipal (688–626 BCE)
2.770 68–70
2.771 69
2.775 69
2.779 69–70
2.780 70
2.781 70
2.782 70
2.784 70
2.786 69
2.787 69–70
2.788 69–70
2.793 69
2.796 69
2.800 69
2.805 69
2.808 69
2.815 70
2.816 70
2.820 70
2.829 69
2.830 70
Entemena's war against Umma
282a 486
287b 486
288 467
291 v 54—vi 1 195
294a 486
376–378 259
477 385
606 327
629 36

MARI
Zimri-Lin of Mari *ARM* XXVI 390

MERNEPTAH STELE 259

MESHA STELE 89

SUMERIAN KINGS LIST 76

UGARITIC TEXTS
KTU 1.108 498
KTU 1.108.3 498
KTU 1.14.IV.35 467
KTU 1.15 iii: 3–4 497
KTU 1.15 iii: 14–15 497
KTU 1.161 497
KTU 1.20 497
KTU 1.22 497
KTU 1.6 VI: 45–47 498
PRU 3.249 261

Classical and Early Christian Literature

AUGUSTINE
Questions on Joshua 10–11.1 81

CHRYSOSTOM
Homilies on Hebrews 27.6.12 81

EUSEBIUS
Onomasticon
64: 9–17 372
127 431

GREGORY OF NYSSA
On the Baptism of Christ 1 81

HERODOTUS
Hist. 76
Hist. 1.1 467
Hist. 1.131.2 244
Hist. 2.1–4 300
Hist. 2.37 269
Hist. 3.5 438

HOMER
Iliad
II.410–417 110
II.414–15 445

HESIOD
Works and Days 76

JOHN OF DAMASCUS
Orthodox Faith 4.25.12 81

JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS
Ant.
4.320 79
5.16–20 371
5.16–19 256
5.18–31 212
5.68–70 257
6.2 240
11.306–312 30
20.1–2 79
20:3–4 79
20:5 79

LACTANTIUS
Epitome of the Divine Institutes 4.17.11 81

ORIGEN
Homilies on Joshua
1.1 80, 212
1.3 80
1.5 80
1.5–6 80
1.6 80
2.2 80
3.1 80
5.5–6 81
6.1 80
7.6–8 81
8.2 81
8.3 371
8.7 81
9.10 80, 212
15.1 80, 212

PACHOMIUS
Instructions 21.32 81

PAULINUS OF NOLA
Poem 26.99–114.2 81

PHILO
Spec. 1:1 300

PLATO
The Laws 76
The Republic 76

PSEUDO-PHILO
Biblical Antiquities 20.1–2, 3–4 79

STRABO
Geography VI. XIII I 42 336

TERTULLIAN
Against the Jews 9.3 81

THUCYDIDES
History of the Peloponnesian War 2.60.5–6 80

Dead Sea Scrolls 30, 33–34, 37, 79, 108, 111, 112, 117, 140, 155, 156, 212
4Q9 37
4Q37 63
4Q123 37
4Q175 (see also 4QTest) 37, 98

Dead Sea Scrolls (*continued*)
4Q378 (see also 4QapocraJosh[a] and 4QJosh[a]) 37
4Q379 (see also 4QapocrJosh[b]; 4QJosh[b]; and 4QApocryphon of Joshua) 37
4Q379 22 ii 79
4Q422 79, 212
4Q521–4Q528 144
4Q522 37, 144
4Q522 9 ii 111
4Q576–4Q579 144
4QapocrJosh[a] 37
4QapocrJosh[b] 37
4QapocrJosue[c] 144
4QApocryphon of Joshua 37
4QDt[j] 63
4QJosh[a] 33, 37, 140, 146, 155–156, 256–257, 265, 297, 365, 371–372, 382, 428
4QJosh[b] 37, 155–156
4QpaleoParaJosh 37
4QProphétie 144
4QSam[a] 146
4QTest 37, 79, 212, 315
MasParaJosh 37
XJoshua 37, 107
War Scroll (1QM) 320
V 16 331
VI 1 331
VIII 1–9 331
IX 3 331
XVI 3 331
XVI 7 331
XVI 8 331

Rabbinic and Early JewishLiterature

Mishnah
m. Šabb. 19:2 299
Talmud
b. ʿAbod. Zar. 25A 82
b. Bek. 55AB 82
b. Ber. 32B 82
b. Ber. 54B 481
b. Ber. 58A 82
b. B. Bat. 14A 79
b. B. Bat. 14B 82
b. ʿEruv. 63A 82
b. ʿEruv. 63B 82
b. Giṭ. 7A 81–82
b. Mak. 11A 82
b. Meg. 5B 82
b. Meg. 14B 82, 240
b. Meg. 15A 240
b. Moʾed Qaṭ. 17A 82
b. Roš. Haš. 13A 81
b. Šabb. 56A 82
b. Sanh. 44A 82
b. Sanh. 44B 82
b. Sanh. 113A 82
b. Soṭah 36A 82
b. Taʾan. 20A 82
b. Tem. 16A 82
b. Yebam. 72A 82, 266, 414
b. Yabam. 78b–79a 414
b. Zebaḥ. 111B 81
b. Zebaḥ. 116AB 82
b. Zebah. 116B 240
b. Zebaḥ. 117B 82
m. Yebam. 8:1 266
Midrash
Pisqa 51:5 217
Ruth Rabbah 2:1 240
Sifre 216
Sipre Numbers 78 240

Arabic Literature

QUR'AN 83
Sura
5 83
5.23 83
5.19 83

SAMARITAN CHRONICLE OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA 31, 83, 153
1–8 83
1 83

2 83
9–40 83
9 83
11 83
13–21 83
13 83
14–16 83
15 83
17 83
19 83
20–21 83
24 84
25 84
26–38 84
37 84
38 84
41–50 83